Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

SIXTH EDITION

A CULTURAL APPROACH

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Jeffrey Jensen Arnett

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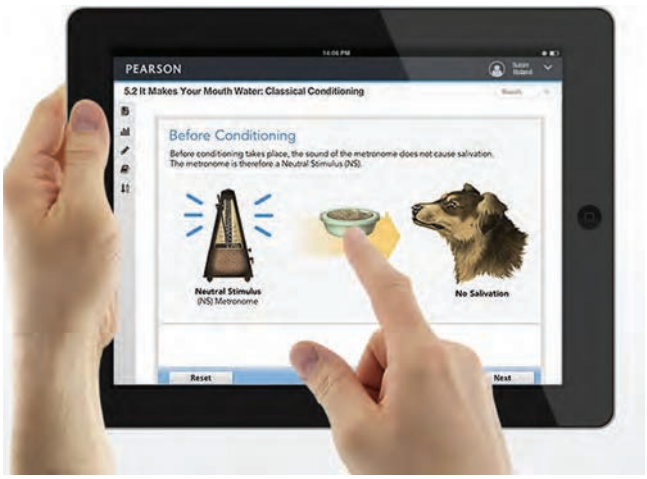

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Preface

Adolescence is a fascinating time of life, and for most instructors it is an enjoyable topic to teach. Many students are taking the course at a time when they have just completed adolescence. Learning about development during this period is a journey of self-discovery for them, in part. Students often enjoy reflecting back on who they were then, and they come away with a new understanding of their past and present selves. What students learn when studying about adolescence sometimes confirms their own intuitions and experiences, and sometimes contradicts or expands what they thought they knew. When it works well, a course on adolescence can change not only how students understand themselves, but how they understand others and how they think about the world around them. For instructors, the possibility the course offers for students' growth of understanding is often stimulating. My goal in writing this text has been to make it a source that will assist instructors and students in making illuminating connections as they pursue an understanding of this dynamic and complex age period. Now that my own children, twins Miles and Paris, are seventeen, writing this edition had a special personal relevance for me, more powerful than ever before.

I originally wrote this book with the intention of presenting a fresh conception of adolescence, a conception reflecting what I believed to be the most promising and exciting new currents in the field. With each new edition, I continue to strive for that goal. There are four essential features of the understanding that guide this book: (1) a focus on the cultural basis of development; (2) an extension of the age period covered to include "emerging adulthood" (roughly ages 18 to 25) as well as adolescence; (3) an emphasis on historical context; and (4) an interdisciplinary approach to theories and research. All of these features distinguish this text from others on adolescence.

The Cultural Approach

In teaching courses on adolescence, from large lecture classes to small seminars, I have always brought into the classroom a considerable amount of research from other cultures. I am trained mainly as a developmental psychologist, a field that has traditionally emphasized universal patterns of development rather than cultural context. However, my education also included three years as a postdoctoral student at the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago, and the program there emphasized anthropology, which places culture first and foremost. Learning to take a cultural approach to development greatly expanded and deepened my own understanding of adolescence, and I have seen the cultural approach work this way for my students as well. Through an awareness of the diversity of cultural practices, customs, and beliefs about adolescence, we expand our conception of the range of developmental possibilities. We also gain a greater understanding of adolescent development in our own culture, by learning to see it as only one of many possible paths.

Taking a cultural approach to development means infusing discussion of every aspect of development with a cultural perspective. I present the essentials of the cultural approach in the first chapter, and then it serves as a theme that runs through every chapter. Each chapter also includes a *Cultural Focus* box in which an aspect of development in a specific culture is explored in depth—for example, male and female circumcision in North Africa, adolescents' family relationships in India, and young people's sexuality in the Netherlands.

My hope is that students will learn not only that adolescent development can be different depending on the culture, but also how to *think culturally*—that is, how to analyze all aspects of adolescent development for their cultural basis. This includes learning how to critique research for the extent to which it does or does not take the cultural basis of development into account. I provide this kind of critique at numerous points throughout the book, with the intent that students will learn how to do it themselves by the time they finish reading.

Emerging Adulthood

Adolescence is a time of life when many dramatic changes take place, and we are currently in an especially interesting historical moment with respect to this period. Adolescence in our time begins far earlier than it did a century ago, because puberty begins for most people in developed countries at a much earlier age as a result of advances in nutrition and health care. Yet, if we measure the end of adolescence in terms of taking on adult roles such as marriage, parenthood, and stable full-time work, adolescence also ends much later than it has in the past because these transitions are now postponed for many people into at least the mid-twenties.

My own research over the past two decades has focused on development among young Americans from their late teens through their mid-twenties, including Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos, and whites.

I have concluded, on the basis of this research, that this period is not really adolescence, but it is not really adulthood either, not even "young adulthood." In my view, the transition to adulthood has become so prolonged that it constitutes a separate period of the life course in developed countries, lasting about as long as adolescence. This view is now widely held by many other scholars as well. Since I published the first edition of this text in 2001, an entire field of emerging adulthood has sprung up, including a Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA; see www.ssea.org).

Thus, a second distinguishing feature of the conception guiding this textbook is that the age period covered includes not only adolescence (ages 10–18) but also "emerging adulthood," extending from (roughly) ages 18 to 25. I describe this theory in the first chapter and use it as the framework for discussing emerging adulthood in the chapters that follow. The balance of material in each chapter is tilted toward adolescence, but each chapter contains material that pertains to emerging adulthood.

The Historical Context

Given the differences between adolescence now and adolescence in the past, knowledge of the historical context of development is crucial to a complete understanding of this age period. Students will have a richer understanding of adolescent development if they are able to contrast the lives of young people in the present with those of young people in other times. Toward this end, I provide historical material in each chapter. Furthermore, each chapter contains a *Historical Focus* box that describes some aspect of young people's development during a specific historical period—for example, adolescents' family lives during the Great Depression, the "Roaring Twenties" and the rise of youth culture, and work among British adolescents in the 19th century.

An emphasis on the historical context of development is perhaps especially important now, with the accelerating pace of cultural change that has taken place around the world in recent decades because of the influence of globalization. Especially in economically developing countries, the pace of change in recent decades has been dramatic, and young people often find themselves growing up in a culture that is much different from the one their parents grew up in. Globalization is a pervasive influence on the lives of young people today, in ways both promising and troubling, and for this reason I have made it one of the unifying themes of the book.

An Interdisciplinary Approach

The cultural approach and the emphasis on historical context are related to a fourth distinguishing feature of the conception offered in this book, the interdisciplinary approach to theories and research. Psychology is represented abundantly because this is the discipline in which most research on adolescent development takes place. However, I also integrate materials from a wide range of other fields. Much of the theory and research that is the basis for a cultural understanding of adolescence comes from anthropology, so anthropological studies are strongly represented. Students often find this material fascinating because it challenges their assumptions about what they expect adolescence to be like. Interesting and important cultural material on adolescence also comes from sociology, especially with respect to European and Asian societies, and these studies find a place here. The field of history is notably represented, for providing the historical perspective just discussed. Other disciplines included are education, psychiatry, medicine, and family studies.

The integration of materials across disciplines means drawing on a variety of research methods. The reader will find many different research methods represented, from questionnaires and interviews to ethnographic research to biological measurements. Each chapter contains a *Research Focus* box, in which the methods used in a specific study are described. These boxes provide students with detailed examples of how research on adolescence and emerging adulthood is done.

Chapter Topics

My goal of presenting a fresh conception of young people's development has resulted in chapters on topics not as strongly represented in most other textbooks. Most texts have a discussion of moral development, but this book has a chapter on cultural beliefs, including moral development, religious beliefs, political beliefs, and a discussion of individualistic and collectivistic beliefs. The chapter on cultural beliefs provides a good basis for a cultural understanding of adolescent development because it emphasizes how these beliefs shape the socialization that takes place in every other context of development, from family to schools to media. Furthermore, an understanding of the importance of cultural beliefs increases our awareness of how the judgments we make about how adolescents should think and act are almost always rooted in beliefs we have learned in the course of growing up in a particular culture.

Most texts include a discussion of gender issues at various points, and some include a separate chapter on gender, but here there is a chapter that focuses on cultural variations and historical changes in gender roles, in addition to discussions of gender issues in other chapters. Gender is a fundamental aspect of social life in every culture, and the vivid examples of gender roles and expectations in

non-Western cultures should help students to become more aware of how gender acts as a defining framework for young people's development in their own culture as well.

This text also has an entire chapter on work, which is central to the lives of adolescents in developing countries because a high proportion of them are not in school. The work chapter includes extensive discussion of the dangerous and unhealthy work conditions often experienced by adolescents in developing countries. In developed countries, the transition from school to work is an important part of emerging adulthood for most people, and that transition receives special attention in this chapter.

An entire chapter on media is included, with sections on television, music, cigarette advertising, electronic games, the Internet, mobile phones, and social media. Media are a prominent part of young people's lives in most societies today, but this is a topic that receives surprisingly little attention in most other texts. This neglect is puzzling, given that adolescents in developed countries spend more time daily using media than they spend in school, with family, or with friends. I find young people's media uses to be not only an essential topic but a perpetually fascinating one, and students today almost invariably share this fascination because they have been immersed in a media environment while growing up.

One chapter found in most other texts, but not in this one, is a chapter on theories. In my view, having a separate chapter on theories gives students a misleading impression of the purpose and function of theories in the scientific enterprise. Theories and research are intrinsically related, with good theories inspiring research and good research leading to changes and innovations in theories. Presenting theories separately turns theory chapters into a kind of Theory Museum, separate and sealed off from research. Instead, I present theoretical material throughout the book, in relation to the research the theory has been based on and has inspired.

Each chapter contains a number of critical thinking questions under the heading *Thinking Critically*. Critical thinking has become a popular term in academic circles and it has been subject to a variety of definitions, so I should explain how I used the term here. The purpose of the critical thinking questions is to inspire students to attain a higher level of analysis and reflection about the ideas and information in the chapters—higher, that is, than they would be likely to reach simply by reading the chapter. With the critical thinking questions, I seek to encourage students to connect ideas across chapters, to consider hypothetical questions, and to apply the chapter materials to their own lives. Often, the questions have no "right answer." Although they are mainly intended to assist students in attaining a high level of thinking as they read, instructors have told me that the questions also serve as lively material for class discussions or writing assignments.

New to the Sixth Edition

In reviews of earlier editions of this book, instructors and reviewers have consistently mentioned three key strengths: (1) the cultural approach; (2) the inclusion of emerging adulthood along with adolescence; and (3) the quality of the writing. I have sought to enhance those strengths in the sixth edition.

- Research on adolescence around the world is growing, so there is even more cultural information than before. Every chapter in the sixth edition includes new material that will enhance students' understanding of cultural similarities and differences and how the development of adolescents and emerging adults is influenced by the culture they live in.
- Encouraged by the response to the material on emerging adulthood in the previous editions, I have continued to expand it in the sixth edition. Exciting developments in theory and research are taking place in this area, as more and more scholars recognize its importance and turn their attention to it, and I have sought to reflect those developments in this edition. Every chapter includes the latest, most up-to-date theory and research related to emerging adulthood. It has been gratifying to me to see how other texts have now incorporated theory and research on emerging adulthood, but as the originator of the idea I think it is not unreasonable for me to state that if you would like to have the most comprehensive and recent material on emerging adulthood in a textbook you will find it here.

As for the writing style, I have continued to strive to make the book not only highly informative but also lively and fun to read. The best texts achieve both these goals.

In addition to enhancing the aspects of the book that were so favorably received in the previous editions, I have made numerous changes, large and small, to each chapter. Hundreds of new citations from 2012–2016 have been added to this edition, incorporating the most recent findings in the field. Other changes have been made in response to comments and suggestions by instructors who reviewed the fifth edition. Still other changes were made on my own initiative, as I read the chapters before embarking on the sixth edition and made judgments about what should be added, changed, or deleted. For example, I added a section on brain development in emerging adulthood to the chapter on Cognitive Development, and a section on slang to the chapter on Friends and Peers.

I have added new material to the sixth edition, but also deleted material that was in the fifth edition. There is an unfortunate tendency for textbooks to add additional material with each edition, so that eventually they become about as thick as the phone book (and just about as interesting to read). I have tried to head off that tendency early on

by resolving with each edition to make judicious cuts for each addition I make. I hope this approach will continue to make the text both up-to-date and enjoyable to read.

The following are a number of new features added to this edition of the text:

- New, more integrated **learning objectives** appear at the beginning of each chapter to help students better organize and understand the chapter material. These learning objectives are now tied to each of the chapter's subheads.
- A new **chapter summary** summarizes the content of the chapter and ties directly to the chapter learning objectives, ensuring that students understand the chapter's key takeaways.
- New **video selections** enhance the book's content and help to bring it to life.
- **Updated and expanded research on adolescence** around the world is included to enhance students' understanding of cultural similarities and differences and how culture influences development.
- **Updated and expanded theory and research on emerging adulthood** is included, reflecting the exciting scholarly developments happening in the field.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

Learning Objectives

1.1 Describe how views of adolescence changed in the West from ancient Greece through medieval times.

1.2 Explain what life-cycle service involves and specify when it was most common.

1.3 Identify the three features that made the years 1890–1920 the Age of Adolescence.

1.4 Summarize the influences that have led to an earlier beginning and end to adolescence.

1.5 Summarize the five features of emerging adulthood.

1.6 Identify the three markers of adulthood that are the most common across cultures.

1.7 Give examples of how criteria for adulthood vary across cultures.

1.8 Describe the five steps of the scientific method.

1.9 Explain the process that requires that research on adolescents must be done within ethical guidelines.

1.10 Describe the research methods used in research on adolescents and emerging adults.

1.11 Define *reliability* and *validity*, and indicate which is easier to establish and why.

1.12 Explain the difference between a cross-sectional and a longitudinal research design.

1.13 Name the main challenges facing African adolescents in the 21st century, and identify positive cultural traditions and recent trends.

1.14 Explain how Islam structures development for adolescents in North Africa and the Middle East.

1.15 Describe the distinctive features of the cultural context for Asian adolescents.

1.16 Identify the main challenges for Indian adolescents in the 21st century.

1.17 Describe the common features of Latin American countries and the two key issues for today's adolescents there.

1.18 List the common features experienced by adolescents in the countries that make up "the West," and indicate what is distinctive to minority adolescents.

1.19 Describe the disciplines that contribute to a complete understanding of adolescence and emerging adulthood.

1.20 Explain why gender issues are especially prominent in adolescence and emerging adulthood, and summarize the range of gender expectations for adolescents in different cultures.

1.21 Explain why it is important to account for globalization in understanding adolescents and emerging adults.

- In the dim dawn light of a simple reed house in Tehuantepec, Mexico, 16-year-old Conchita leans over an open, barrel-shaped oven. Although it is just dawn, she has already been working for 2 hours making tortillas. It is difficult work, kneeling beside the hot oven, and hazardous, too; she has several scars on her arm from the times she has inadvertently touched the hot steel. She thinks with some resentment of her younger brother, who is still sleeping and who will soon be rising and going off to school. Like most girls in her village, Conchita can neither read nor write because it is only the boys who go to school.

  She finds consolation in looking ahead to the afternoon, when she will be allowed to go to the center of town to sell the tortillas she has made beyond those that her family will need that day. There she will see her girlfriends, who will be selling tortillas and other things for their families. And there she hopes to see the boy who spoke to her, just a few words, in the town square two Sunday evenings ago. The following Sunday evening she saw him waiting in the street across from her home, a sure sign that he is courting her. But her parents would not allow her out, so she hopes to get a glimpse of him in town.
- In a suburban home in Highland Park, Illinois, USA, 14-year-old Jodie is standing before the mirror in her bedroom with a dismayed look, trying to decide whether to change her clothes again before she goes to school. She has already changed once, from the blue sweater and white skirt to the yellow-and-white blouse and blue jeans, but now she is having second thoughts. "I look awful," she thinks to herself. "I'm getting so fat!" For the past 3 years her body has been changing rapidly, and now she is alarmed to find it becoming rounder and larger seemingly with each day. Vaguely she hears her mother calling her from downstairs, probably urging her to hurry up and leave for school, but she is listening to a Pink song so loud it drowns out what her mother is saying. "I'm not here for your entertainment," Pink sings. "You don't really wanna mess with me tonight."
- In Amakiri, Nigeria, 18-year-old Omiebi is walking to school. He is walking quickly, because it is almost time for school to begin and he does not want to be one of the students who arrive after morning assembly has started and are grouped together and made to kneel throughout the assembly. Up ahead he sees several of his fellow students, easily identifiable by the gray uniforms they are all required to wear, and he breaks into a trot to join them. They greet him, and together they continue walking. They joke nervously about the exam coming up for the West African School Certificate. Performance on that exam will determine who is allowed to go on to university.

  Omiebi is feeling a great deal of pressure to do well on the exam. He is the oldest child of his family, and his parents have high expectations that he will go to university and become a lawyer, then help his three younger brothers go to university or find good jobs in Lagos, the nearest big city. Omiebi is not really sure he wants to be a lawyer, and he would find it difficult to leave the girl he has recently begun seeing. However, he likes the idea of moving away from tiny Amakiri to the university in Lagos, where, he has heard, all the homes have electricity and all the latest American movies are showing in the theaters. He and his friends break into a run over the last stretch, barely making it to school and joining their classes before the assembly starts.

THREE ADOLESCENTS, IN THREE DIFFERENT CULTURES, with three very different lives. Yet all are adolescents: All have left childhood but have not yet reached adulthood; all are developing into physical and sexual maturity and learning the skills that will enable them to take part in the adult world.

Although all of them are adolescents, what makes these three adolescents so different is that they are growing up in three distinct cultures. Throughout this text we will take a cultural approach to understanding development in adolescence by examining the ways that cultures differ in what they allow adolescents to do and what they require them to do, the different things that cultures teach adolescents to believe, and the different patterns that cultures provide for adolescents' daily lives. Adolescence is a cultural construction, not simply a biological phenomenon. Puberty—the set of biological changes involved in reaching physical and sexual maturity—is universal, and the same biological changes take place in puberty for young people everywhere, although with differences in timing and in cultural meanings. But adolescence is more than the events and processes of puberty. *Adolescence* is a life stage between the time puberty begins and the time adult status is approached, when young people are preparing to take on the roles and responsibilities of adulthood in their culture. To say that adolescence is culturally constructed means that cultures vary in how they define adult status and in the content of the adult roles and responsibilities adolescents are learning to fulfill. Almost all cultures have some kind of adolescence, but the length and content and daily experiences of adolescence vary greatly among cultures (Larson, Wilson, & Rickman, 2010).

In this chapter we will lay a foundation for understanding the cultural basis of adolescence by beginning with a look at how adolescence has changed throughout the history of Western cultures. Historical change is also cultural change; for example, the United States of the early 21st century is different culturally from the United States of 1900 or 1800. Seeing how adolescence changes as a culture changes will emphasize the cultural basis of adolescence.

Another way this chapter will lay the foundation for the rest of the text is by introducing the concept of *emerging adulthood.* This text not only covers adolescence (roughly ages 10 to 18) but emerging adulthood (roughly ages 18 to 25). Emerging adulthood is a new idea, a new way of thinking about this age period. In this chapter, I describe what it means. Each chapter that follows will contain information about emerging adulthood as well as adolescence.

"The adolescent stage has long seemed to me one of the most fascinating of all themes. These years are the best decade of life…. It is a state from which some of the bad, but far more of the good qualities of life and mind arise."

—G. STANLEY HALL, *ADOLESCENCE* (1904), PP. XVIII, 351.

This chapter also sets the stage for what follows by discussing the scientific study of adolescence and emerging adulthood. I will present some of the basic features of the scientific method as it is applied in research on these age periods. It is important to understand adolescence and emerging adulthood not just as stages of the life span but as areas of scientific inquiry, with certain standard methods and certain conventions for determining what is valid and what is not.

Finally, this chapter will provide the foundation for the chapters to come by previewing the major themes and the framework of the text. This will introduce you to themes that will be repeated often in subsequent chapters and will let you know where we are headed through the course of the text. Special attention will be given to the cultural approach that is central to this text, by presenting an overview of adolescence in various regions of the world.

Adolescence in Western Cultures: A Brief History

Seeing how people in other times have viewed adolescence provides a useful perspective for understanding how adolescence is viewed in our own time. In this brief historical survey, we begin with ancient times, 2,500 years ago, and proceed through the early 20th century.

Adolescence in Ancient Times

1.1 Describe how views of adolescence changed in the West from ancient Greece through medieval times.

Ideas about **adolescence** as a stage of the life course go back a long way in the history of Western cultures (Levi & Schmitt, 1997). In ancient Greece (4th and 5th centuries B.C.), the source of so many ideas that influenced Western history, both Plato and Aristotle viewed adolescence as the third distinct stage of life, after infancy (birth to age 7) and childhood (ages 7 to 14). In their framework, adolescence extended from ages 14 to 21. Both of them viewed adolescence as the stage of life in which the capacity for reason first developed. Writing (in about 380 B.C.) in *The Republic*, Plato argued that serious education should begin only at adolescence. Before age 7, according to Plato, there is no point in education because the mind is too undeveloped to learn much, and during childhood (ages 7 to 14) education should focus on sports and music, which children can grasp. Education in science and math should be delayed until adolescence, when the mind is finally ready to apply reason in learning these subjects.

adolescence

A period of the life course between the time puberty begins and the time adult status is approached, when young people are in the process of preparing to take on the roles and responsibilities of adulthood in their culture.

"The young are in character prone to desire and ready to carry any desire they may have formed into action. Of bodily desires it is the sexual to which they are most disposed to give way, and in regard to sexual desire they exercise no self-restraint."

—ARISTOTLE, *RHETORIC*, CA. 330 B.C.

Aristotle, who was a student of Plato's during his own adolescence, had a view of adolescence that was in some ways similar to Plato's. Aristotle viewed children as similar to animals, in that both are ruled by the impulsive pursuit of pleasure. It is only in adolescence that we become capable of exercising reason and making rational choices. However, Aristotle argued that it takes the entire course of adolescence for reason to become fully established. At the beginning of adolescence, in his view, the impulses remain in charge and even become more problematic now that sexual desires have developed. It is only toward the end of adolescence—about age 21, according to Aristotle—that reason establishes firm control over the impulses.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Plato and Aristotle argued that young people are not capable of reason until at least age 14. Give an example of how the question of when young people are capable of reason is still an issue in our time.

A similar focus on the struggle between reason and passion in adolescence can be found in early Christianity. One of the most famous and influential books of early Christianity was Saint Augustine's autobiographical *Confessions*, which he wrote in about A.D. 400. In his *Confessions*, Augustine describes his life from early childhood until his conversion to Christianity at age 33. A considerable portion of the autobiography focuses on his teens and early 20s, when he was a reckless young man living an impulsive, pleasure-seeking life. He drank large quantities of alcohol, spent money extravagantly, had sex with many young women, and fathered a child outside of marriage. In the autobiography, he repents his reckless youth and argues that conversion to Christianity is the key not only to eternal salvation but to the rule of reason over passion here on earth, within the individual.

"For this space then (from my nineteenth year, to my eight and twentieth), we lived seduced and seducing, deceived and deceiving, in diverse lusts."

—AUGUSTINE, *CONFESSIONS*, A.D. 400

Over the following millennium, from Augustine's time through the Middle Ages, the historical record on adolescence is sparse, as it is on most topics. However, one well-documented event that sheds some light on the history of adolescence is the "Children's Crusade," which took place in 1212. Despite its name, it was composed mostly of young people in their teens, including many university students (Sommerville, 1982). In those days, university students were younger than today, usually entering between ages 13 and 15.

The young crusaders set out from Germany for the Mediterranean coast, believing that when they arrived there the waters would part for them as the Red Sea had for Moses. They would then walk over to the Holy Land (Jerusalem and the areas where Jesus had lived), where they would appeal to the Muslims to allow Christian pilgrims to visit the holy sites. Adults, attempting to take the Holy Land by military force, had already conducted several Crusades. The Children's Crusade was an attempt to appeal to the Muslims in peace, inspired by the belief that Jesus had decreed that the Holy Land could be gained only through the innocence of youth.

Unfortunately, the "innocence" of the young people—their lack of knowledge and experience—made them a ripe target for the unscrupulous. Many of them were robbed, raped, or kidnapped along the way. When the remainder arrived at the Mediterranean Sea, the sea did not open

During the Children's Crusade, European adolescents attempted to travel to Jerusalem, with disastrous results.

after all, and the shipowners who promised to take them across sold them instead to the Muslims as slaves. The Children's Crusade was a total disaster, but the fact that it was undertaken at all suggests that many people of that era viewed adolescence as a time of innocence and saw that innocence as possessing a special value and power.

"The very children put us to shame. While we sleep they go forth joyfully to conquer the Holy Land."

—POPE INNOCENT III, 1212, REFERRING TO THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

Adolescence from 1500 to 1890

1.2 Explain what life-cycle service involves and specify when it was most common.

Beginning in about 1500, many young people in European societies took part in what historians term **life-cycle service**, a period in their late teens and 20s in which young people would engage in domestic service, farm service, or apprenticeships in various trades and crafts (Ben-Amos, 1994). Life-cycle service involved moving out of the family household and into the household of a "master" to whom the young person was in service for a period lasting (typically) 7 years. Young women were somewhat less likely than young men to engage in life-cycle service, but even among women a majority left home during adolescence, most often to take part in life-cycle service as a servant in a family. Life-cycle service also was common in the United States in the early colonial period in New England (beginning in the 17th century), but in colonial New England such service usually took place in the home of a relative or family friend (Rotundo, 1993).

Life-cycle service was common in Western countries from about 1500 to about 1800. This woodcut shows a printer's apprentice.

life-cycle service

A period in their late teens and 20s in which young people from the 16th to the 19th century engaged in domestic service, farm service, or apprenticeships in various trades and crafts.

In the young United States, the nature of adolescence soon began to change. Life-cycle service faded during the 18th and 19th centuries. As the American population grew and the national economy became less based in farming and more industrialized, young people increasingly left their small towns in their late teens for the growing cities. In the cities, without ties to a family or community, young people soon became regarded as a social problem in many respects. Rates of crime, premarital sex, and alcohol use among young people all increased in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). In response, new institutions of social control developed—religious associations, literary societies, YMCAs, and YWCAs—where young people were monitored by adults (Kett, 1977). This approach worked remarkably well: In the second half of the 19th century, rates of crime, premarital pregnancies, alcohol use, and other problems among young people all dropped sharply (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

The Age of Adolescence, 1890–1920

1.3 Identify the three features that made the years 1890–1920 the Age of Adolescence.

Although I have been using the term *adolescence* in this brief history for the sake of clarity and consistency, it was only toward the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that *adolescence* became a widely used term (Kett, 1977). Before this time, young people in their teens and early 20s were more often referred to as *youth* or simply as young men and young women (Modell & Goodman, 1990). However, toward the end of the 19th century important changes took place in Western countries that made a change of terms appropriate.

In the United States and other Western countries, the years 1890–1920 were crucial in establishing the characteristics of modern adolescence. Key changes during these years included the enactment of laws restricting child labor, new requirements for children to attend secondary school, and the development of the field of adolescence as an area of scholarly study. For these reasons, historians call the years 1890–1920 the "Age of Adolescence" (Tyack, 1990).

Toward the end of the 19th century, the industrial revolution was proceeding at full throttle in the United States and other Western countries. There was a tremendous demand for labor to staff the mines, shops, and factories. Adolescents and even preadolescent children were

Key Terms to Know

Here are some terms used throughout the text that you should be sure to know.

Culture	**Culture** is the total pattern of a group's customs, beliefs, art, and technology. Thus, a culture is a group's common way of life, passed on from one generation to the next.
The West	The United States, Canada, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand make up the West. They are all developed countries, they are all representative democracies with similar kinds of governments, and they share to some extent a common cultural history. Today, they are all characterized by secularism, consumerism, and capitalism, to one degree or another. **The West** usually refers to the majority culture in each of the countries, but each country also has cultural groups that do not share the characteristics of the majority culture and may even be in opposition to it.
Developed countries	The term **developed countries** includes the countries of the West along with Eastern countries such as Japan and South Korea. All of them have highly developed economies that have passed through a period of industrialization and are now based mainly on services (such as law, banking, sales, and accounting) and information (such as computer-related companies).
Majority culture	The majority culture in any given society is the culture that sets most of the norms and standards and holds most of the positions of political, economic, intellectual, and media power. The term **American majority culture** will be used often in this text to refer to the mostly White, middle-class majority in American society.
Society	A **society** is a group of people who interact in the course of sharing a common geographical area. A single society may include a variety of cultures with different customs, religions, family traditions, and economic practices. Thus, a society is different from a culture: Members of a culture share a common way of life, whereas members of a society may not. For example, American society includes a variety of different cultures, such as the American majority culture, African American culture, Latino cultures, and Asian American cultures. All Americans share certain characteristics by virtue of being Americans—for example, they are all subject to the same laws, and they go to similar schools—but there are differences among these groups that make them culturally distinct.
Traditional cultures	The term **traditional culture** refers to a culture that has maintained a way of life based on stable traditions passed from one generation to the next. These cultures do not generally value change but rather place a higher value on remaining true to cultural traditions. Often, traditional cultures are "preindustrial," which means that the technology and economic practices typical in developed countries are not widely used. However, this is not always true; Japan, for example, is still in many ways traditional, even though it is also one of the most highly industrialized countries in the world. When we use the term *traditional cultures*, this does not imply that all such cultures are alike. They differ in a variety of ways, but they have in common that they are firmly grounded in a relatively stable cultural tradition, and for that reason they provide a distinct contrast to the cultures of the West.
Developing countries	Most previously traditional, preindustrial cultures are becoming industrialized today as a consequence of globalization. The term **developing countries** is used to refer to countries where this process is taking place. Examples include most of the countries of Africa and South America, as well as Asian countries such as Thailand and Vietnam.
Socioeconomic status	The term **socioeconomic status (SES)** is often used to refer to social class, which includes educational level, income level, and occupational status. For adolescents and emerging adults, because they have not yet reached the social class level they will have as adults, SES is usually used in reference to their parents' levels of education, income, and occupation.
Young people	In this text the term **young people** is used as shorthand to refer to adolescents and emerging adults together.

culture

The total pattern of a group's distinctive way of life, including customs, art, technologies, and beliefs.

the West

Cultural group of countries that includes the United States, Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Distinctive characteristics include stable democracies, secularism, consumerism, and individualism.

developed countries

Economic classification that includes the wealthy countries of the world, comprising about 18% of the total world population.

American majority culture

Cultural sector of American society, mostly White, that has the most economic and political power and sets most of the norms and standards.

society

A group of people who interact in the course of sharing a common geographical area. A single society may include a variety of cultures with different customs, religions, family traditions, and economic practices.

traditional culture

Culture that adheres to long-established beliefs and practices. Usually not economically developed.

developing countries

Economic classification that includes the less-wealthy countries of the world, in the process of economic development, comprising about 82% of the total world population.

socioeconomic status (SES)

Classification of social class and economic status, including educational attainment and occupational status.

young people

Term that includes adolescents as well as emerging adults, across a broad age range of 10 to 25.

During the 19th century, adolescents often worked under difficult and unhealthy conditions, such as in this coal mine. Why did laws in early 20th century begin to exclude them from adult work?

Laws requiring children to attend school were passed in the early 20th century.

especially in demand, because they could be hired cheaply. The 1900 U.S. census reported that three-quarters of a million children age 10 to 13 were employed in factories, mines, and other industrial work settings. Few states had laws restricting the ages of children in the workplace, even for work such as coal mining (Tyack, 1990). Nor did many states restrict the number of hours children or adults could work, so children often worked 12-hour days for as little as 35¢ a day.

As more and more young people entered the workplace, however, concern for them also increased among urban reformers, youth workers, and educators. In the view of these adults, the young people were being exploited and harmed (physically and morally) by their involvement in adult work. These activists successfully fought for legislation that prohibited companies from hiring preteen children and severely limited the number of hours young people could work in their early teens (Kett, 1977).

Along with laws restricting child labor came laws requiring a longer period of schooling. Up until the late 19th century, many states did not have any laws requiring children to attend school, and those that did required attendance only through primary school (Tyack, 1990). However, between 1890 and 1920 states began to pass laws requiring attendance not only in primary school but in secondary school as well. As a consequence, the proportion of adolescents in school increased dramatically; in 1890, only 5% of young people age 14 to 17 were in school, but by 1920 this figure had risen to 30% (Arnett & Taber, 1994). This change contributed to making this time the Age of Adolescence because it marked a more distinct separation between adolescence as a period of continued schooling and adulthood as a period that begins after schooling is finished.

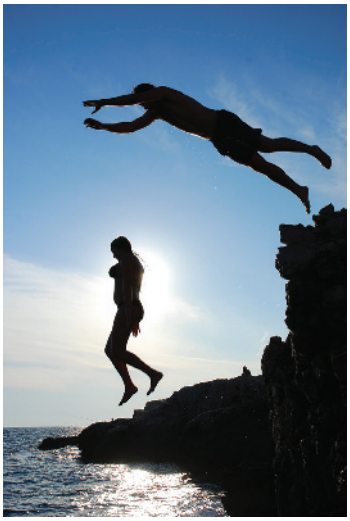
The third major contributor to making the years 1890–1920 the Age of Adolescence was the work of G. Stanley Hall and the beginning of the study of adolescence as a distinct field (Modell & Goodman, 1990). Hall (1904) wrote the first textbook on adolescence, published in 1904 as a two-volume set ambitiously titled *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education.* Hall's text covered a wide range of topics, such as physical health and development, adolescence cross-culturally and historically, and adolescent love. A surprising number of Hall's observations have been verified by recent research, such as his description of biological development during puberty, his assertion that depressed mood tends to peak in the mid-teens, and his claim that adolescence is a time of heightened responsiveness to peers (Arnett, 2006a). However, much of what he wrote is dated and obsolete (Youniss, 2006). To a large extent, he based his ideas on the now-discredited theory of **recapitulation**, which held that the development of each individual recapitulates or reenacts the evolutionary development of the human species as a whole. He believed the stage of adolescence reflected a stage in the human evolutionary past when there was a great deal of upheaval and disorder, with the result that adolescents today experience a great deal of **storm and stress** as a standard part of their development. (For more on the "storm and stress" debate, see the Historical Focus box.) No reputable scholar today adheres to the theory of recapitulation. Nevertheless, Hall did a great deal to focus attention and concern on adolescents, not only among scholars but among the public at large. Thus, he was perhaps the most important figure in making the years 1890–1920 the Age of Adolescence.

Historical Focus

THE "STORM AND STRESS" DEBATE

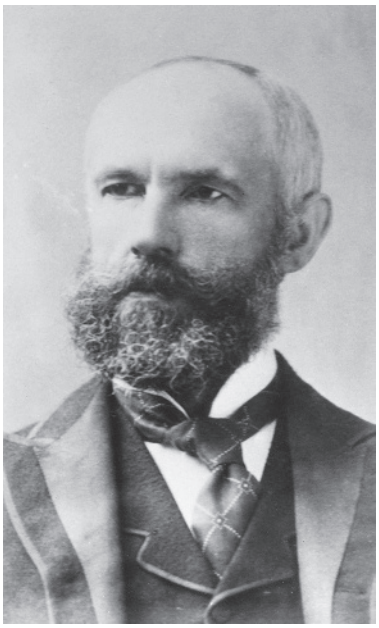
One of G. Stanley Hall's ideas that is still debated today among scholars is his claim that adolescence is inevitably a time of storm and stress. According to Hall, it is normal for adolescence to be a time of considerable upheaval and disruption. As Hall described it (Arnett, 1999), adolescent storm and stress is reflected in especially high rates of three types of difficulties during the adolescent period: conflict with parents, mood disruptions, and risk behavior (such as substance use and crime).

Hall (1904) favored the **Lamarckian** evolutionary ideas that many prominent thinkers in the early 20th century considered to be a better explanation of evolution than Darwin's theory of natural selection. In Lamarck's now-discredited theory, evolution takes place as a result of accumulated experience. Organisms pass on their characteristics from one generation to the next not in the form of genes (which were unknown at the time Lamarck and Darwin devised their theories) but in the form of memories and acquired characteristics. These memories and acquired characteristics would then be reenacted or *recapitulated* in the development of each individual in future generations. Thus Hall, considering development during adolescence, judged it to be "suggestive of some ancient period of storm and stress" (1904, vol. 1, p. xiii). In his view, there must have been a period of human evolution that was extremely difficult and tumultuous; ever since, the memory of that period had been passed from one generation to the next and was recapitulated in the development of each individual as the storm and stress of adolescent development.



Risk behavior peaks in late adolescence and emerging adulthood.

In the century since Hall's work established adolescence as an area of scientific study, the debate over adolescent storm and stress has simmered steadily and boiled to the surface periodically. Anthropologists, led by Margaret Mead (1928), countered Hall's claim that a tendency toward storm and stress in adolescence is universal and biological by describing non-Western cultures in which adolescence was neither stormy



G. Stanley Hall, the founder of the scholarly study of adolescence.

This brief history of adolescence provides only a taste of what adolescence has been like in various eras of history. However, because the history of adolescence is one of the themes of this text, historical information will appear in every chapter.

From Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood

"I don't feel completely like an adult, because I still sometimes get up in the morning and say, 'Good Lord! I'm actually a grown up!' 'Cause I still feel like a kid. I've done things like just got up one morning and said, you know, 'I'm going to Mexico' and just get up and go. And I should have been doing other things."

—TERRELL, AGE 23.

"I feel like I'm much further toward adulthood than I was when I started college. I've made this huge jump, I think, in just being

Lamarckian

Reference to Lamarck's ideas, popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, that evolution takes place as a result of accumulated experience such that organisms pass on their characteristics from one generation to the next in the form of memories and acquired characteristics.

nor stressful. In contrast, psychoanalytic theorists, particularly Anna Freud (1946, 1958, 1968, 1969), have been the most outspoken proponents of the storm and stress view.

Anna Freud viewed adolescents who did not experience storm and stress with great suspicion, claiming that their outward calm concealed the inward reality that they must have "built up excessive defenses against their drive activities and are now crippled by the results" (1968, p. 15). She viewed storm and stress as universal and inevitable, to the extent that its absence signified a serious psychological problem: "To be normal during the adolescent period is by itself abnormal" (1958, p. 267).

What does more recent scholarship indicate about the validity of the storm and stress view? A clear consensus exists among current scholars that the storm and stress view proposed by Hall and made more extreme by Anna Freud and other psychoanalysts is not valid for most adolescents (Arnett, 1999; Susman et al., 2003). The claim that storm and stress is characteristic of all adolescents, and that the source of it is purely biological, is clearly false. Scholars today tend to emphasize that most adolescents like and respect their parents, that for most adolescents their mood disruptions are not so extreme that they need psychological treatment, and that most of them do not engage in risk behavior on a regular basis.

On the other hand, studies in recent decades have also indicated some support for what might be called a "modified" storm and stress view (Arnett, 1999). Research evidence supports the existence of some degree of storm and stress with respect to conflict with parents, mood disruptions, and risk behavior. Not all adolescents experience storm and stress in these areas, but adolescence is a period when storm and stress is more likely to occur than at other ages. Conflict with parents tends to be higher in adolescence than before or after adolescence (Hofer et al., 2013; Van Doorn et al., 2011). Adolescents report greater extremes of mood and more frequent changes of mood, compared with preadolescents or adults (Larson & Richards, 1994), and depressed mood is more common in adolescence than it is in childhood or adulthood (Bond et al., 2005; Petersen et al., 1993). Rates of most types of risk behavior rise sharply during adolescence and peak during late adolescence or emerging adulthood. The different aspects of storm and stress have different peak ages: conflict with parents in early to midadolescence, mood disruptions in midadolescence, and risk behavior in late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Arnett, 1999).

We will explore each aspect of storm and stress in more detail in later chapters. For now, however, it should be emphasized that even though evidence supports a modified storm and stress view, this does not mean that storm and stress is typical of all adolescents in all places and times. Cultures vary in the degree of storm and stress experienced by their adolescents, with storm and stress relatively low in traditional cultures and relatively high in Western cultures (Arnett, 1999). Also, within every culture, individuals vary in the amount of adolescent storm and stress they experience.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you agree or disagree with the view that adolescence is inevitably a time of storm and stress? Specify what you mean by storm and stress, and explain the basis for your view.

more comfortable with myself and just being more settled with myself. But then there are a lot of areas where I still haven't figured all this stuff out, and there's still so much more to figure out. Like, when people call me 'maam,' I'm like 'Whoa!' So, not really totally yet."

—SHELLY, AGE 22 (FROM ARNETT, 2015, P. 322).

In the various eras of history described in the previous section, when people referred to adolescents (or youth or whatever term a particular era or society used), they usually indicated that they meant not just the early teen years but the late teens and into the 20s as well. When G. Stanley Hall (1904) initiated the scientific study of adolescence early in the 20th century, he defined the age range of adolescence as beginning at 14 and ending at 24 (Hall, 1904, vol. 1, p. xix). In contrast, today's scholars generally consider adolescence to begin at about age 10 and end by about age 18. Studies published in the major journals on adolescence rarely include samples with ages higher than 18 (Arnett, 2000a). What happened between Hall's time and our own to move scholars' conceptions of adolescence forward chronologically in the life course? As we'll see in this section, two changes stand out as explanations.

Adolescence Arrives Earlier

1.4 Summarize the influences that have led to an earlier beginning and end to adolescence.

One change that has led to an earlier beginning of adolescence is the decline that took place during the 20th century in the typical age of the initiation of puberty. At the beginning of the 20th century, the median age of

recapitulation

Now-discredited theory that held that the development of each individual recapitulates the evolutionary development of the human species as a whole.

storm and stress

Theory promoted by G. Stanley Hall asserting that adolescence is inevitably a time of mood disruptions, conflict with parents, and antisocial behavior.

Research Focus

THE "MONITORING THE FUTURE" STUDY

One of the best known and most enduring studies of adolescents in the United States is the Monitoring the Future (MTF) study conducted by the University of Michigan. Beginning in 1975, every year the MTF study has surveyed thousands of American adolescents on a wide range of topics, including substance use, political and social attitudes, and gender roles. The survey involves about 50,000 adolescents annually in the 8th, 10th, and 12th grades in 420 schools.

This kind of study is called a *national survey*. A **survey** is a study that involves asking people questions about their opinions, beliefs, or behavior. Usually, closed questions are used, meaning that participants are asked to select from a predetermined set of responses, so that their responses can be easily added and compared.

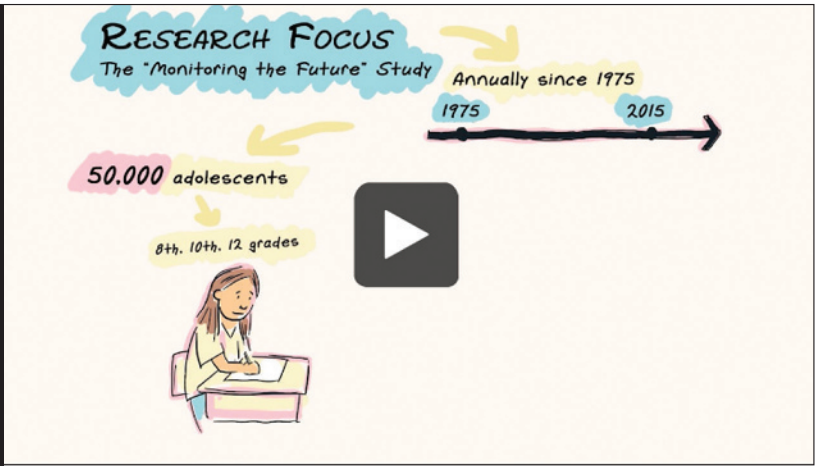
A national survey does not mean, of course, that every person in the country is asked the survey questions! Instead, as this chapter describes, researchers seek a sample—that is, a relatively small number of people whose responses are taken to represent the larger population from which they are drawn. Usually, national surveys such as the one described here use a procedure called **stratified sampling**, in which they select participants so that various categories of people are represented in proportions equal to their presence in the population (Goodwin, 2009). For example, if we know that 52% of 13- to 17-year-olds in the United States are female, we want the sample to be 52% female; if we know that 13% of 13- to 17-year-olds are African American, the sample should be 13% African American; and so on. The categories used to select a stratified sample often include age, gender, ethnic group, education, and socioeconomic status.

The other characteristic of a national survey is usually that the stratified sample is also a **random sample**, meaning that the people selected for participation in the study are chosen randomly—no one in the population has a better or worse chance of being selected than anyone else. You could do this by putting all possible participants' names in a hat and pulling out as many participants as you needed or by paging through a phone book and putting your finger down in random places, but these days the selection of a random sample for national surveys is usually done by a computer program. Selecting a random sample enhances the likelihood that the sample will be genuinely representative of the larger population. The MTF study selects a random sample of 350 students within each school. In addition, a random sample of MTF participants is followed biennially beyond high school, extending into the early 30s.

Although the MTF study includes many topics, it is best known for its findings regarding substance use. We will examine these findings in detail in Chapter 13.

Watch THE "MONITORING THE FUTURE" STUDY

Video



survey
A questionnaire study that involves asking a large number of people questions about their opinions, beliefs, or behavior.

stratified sampling
Sampling technique in which researchers select participants so that various categories of people are represented in proportions equal to their presence in the population.

random sample
Sampling technique in which the people selected for participation in a study are chosen randomly, meaning that no one in the population has a better or worse chance of being selected than anyone else.

The author in three periods: early adolescence (ages 10 to 14), late adolescence (ages 15 to 18), and emerging adulthood (ages 18 to 25).

menarche (a girl's first menstruation) in Western countries was about 15 (Eveleth & Tanner, 1990). Because menarche takes place relatively late in the typical sequence of pubertal changes, this means that the initial changes of puberty would have begun at ages 13 to 15 (usually earlier for girls than for boys), which is just where Hall designated the beginning of adolescence. However, the median age of menarche (and, by implication, other pubertal changes) declined steadily between 1900 and 1970 before leveling out, so that by now the typical age of menarche in Western countries is 12.5 (Sørensen et al., 2012). The initial changes of puberty begin about 2 years earlier, thus the designation of adolescence as beginning at about age 10.

As for when adolescence ends, the change in this age may have been inspired not by a biological change but by a social change: the growth of secondary school attendance to a normative experience for adolescents in the United States and other Western countries. As noted previously, in 1890 only 5% of Americans age 14 to 17 were enrolled in high school. However, this proportion rose steeply and steadily throughout the 20th century, reaching 95% by 1985, where it has remained (Arnett & Taber, 1994; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2016). Because attending high school is now nearly universal among American adolescents and because high school usually ends by age 18, it makes sense for scholars studying American adolescents to place the end of adolescence at age 18. Hall did not choose 18 as the end of adolescence because for most adolescents of his time no significant transition took place at that age. Education ended earlier, work began earlier, and leaving home took place later. Marriage and parenthood did not take place for most people until their early to mid-20s (Arnett & Taber, 1994), which may have been why Hall designated age 24 as the end of adolescence.

Hall viewed the late teens and early 20s as an especially interesting time of life. I agree, and I think it would be a mistake to cut off our study of adolescence in this book at age 18. A great deal happens in the late teens and early 20s that is related to development earlier in adolescence and that has important implications for the path that development takes in adulthood. I have termed this period **emerging adulthood**, and I consider it to include roughly the ages 18 to 25 (Arnett, 1998, 2000a, 2004a, 2006b, 2007a, 2011, 2015).

Distinctive Features of Emerging Adulthood

1.5 Summarize the five features of emerging adulthood.

Five characteristics distinguish emerging adulthood from other age periods (Arnett, 2004, 2006a, 2015; Reifman et al., 2006). Emerging adulthood is a time of

1. identity explorations;
2. instability;
3. self-focus;
4. feeling in-between; and
5. possibilities/optimism.

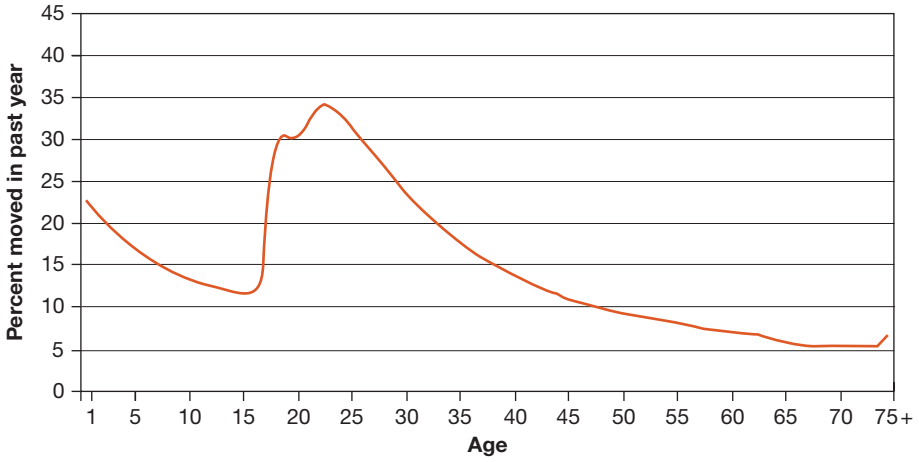
Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of emerging adulthood is that it is a time of *identity explorations*. That is, it is an age when people explore various possibilities

menarche
A girl's first menstrual period.

emerging adulthood
Period from roughly ages 18 to 25 in industrialized countries during which young people become more independent from parents and explore various life possibilities before making enduring commitments.

Figure 1.1 Rate of residential change by age. Why does the rate peak in emerging adulthood?

SOURCE: Benetsky, Burd, & Rapino (2015).



in love and work as they move toward making enduring choices. Through trying out these possibilities they develop a more definite identity, including an understanding of who they are, what their capabilities and limitations are, what their beliefs and values are, and how they fit into the society around them. Erik Erikson (1950), who was the first to develop the idea of identity, asserted that it is mainly an issue in adolescence. However, that was over 60 years ago, and today it is mainly in emerging adulthood that identity explorations take place (Arnett, 2000a, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2005).

The explorations of emerging adulthood also make it a time of *instability*. As emerging adults explore possibilities in love and work, their lives are often unstable. A good illustration of this instability is their frequent moves from one residence to another. As **Figure 1.1** illustrates, rates of residential change in American society are much higher at ages 18 to 25 than at any other period of life. This reflects the explorations going on in emerging adults' lives. Some move out of their parents' household for the first time in their late teens to attend a residential college, whereas others move out simply to be independent (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). They may move again when they drop out of college or when they graduate. They may move to cohabit with a romantic partner and then move out when the relationship ends. Some move to another part of the country or the world to study or work. For nearly half of American and Canadian emerging adults, residential change includes moving back in with their parents at least once (Fry, 2013; Mitchell, 2007). In some countries, for example in southern Europe, emerging adults remain home rather than moving out; nevertheless, they may still experience instability in education, work, and love relationships (Douglass, 2005, 2007; Moreno-Minguez et al., 2012).

Emerging adulthood is also a *self-focused* period. Most American emerging adults move out of their parents' home at age 18 or 19 and do not marry and have their first child until at least their late 20s (Arnett, 2015). Even in countries where emerging adults remain home through their early 20s, such as in southern Europe and Asian countries, they establish a more independent lifestyle than they had as adolescents (Rosenberger, 2007). Emerging adulthood is a time in between adolescents' reliance on parents and adults' long-term commitments in love and work. During these years emerging adults focus on themselves as they develop the knowledge, skills, and self-understanding they will need for adult life. In the course of emerging adulthood, they learn to make independent decisions about everything from what to have for dinner to whether to go to graduate school.

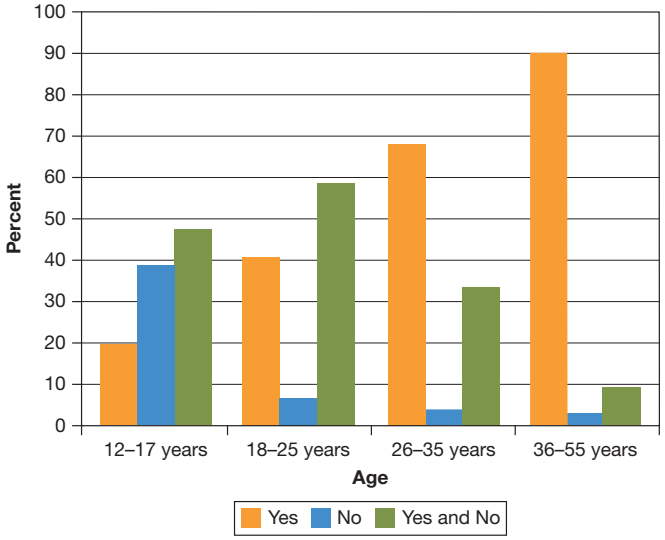
There is nothing wrong with being self-focused during emerging adulthood. It is normal, healthy, and temporary. It does not mean emerging adults are selfish. The goal of their self-focusing is learning to stand alone as self-sufficient people, but emerging adults do not see self-sufficiency as a permanent state. Rather, they view it as a necessary step before committing themselves to lasting relationships with others, in love and work.

Another distinctive feature of emerging adulthood is that it is a time of *feeling in-between*, not adolescent but not fully adult either. When asked, "Do you feel that you have reached adulthood?" the majority of emerging adults in most countries respond neither yes nor no but with the ambiguous "in some ways yes, in some ways no" (Arnett, 1994a, 1997, 1998a, 2000a, 2001a, 2015; Nelson & Luster, 2015). As **Figure 1.2** illustrates, it is only when people reach their late 20s and early 30s that a clear majority of Americans feel they have reached adulthood. Most emerging adults have the subjective feeling of being in a transitional phase of life, on the way to adulthood but not there yet. This in-between feeling in emerging adulthood has been found in a wide range of countries (Nelson & Luster, 2015), including Argentina (Facio & Micocci, 2003), Austria (Sirsch et al., 2009), Israel (Mayseless & Scharf, 2003), the Czech Republic (Macek et al., 2007), and China (Nelson et al., 2004).

Finally, emerging adulthood is the age of *possibilities*, when many different futures remain possible, when little about a person's direction in life has been decided for

Figure 1.2 Age differences in response to the question "Do you feel that you have reached adulthood?"

SOURCE: Arnett (2015).



certain. It tends to be an age of optimism, of high hopes and great expectations, in part because few of their dreams have been tested in the fires of real life. In one national survey of 18- to 29-year-olds in the United States, nearly all—89%—agreed with the statement "I am confident that eventually I will get what I want out of life" (Arnett, 2015). The dreary, dead-end jobs, the bitter divorces, the disappointing and disrespectful children that some of them will find themselves experiencing in the years to come—few of them imagine in emerging adulthood that this is what the future holds. This optimism in emerging adulthood has been found in other countries as well (Arnett et al., 2009; Nelson & Chen, 2007).

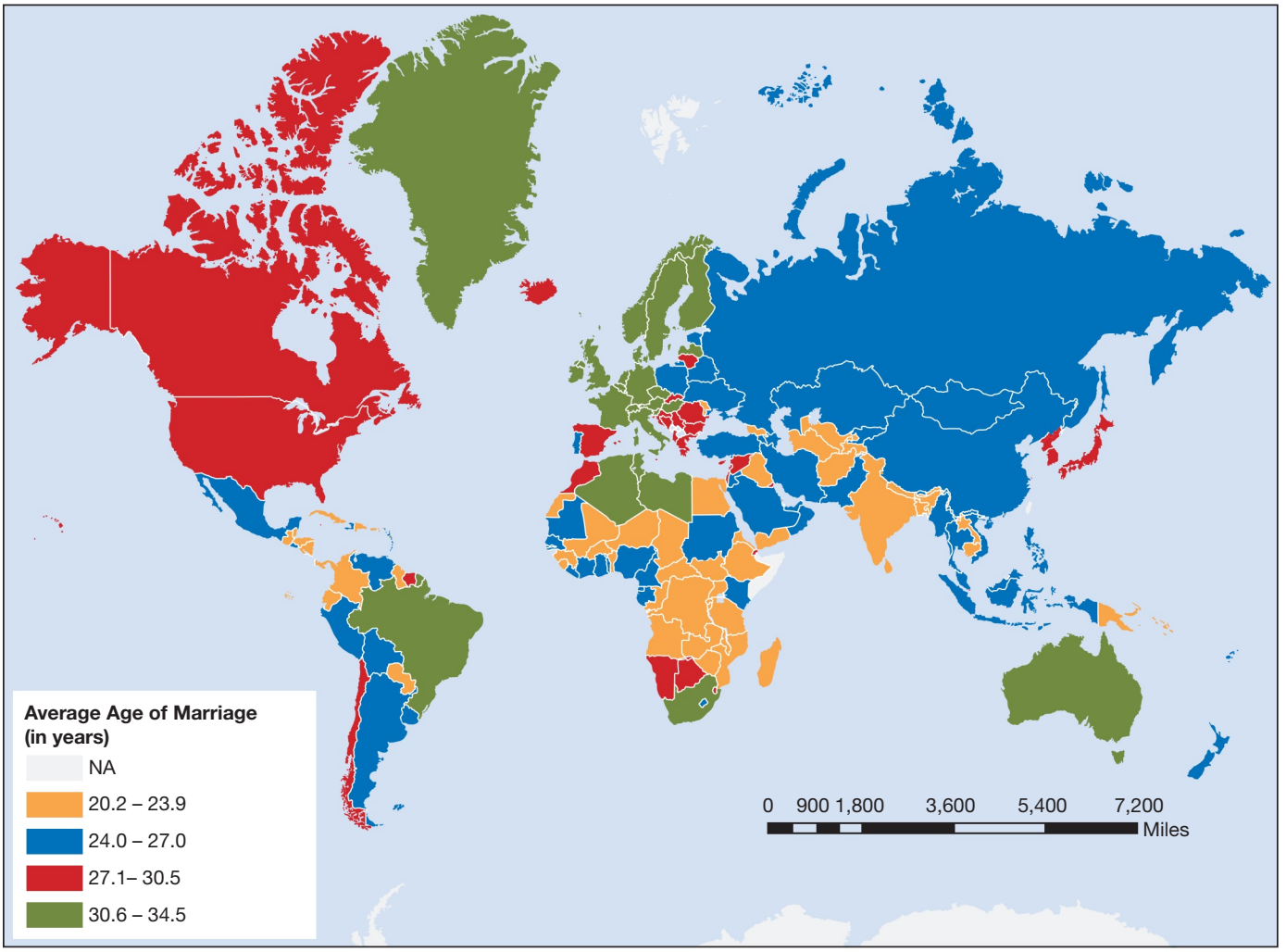
One feature of emerging adulthood that makes it the age of possibilities is that emerging adults typically have left their family of origin but are not yet committed to a new network of relationships and obligations. For those who have come from a troubled family, this is their chance to try to straighten the parts of themselves that have become twisted. No longer dependent on their parents, and no longer subject to their parents' problems on a daily basis, they may be able to make independent decisions—perhaps to move to a different area or go to college—that turn their lives in a dramatically different direction (Arnett, 2015; Masten et al., 2006). Even for those who have come from families that are relatively happy and healthy, emerging adulthood is an opportunity to transform themselves so that they are not merely made in their parents' images but have made independent decisions about what kind of person they wish to be and how they wish to live. For this limited window of time—7, perhaps 10 years—the fulfillment of all their hopes seems possible, because for most people the range of their choices for how to live is greater than it has ever been before and greater than it will ever be again.

Emerging adulthood does not exist in all cultures. Cultures vary widely in the ages that young people are expected to enter full adulthood and take on adult responsibilities (Arnett, 2011). Emerging adulthood exists only in cultures in which young people are allowed to postpone entering adult roles such as marriage and parenthood until at least their mid-20s. Thus, emerging adulthood exists mainly in developed countries such as the United States, Canada, most of Europe, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea, and Japan (Arnett, 2011; Bynner, 2005; Douglass, 2005, 2007). However, in many other areas of the world, emerging adulthood is becoming more prevalent as cultures become more economically developed and more integrated into a global economy (Arnett, 2011; Galambos & Martinez, 2007; Macek et al., 2007; Nelson & Chen, 2007). This topic will be addressed often in the chapters to come.

Emerging adulthood is a recent phenomenon historically. In the United States, the median age of marriage is at a record high—about 27 for women and 29 for men—and has risen steeply over the past 40 years (Arnett, 2015). Also, a higher proportion of young Americans than ever before attend at least some college—currently, nearly 70% (NCES, 2016). Similar changes have taken place in recent decades in other developed countries (Arnett, 2011; Bynner, 2005; Douglass, 2005, 2007; see **Figure 1.3**). This postponement of adult responsibilities into the mid- to late 20s makes possible the explorations of emerging adulthood. With growing industrialization and economic integration worldwide, emerging adulthood is likely to become increasingly common around the world in the 21st century (Arnett, 2007a, 2011).

Watch THE FEATURES OF EMERGING ADULTHOOD ACROSS CULTURES

Figure 1.3 Average age of marriage.



"But when, by what test, by what indication does manhood commence? Physically, by one criterion, legally by another. Morally by a third, intellectually by a fourth—and all indefinite."

—THOMAS DE QUINCEY, *AUTOBIOGRAPHY*, 1821

In this text, then, we will cover three periods: **early adolescence**, from age 10 to 14; **late adolescence**, from age 15 to 18; and emerging adulthood, from age 18 to about 25. Including all three of these periods will provide a broad age range for our examination of the various aspects of young people's development—the biological, psychological, and social changes they experience over time. Because studies on early and late adolescence are more abundant than studies on emerging adulthood, most of the information in the text will refer to adolescence, but each chapter will contain some information on emerging adulthood.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Is 25 a good upper age boundary for the end of emerging adulthood? Where would you put the upper age boundary, and why?

early adolescence

Period of human development lasting from about age 10 to about age 14.

late adolescence

Period of human development lasting from about age 15 to about age 18.

The Transition to Adulthood

Adolescence is generally viewed as beginning with the first noticeable changes of puberty. The end of adolescence, as we have defined it here, is also quite clear: age 18, when most people have reached the end of their secondary school education. Age 18 also marks the beginning of emerging adulthood, as that is when most young people begin the exploratory activities in love and work that characterize this life stage. But what marks the end of emerging adulthood? If emerging adulthood is in many ways a period of transition from adolescence to full adulthood, how does a person know when the transition to adulthood is complete? The answer to this question is complex and varies notably among cultures. First, we examine cultural similarities in views of adulthood, then cultural variations.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

In your view, what marks the attainment of adulthood for yourself? For others, generally?

The Transition to Adulthood: Cross-Cultural Themes

1.6 Identify the three markers of adulthood that are the most common across cultures.

> Sometimes I feel like I've reached adulthood, and then I'll sit down and eat ice cream directly from the box, and I keep thinking, 'I'll know I'm an adult when I don't eat ice cream right out of the box anymore.' … But I guess in some ways I feel like I'm an adult. I'm a pretty responsible person. I mean, if I say I'm going to do something, I do it. Financially, I'm fairly responsible with my money. But there are still times where I think, 'I can't believe I'm 25.' A lot of times I don't really feel like an adult.
>
> —LISA, AGE 25 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 15)

In developed countries, there is a variety of possible ways one could define the transition to adulthood. Legally, the transition to adulthood takes place in most respects at age 18. This is the age at which a person becomes an adult for various legal purposes, such as signing legally binding documents and being eligible to vote. One could also define the transition to adulthood as entering the roles that are typically considered to be part of adulthood: full-time work, marriage, and parenthood.

But what about young people themselves? How do young people today conceptualize the transition to adulthood? In the past two decades, many studies have examined what young people view as the key markers of the transition to adulthood (Nelson & Luster, 2015). The results of the studies have been remarkably similar, in countries including the United States (Arnett, 1998, 2015; Nelson, 2003), Argentina (Facio & Micocci, 2003), Austria (Sirsch et al., 2009), the Czech Republic (Macek, 2007), Romania (Nelson et al., 2008), the United Kingdom (Horowitz & Bromnick, 2008), Israel (Mayseless & Scharf, 2003), and China (Nelson, Badger, & Wu, 2004). In these studies, young people from their early teens to their late 20s agreed that the most important markers of the transition from adolescence to adulthood are *accepting responsibility for oneself, making independent decisions*, and *becoming financially independent*, in that order. These three criteria rank highest not just across cultures and nations but across ethnic groups and social classes.

Note the similarity among the top criteria: All three are characterized by **individualism**; that is, all three emphasize the importance of learning to stand alone as a self-sufficient person without relying on anyone else. The values of individualism, such as independence and self-expression, are often contrasted with the values of **collectivism**, such as duties and obligations to others. The criteria for adulthood favored by emerging adults in developed countries reflect the individualistic values of those societies (Arnett, 2011).

The Transition to Adulthood: Cultural Variations

1.7 Give examples of how criteria for adulthood vary across cultures.

In addition to the top three criteria for adulthood that have been found across cultures, studies have found distinctive cultural criteria as well. Young Israelis view completing military service as important for becoming an adult, reflecting Israel's requirement of mandatory military service (Mayseless & Scharf, 2003). Young Argentines especially value being able to support a family financially, perhaps reflecting the economic upheavals Argentina

individualism
Cultural belief system that emphasizes the desirability of independence, self-sufficiency, and self-expression.

collectivism
A set of beliefs asserting that it is important for people to mute their individual desires to contribute to the well-being and success of the group. Includes values of duty and obligations to others.

Marriage is of great significance as a marker of adulthood in traditional cultures. Here, a Burmese bride and groom.

has experienced for many years (Facio & Miccoci, 2003). Emerging adults in India and China view being able to support their parents financially as necessary for adulthood, reflecting the collectivistic value of obligation to parents found in Asian societies (Nelson & Luster, 2015; Zhong & Arnett, 2014).

What about traditional cultures? Do they have different ideas about what marks the beginning of adulthood, compared to industrialized societies? The answer appears to be yes. Anthropologists have found that in virtually all traditional, non-Western cultures, the transition to adulthood is clearly and explicitly marked by marriage (Markstrom, Mathew, & Amick, 2015; Schlegel & Barry, 1991). It is only after marriage that a person is considered to have attained adult status and is given adult privileges and responsibilities. In contrast, very few of the young people in the studies mentioned previously indicated that they considered marriage to be an important marker of the transition to adulthood. In fact, in developed countries marriage ranks near the bottom in surveys of possible criteria for adult status.

What should we make of that contrast? One possible interpretation would be that traditional cultures elevate marriage as the key transition to adulthood because they prize the collectivistic value of **interdependence** more highly than the individualistic value of independence, and marriage signifies that a person is taking on new interdependent relationships outside the family of origin (Arnett, 1998; Markus & Kitiyama, 1991; Shweder et al., 2006). Marriage is a social event rather than an individual, psychological process, and it represents the establishment of a new network of relationships with all the kin of one's marriage partner.

interdependence

The web of commitments, attachments, and obligations that exist in some human groups.

This is especially true in traditional cultures, where family members are more likely than in the West to be close-knit and to have extensive daily contact with one another. Thus, cultures that value interdependence view marriage as the most important marker of entering adulthood because of the ways marriage confirms and strengthens connections among family members.

Still, these conclusions about traditional cultures are based mainly on the observations of the anthropologists who have studied them. If you asked young people in these cultures directly about their own conceptions of what marks the beginning of adulthood, perhaps you would get a variety of answers other than marriage. For example, Susan Davis and Douglas Davis (1989, 2012) asked young Moroccans (ages 9 to 20), "How do you know you're grown up?" They found that the two most common types of responses were (1) those that emphasized chronological age or physical development, such as the beginning of facial hair among boys; and (2) those that emphasized character qualities, such as developing self-control (see the Cultural Focus box). Few of the young people mentioned marriage, even though Davis and Davis (1989) stated that in Moroccan culture generally, "after marriage, one is considered an adult" (p. 59). This suggests that further investigation of young people's conceptions of the transition to adulthood in traditional cultures may prove enlightening and that their views may not match the conceptions of adulthood held by adults.

The Scientific Study of Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

Insights into development during adolescence and emerging adulthood can be gained in many ways, including autobiographies, novels, and journalists' stories. I will draw on sources in these areas for illustrations and examples. However, the main focus in this text will be on the scientific study of adolescence and emerging adulthood. You will be learning about development during adolescence and emerging adulthood as an area of the social sciences. You will read about the most important and influential studies that have contributed to this field. In every chapter you will find a Research Focus box that explores a specific study in depth and discusses in detail the methods used in the study.

The Scientific Method

1.8 Describe the five steps of the scientific method.

What does it mean for scholars to engage in the scientific study of adolescence and emerging adulthood? It means to

Cultural Focus

MOROCCAN CONCEPTIONS OF ADOLESCENCE

The anthropologists Susan and Douglas Davis (1989, 1995, 2012) have been studying adolescents in Morocco for over three decades. One of the questions that has interested them in their research concerns the qualities Moroccans associate with adolescence.

The most important concept in Moroccan views of adolescence is *'aql*, an Arabic word that means reasonableness, understanding, and rationality. Self-control and self-restraint are also part of 'aql. To possess 'aql means to have control over your needs and passions and to be able and willing to restrain them out of respect for those around you. Moroccans see 'aql as a quality expected of adults and often lacking in adolescents.

'Aql is expected to develop in both males and females during adolescence, but males are believed to take a decade longer to develop it fully! This appears to be due to sharp differences in gender roles and expectations. Unlike boys, girls are given a variety of responsibilities from an early age, such as household work and taking care of younger siblings, so it is more important for them to develop 'aql early to meet the demands of these responsibilities. It is quite common, not just in Morocco but worldwide in traditional cultures, that much more work is required of girls in adolescence than of boys (Larson et al., 2010).

Another term Moroccans use in reference to adolescence is *taysh*, which means reckless, rash, and frivolous. This quality is especially associated with awakening sexuality and the possible violations of social norms this awakening may inspire (female virginity before marriage is very important to Moroccans). Taysh is a quality associated with adolescence in the views of many Moroccans, as illustrated in this exchange between Susan Davis and Naima, a mother of two adolescents:

SUSAN: What does this word *taysh* mean?

NAIMA: It starts at the age of 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 until 20. [It lasts] until she develops her 'aql. She is frivolous [taysha] for about 4 years.

SUSAN: How do you know they have reached that age? How would you know when Najet [her daughter, age 13] gets there?

NAIMA: You can recognize it. The girl becomes frivolous. She starts caring about her appearance, dressing well, wearing fancy clothes and showy things, you understand…. She also messes up her school schedule. She either leaves too early or comes too late [i.e., she may be changing her schedule to meet boys]. You have to be watchful with her at that juncture. If you see she is on the right path, you leave her alone. If you notice that she is too late or far off the timing, then you have to set the record straight with her until the age of adolescence is over. When she is 20 years of age, she recovers her ability to reason and be rational.

SUSAN: When your son Saleh [age 14] reaches the age of adolescence, how would you know it?

NAIMA: I will notice that he doesn't come home on time, he will start skipping school…. He will start following girls…. Girls will start complaining, "Your son is following me." This is the first consequence.

SUSAN: So it's similar to the girl—the girl will dress in a fancy way, while the boy will start getting interested in her.

NAIMA: That's it.

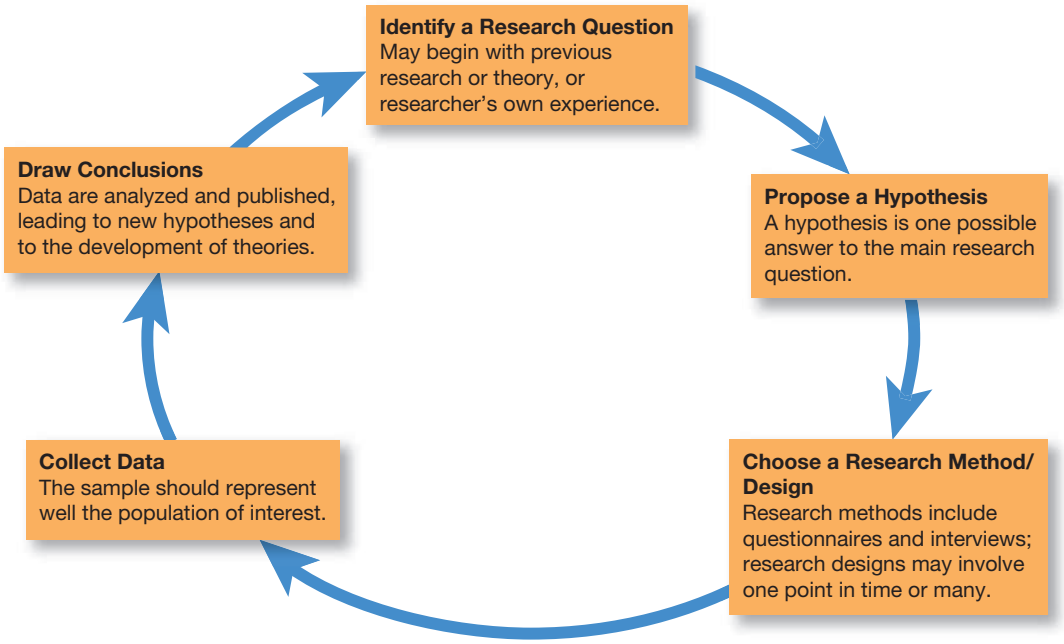
Moroccans explicitly state that marriage marks the end of adolescence and the entry into adulthood. However, from their use of the terms *'aql* and *taysh*, we can see that the transition to adulthood also involves intangible qualities similar to the ones important in other cultures. Can you see the similarities between 'aql and taysh and the qualities important in conceptions of the transition to adulthood discussed in this chapter?

THINKING CRITICALLY

How is the Moroccan conception of adolescence similar to and different from the views of Plato and Aristotle described previously in this chapter?

Moroccan adolescents.

Figure 1.4 The five steps of the scientific method



apply the standards of the **scientific method** to the questions we investigate (Machado & Silva, 2007; Salkind, 2009). In its classic form, the scientific method involves five basic steps: (1) identifying a question to be investigated, (2) forming a hypothesis, (3) choosing a research method and a research design, (4) collecting data to test the hypothesis, and (5) drawing conclusions that lead to new questions and new hypotheses. **Figure 1.4** summarizes these steps.

STEP 1: IDENTIFY A RESEARCH QUESTION Every scientific study begins with an idea (Machado & Silva, 2007). A researcher wants to find an answer to a question that can be addressed using scientific methods. For example, in research on adolescence the question might be "Why are girls more likely than boys to become depressed in adolescence?" or "To whom do adolescents go for support when they have a serious problem?" or "How often do adolescents in different cultures use social media such as Facebook, and for what purposes?" The question of interest may be generated by a theory or previous research, or it may be something the researcher has noticed from personal observation or experience.

STEP 2: FORM A HYPOTHESIS In seeking to answer the question generated in Step 1, the researcher proposes one or more hypotheses. A **hypothesis** is the researcher's idea about one possible answer to the question of interest. For example, a researcher interested in the question "Why are girls more likely than boys to become depressed in adolescence?" might propose the hypothesis "Girls are more likely to become depressed because they tend to blame themselves when they experience conflict with others." The researcher would then design a study to test that hypothesis. The hypotheses of a study are crucial, because they influence the sampling, research methods, research design, data analysis, and interpretation that follow.

STEP 3: CHOOSE A RESEARCH METHOD AND A RESEARCH DESIGN Once the hypothesis is proposed, the investigator must choose a research method and a research design (Salkind, 2009). The research method is the approach to investigating the hypothesis. For example, in research on adolescents and emerging adults, two common methods are questionnaires and interviews. The **research design** is the plan for when and how to collect the data for the study, for example the decision of whether to collect data at one time point or at more than one point. More detail on research methods and designs will be presented shortly.

scientific method
A systematic way of finding the answers to questions or problems that includes standards of sampling, procedure, and measures.

hypotheses
Ideas, based on theory or previous research, that a researcher wishes to test in a scientific study.

research design
The plan for when and how to collect the data for the study, for example the decision of whether to collect data at one time point or at more than one point.

STEP 4: COLLECT DATA TO TEST THE HYPOTHESIS After forming a hypothesis and choosing a research method and design, researchers who study adolescents and emerging adults seek to obtain a **sample**, which is a group of people who participate in a research study. The sample should represent the **population**, which is the entire category of people the sample represents. Suppose, for example, a researcher wants to study adolescents' attitudes toward contraception. Adolescents are the population, and the specific adolescents who participate in the study comprise the sample.

The goal in finding a sample is to seek out a sample that will be **representative** of the population of interest (Goodwin, 2009). To continue the example of a study of adolescents' attitudes toward contraceptive use, the waiting room of a clinic offering contraceptive services would probably not be a good place to look for a sample, because the adolescents coming to such a clinic would be quite likely to have more favorable attitudes toward contraception than adolescents in general; otherwise, why would they be in a place that offers contraceptive services? If the population of interest is adolescents in general, it would be better to sample them through schools or through a telephone survey that selects households randomly from the community.

On the other hand, if a researcher is particularly interested in attitudes toward contraception among the population of adolescents who are already using or planning to use contraception, then a clinic offering contraceptive services would be a good place to find a sample. It depends on the population the researcher wishes to study and on the questions the researcher wishes to address. Again, the sample should be *representative* of the population of interest. If it is, then the findings from the sample will be **generalizable** to the population. In other words, the findings from the sample will make it possible to draw conclusions about not just the sample itself, but the larger population of people that the sample is intended to represent.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of a research question on adolescence or emerging adulthood that interests you and a hypothesis based on the question. How would you find a representative sample for your study?

The **procedure** of a study is the way the study is conducted and the data are collected. One aspect of the procedure is the circumstances of the data collection. Researchers try to collect data in a way that will not be biased. For example, they must be careful not to phrase questions in an interview or questionnaire in a way that seems to lead people toward a desired response. They must also assure participants that their responses will be confidential, especially if the study concerns a sensitive topic such as sexual behavior or drug use.

STEP 5: DRAW CONCLUSIONS AND FORM NEW QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES Once the data for a study have been collected, statistical analyses are usually conducted to examine relationships between different parts of the data. Often, the analyses are determined by the hypotheses that generated the study. For example, a researcher studying friendships in adolescence may hypothesize, based on a theory or on past research, that adolescent girls are more likely to share personal secrets with friends than adolescent boys are. The scientist would then test that hypothesis with a statistical analysis comparing secret-sharing among adolescent boys and girls.

Once the data are analyzed, they must be interpreted. To continue the previous example, say the researcher found that early adolescent girls were more likely than early adolescent boys to share secrets with friends, but for late adolescents there were was no difference. The researcher would then try to interpret this finding, based on relevant theories and previous research.

The next step in the research process is that the investigators write a manuscript and submit it for review to a professional journal. Typically, a research article includes an *Introduction* summarizing previous research and presenting the reasons for this study and the hypotheses; a **Method** section describing the research methods and design; a *Results* section presenting the statistical analyses and (if interviews were used) qualitative material; and a *Discussion* section presenting the interpretation of the results. The editor of the journal then sends the manuscript out for review by other researchers. In other words, the

sample
The people included in a given study, who are intended to represent the population of interest.

population
The entire group of people of interest in a study.

representative
Characteristic of a sample that refers to the degree to which it accurately represents the population of interest.

generalizable
Characteristic of a sample that refers to the degree to which findings based on the sample can be used to make accurate statements about the population of interest.

procedure
Standards for the way a study is conducted. Includes informed consent and certain rules for avoiding biases in the data collection.

method
A scientific strategy for collecting data.

manuscript is **peer reviewed** for its scientific accuracy and credibility and for the importance of its contribution to the field. The editor typically relies on the reviews in deciding whether or not to accept the manuscript for publication. If the editor determines that the manuscript has passed the peer-review process successfully, the article is published in the journal.

In addition to research articles, most journals publish occasional theoretical articles and review articles that integrate the findings from numerous other studies. Researchers studying adolescents and emerging adults also publish the results of their investigations in books, and often these books go through the peer-review process.

The results of research often lead to new research questions and hypotheses. Research also contributes to the development or modification of theories. A good **theory** is a framework that presents a set of interconnected ideas in an original way and inspires further research. Theories and research are intrinsically connected: A theory generates hypotheses that can be tested in research, and research leads to modifications of the theory, which generate further hypotheses and further research. There is no separate chapter on theories in this text, because theories and research are intrinsically connected and should be presented together. Theories are presented in every chapter in relation to the research they have generated and the questions they have raised for future research.

Ethics in Human Development Research

1.9 Explain the process that requires that research on adolescents must be done within ethical guidelines.

Imagine that you were a researcher on adolescence who was interested in language development, and you hypothesized that the frequency of conversations between adolescents and their parents would predict the degree of increase in adolescents' vocabulary a year later. So, you designed a study in which families with adolescents were randomly assigned to two groups: In one group parents were encouraged to have frequent conversations with their adolescents, whereas in the other group the parents were given no instructions. Is this research design ethical?

Imagine that you were a researcher on adolescence who was interested in the question of what makes adolescents' romantic relationships last or not. So, you proposed a study in which you invited couples in their teens to come into a laboratory situation, where they were provided with a list of possible secrets that partners might keep from each other and asked to pick one of them to discuss, while being filmed by the researchers. Is this research design ethical?

Imagine that you were a researcher on adolescence who wished to know more about the effects of playing violent electronic games on adolescents' attitudes toward violence. You proposed a study in which 15-year-old adolescents would be divided into two groups. The first group would come to the lab and play violent video games for an hour each day, whereas the second group would play games that involved learning more about animals in various parts of the world. Before and after the study, the adolescents would fill out questionnaires about their attitudes toward violence. Would this study be ethical?

These are the kinds of ethical issues that arise in the course of research on adolescence. To prevent ethical violations, most institutions that sponsor research, such as universities and research institutes, require proposals for research to be approved by an *Institutional Review Board* (IRB). IRBs are usually comprised of people who have research experience themselves and therefore have a background that enables them to judge whether the research being proposed follows reasonable ethical guidelines. In addition to IRBs, professional organizations such as the *American Psychological Association* (APA) and the *Society for Research on Child Development* (SRCD) often have a set of ethical guidelines for researchers.

The requirements of IRBs and the ethical guidelines of professional organizations usually include the following components (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 2014):

1. *Protection from physical and psychological harm*. The most important consideration in research on human participants is that the persons participating in the research will not be harmed by it.
2. *Informed consent prior to participation*. One standard ethical requirement of research involving human participants is **informed consent**. Participants in any

peer reviewed

When a scholarly article or book is evaluated by a scholar's peers (i.e., other scholars) for scientific credibility and importance.

theory

A framework that presents a set of interconnected ideas in an original way and inspires further research.

informed consent

Standard procedure in social scientific studies that entails informing potential participants of what their participation would involve, including any possible risks.

scientific study are supposed to be presented with a **consent form** before they participate (Salkind, 2009). Consent forms typically include information about who is conducting the study, what the purposes of the study are, what participation in the study involves, what risks (if any) are involved in participating, and what the person can expect to receive in return for participation. Consent forms also usually include a statement indicating that participation in the study is voluntary, and that people may withdraw from participation in the study at any time. The use of consent forms is not always possible (for example, in telephone surveys), but whenever possible they are included in the procedure for researchers studying adolescence or emerging adulthood. For persons under age 18, the consent of one of their parents is also usually required as part of a study's procedures.

3. *Confidentiality*. Researchers are ethically required to take steps to ensure that all information provided by participants in human development research is confidential, meaning that it will not be shared with anyone outside the immediate research group and any results from the research will not identify any of the participants by name.
4. *Deception and debriefing*. Sometimes research on adolescence involves deception. For example, a study might involve having adolescents play a game but fix the game to ensure that they will lose, because the objective of the study is to examine how adolescents respond to frustration. IRBs require researchers to show that the deception in the proposed study will cause no harm. Also, ethical guidelines require that participants in a study that involves deception must be *debriefed* afterward, which means that they must be told the true purpose of the study and the reason for the deception.

Methods and Designs in Research

Although all investigators of human development follow the scientific method in some form, there are many different ways of investigating research questions. Studies vary in the methods used and in their research designs.

Research Methods

1.10 Describe the research methods used in research on adolescents and emerging adults.

Researchers study adolescence and emerging adulthood in a variety of academic disciplines, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, education, social work, family studies, and medicine. They use various methods in their investigations, each of which has both strengths and limitations (see **Table 1.1**). We will examine each of the major research methods next, then consider an issue that is important across methods: the question of reliability and validity.

QUESTIONNAIRES The most commonly used method in social science research is the questionnaire (Salkind, 2009). Usually, questionnaires have a **closed-question** format, which means that participants are provided with specific responses to choose from (Shaughnessy et al., 2011). Sometimes the questions have an **open-ended question** format, which means that participants are allowed to state their response following the question. One advantage of closed questions is that they make it possible to collect and analyze responses from a large number of people in a relatively short time. Everyone responds to the same questions with the same response options. For this reason, closed questions are often used in large-scale surveys.

Table 1.1 Research Methods: Advantages and Limitations

Methods	Advantages	Limitations
Questionnaire	Large sample, quick data collection	Preset responses, no depth
Interview	Individuality and complexity	Time and effort of coding
Observations	Actual behavior, not self-report	Observation may affect behavior
Ethnographic research	Entire span of daily life	Researcher must live among participants; possible bias
Case studies	Rich, detailed data	Difficult to generalize results
Biological measurements	Precise data	Expensive; relation to behavior may not be clear
Experiment	Control, identification of cause and effect	May not reflect real life
Natural experiment	Illuminate gene–environment relations	Unusual circumstances; rare

consent form
Written statement provided by a researcher to potential participants in a study, informing them of who is conducting the study, the purposes of the study, and what their participation would involve, including potential risks.

closed question
Questionnaire format that entails choosing from specific responses provided for each question.

open-ended question
Questionnaire format that involves writing in response to each question.

Although questionnaires are the dominant type of method used in the study of adolescence and emerging adulthood, the use of questionnaires has certain limitations (Arnett, 2005a). When a closed-question format is used, the range of possible responses is already specified, and the participant must choose from the responses provided. The researcher tries to cover the responses that seem most plausible and most likely, but it is impossible in a few brief response options to do justice to the depth and diversity of human experience. For example, if a questionnaire contains an item such as "How close are you to your mother? A. very close; B. somewhat close; C. not very close; D. not at all close," it is probably true that adolescents who choose "very close" really are closer to their mothers than are adolescents who choose "not at all close." But this alone does not begin to capture the complexity of the parent–adolescent relationship.

INTERVIEWS Interviews are intended to provide the kind of individuality and complexity that questionnaires usually lack. An **interview** allows a researcher to hear people describe their lives in their own words, with all the uniqueness and richness that such descriptions make possible. Interviews also enable a researcher to know the whole person and see how the various parts of the person's life are intertwined. For example, an interview on an adolescent's sibling relationships might reveal how the adolescent's relationships with siblings are affected by relationships with parents, and how the whole family has been affected by certain events—perhaps a family member's loss of a job, psychological problems, medical problems, or substance abuse.

Interviews provide **qualitative** data, as contrasted with the **quantitative** (numerical) data of questionnaires, and qualitative data can be illuminating and informative. Qualitative data are nonnumerical and include not only interview data but also data from other nonnumerical methods such as descriptive observations, video recordings, or photographs. However, like questionnaires, interviews have limitations (Shaughnessy et al., 2011). Because interviews do not typically provide a range of specific responses the way questionnaires do, interview responses have to be coded according to some plan of classification. To use an example from research described earlier in the chapter, if you asked emerging adults the interview question "What do you think makes a person an adult?" you might get a fascinating range of responses. However, to make sense of the data and present them in a scientific format, at some point you would have to code the responses into categories—legal markers, biological markers, character qualities, and so on. Only in this way would you be able to say something about the pattern of responses in your sample. Coding interview data takes time, effort, and money. This is one of the reasons far more studies are conducted using questionnaires than interviews.

OBSERVATIONS Another way researchers learn about adolescents and emerging adults is through *observations*. Studies using this method involve observing people and recording their behavior either on video or through written records. In some studies, the observations take place in the natural environment. For example, a study of aggressive behavior in adolescence might involve observations in a school lunchroom. In other studies, the observations take place in a laboratory setting. For example, laboratory studies of relationships between adolescents and their parents have been conducted in which the adolescent and parent talk about problems in their relationship or plan a family vacation. Whether in the natural environment or the laboratory, after the observations are completed the data are coded and analyzed.

Observational methods have an advantage over questionnaires and interviews in that they involve actual behavior rather than self-reports of behavior. However, the disadvantage of observations is that the people being observed may be aware of the observer, and this awareness may make their behavior different than it would be under normal conditions. For example, parents being observed in a laboratory setting with their adolescents may be more patient with them than they would be at home.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH Researchers have also learned about human development through **ethnographic research** (Jessor et al., 1996). In this method researchers spend a considerable amount of time with the people they wish to study, often by actually living among them. Information gained in ethnographic research typically comes from researchers' observations, experiences, and informal conversations with the people they are studying. Ethnographic research is commonly used by

interview
Research method that involves asking people questions in a conversational format, such that people's answers are in their own words.

qualitative
Data that is collected in nonnumerical form, usually in interviews or observations.

quantitative
Data that is collected in numerical form, usually on questionnaires.

ethnographic research
Research in which scholars spend a considerable amount of time among the people they wish to study, usually living among them.

anthropologists, usually in studying non-Western cultures. Anthropologists usually report the results of their research in an **ethnography**, which is a book that presents an anthropologist's observations of what life is like in a particular culture. Ethnographic research is also used by some social scientists today to study a particular aspect of their own culture (e.g., Douglass, 2005).

The first ethnography on adolescence was written by Margaret Mead (1928; see the Historical Focus box). Mead studied the people of Samoa, a group of islands in the South Pacific. More recent ethnographic research on adolescence has taken place in Morocco (Davis & Davis, 2012) and among Native Americans (Markstrom, 2008).

The main advantage of the ethnographic method is that it allows the researcher to learn how people behave in their daily lives. Other methods capture only a slice or summary of people's lives, but the ethnographic method provides insights into the whole span of daily experience. The main disadvantage of the ethnographic method is that it requires a great deal of time, commitment, and sacrifice by the researcher. It means that researchers must give up their own lives for a period of time, from a few days to several years, to live among the people whose lives they wish to understand. Also, an ethnographic researcher is likely to form relationships with the people being studied, which may bias the interpretation of the results.

Margaret Mead and a Samoan adolescent.

CASE STUDIES The **case study** method entails the detailed examination of the life of one person or a small number of people. The advantage of a case study is the detail and richness that is possible when only one or a few persons are being described. The disadvantage of the case study is that it is especially difficult to generalize the results to larger groups of people on the basis of only one or a few people's experiences.

The case study method is sometimes used in mental health research to describe a case that is unusual or that portrays the characteristics of a mental health issue in an especially vivid way. It is also used in combination with other methods, as a way of providing a sense of the whole of a person's life (e.g., Arnett, 2015).

BIOLOGICAL MEASUREMENTS Biological changes are a central part of adolescents' and emerging adults' development, so research includes measurements of biological functioning. This includes research on hormonal functioning, brain functioning, and the genetic basis of development. Some of this research involves measuring biological characteristics, such as hormone levels, and relating the results to data using other methods, such as questionnaires on aggressive behavior. Research on brain functioning often involves measuring brain activity during different kinds of behavior, like listening to music or solving a math problem. Research on genetics increasingly involves directly examining the chemical structure of genes.

Biological methods have the advantage of providing precise measurements of many aspects of human functioning. They allow researchers to gain knowledge into how biological aspects of development are related to cognitive, social, and emotional functioning. However, biological methods tend to rely on expensive equipment. Also, although biological measurements can be precise, their relation to other aspects of functioning is often far from exact. For example, if levels of a certain hormone are positively associated with aggressive behavior, it may be that the hormone causes the aggressive behavior, or it could be that aggressive behavior causes levels of the hormone to rise. Methods in brain research yield data from monitoring the brain's electrical activity or recording images of the brain while it is engaged in various activities, but those data can be difficult to interpret (Gergen, 2011).

ethnography
A book that presents an anthropologist's observations of what life is like in a particular culture.

case study
Research method that entails the detailed examination of the life of one person or a small number of persons.

EXPERIMENTAL RESEARCH An approach used in many kinds of scientific research is the **experimental research method**. In the simplest form of this design, participants in the study are randomly assigned to either the **experimental group**, which receives a treatment of some kind, or the **control group**, which receives no treatment (Goodwin, 2009). Because participants were randomly assigned to either the experimental group or the control group, it can be reasonably assumed that the two groups did not differ before the experiment.

In an experiment there are independent variables and dependent variables. The **independent variable** is the variable that is different for the experimental group than for the control group. The **dependent variable** is the outcome that is measured to evaluate the results of the experiment. For example, in one study, African American adolescents ages 11 to 16 were randomly assigned to an experimental group that viewed rap videos or a control group that did not (Johnson et al., 1995). Following the experimental group's treatment—their exposure to the rap videos—both groups responded to a story about teen dating violence. It was found that in the posttest, girls (but not boys) in the experimental group showed greater acceptance of dating violence than girls in the control group.

Another area in which the experimental research method is commonly used is **interventions**. Interventions are programs intended to change the attitudes or behavior of the participants. For example, a variety of programs have been developed to prevent adolescents from starting to smoke cigarettes, by promoting critical thinking about cigarette advertising or by attempting to change attitudes associating smoking with peer acceptance (e.g., Horn et al., 2005). The adolescents participating in such a study are randomly assigned to either the experimental group that receives the intervention or the control group that does not receive it. After the intervention, the two groups are assessed for their attitudes and behavior regarding smoking. If the intervention worked, the attitudes or behavior of the experimental group should be less favorable toward smoking than those of the control group.

The advantage of the experimental method is that it allows the researcher a high degree of control over participants' behavior. Rather than monitoring behavior that occurs naturally, the researcher attempts to change the normal patterns of behavior by assigning some persons to an experimental group and some to a control group. This allows for a clearer and more definite measure of the effect of a specific variable than is possible in normal life. However, the disadvantage of the experimental method is the flip side of the advantage: Because participants' behavior has been altered through experimental manipulation, it is difficult to say if the results would apply in normal life.

NATURAL EXPERIMENTS A **natural experiment** is a situation that exists naturally—in other words, the researcher does not control it—but that provides interesting scientific information to the perceptive observer (Goodwin, 2009). One natural experiment used frequently in social science research is adoption. Unlike in most families, adolescents in adoptive families are raised by adults with whom they have no genetic relationship. Because one set of parents provided the adolescent's genes and a different set of parents provided the environment, it is possible to examine the relative contributions of genes and environment to the adolescent's development. Similarities between adolescents and their adoptive parents are likely to be a result of the environment provided by the parents because the parents and adolescents are biologically unrelated. Similarities between adopted adolescents and their biological parents are likely to be due to genetics, because the environment the children grew up in was not provided by the biological parents.

Twin studies are another type of natural experiment. Identical or **monozygotic (MZ) twins** have exactly the

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experimental research method
A research method that entails assigning participants randomly to an experimental group that received a treatment and a control group that did not receive the treatment, then comparing the two groups in a posttest.

experimental group
In experimental research, the group that receives the treatment.

control group
In experimental research, the group that does not receive the treatment.

independent variable
The variable that is different for the experimental group than for the control group.

dependent variable
The outcome that is measured to evaluate the results of the experiment.

intervention
Program intended to change the attitudes or behavior of the participants.

natural experiment
A situation that occurs naturally but that provides interesting scientific information to the perceptive observer.

monozygotic (MZ) twins
Twins with exactly the same genotype. Also known as *identical twins*.

Monozygotic (MZ) twins can be used in research as participants in a natural experiment, because they have exactly the same genotype.

same genes, whereas fraternal or **dizygotic (DZ) twins** have about half their genes in common, the same as other siblings. By comparing the degree of similarity in MZ compared to DZ twins, we gain information about the extent to which a characteristic is genetically based. If MZ twins are more similar than DZ twins are, this is probably a result of genetics because MZ twins are more genetically similar. Of special interest are studies of MZ twins adopted into different families. The results of this extraordinary natural experiment are often striking and informative (Segal, 2010).

Natural experiments provide the advantage of allowing for exceptional insights into the relation between genes and the environment. However, they have disadvantages as well. Families who adopt children are not selected randomly but volunteer and go through an extensive screening process, which makes adoption studies difficult to generalize to the general population. Also, natural experiments such as MZ twins being adopted into different families are extremely rare, and consequently such studies can only provide answers to a limited range of questions.

Reliability and Validity

1.11 Define *reliability* and *validity*, and indicate which is easier to establish and why.

In scientific research it is important that research methods have *reliability* and *validity*. **Reliability** refers to the consistency of measurements (Salkind, 2009). There is a variety of types of reliability, but in general, a method has high reliability if it obtains similar results on different occasions. For example, if a questionnaire asked girls in their senior year of high school to recall when their first menstrual period occurred, the questionnaire would be considered reliable if most of the girls answered the same on one occasion as they did when asked the question again 6 months later. Or, if emerging adults were interviewed about the quality of their relationships with their grandparents, the measure would be reliable if the emerging adults' answers were the same in response to two different interviewers (Goodwin, 2009).

Validity refers to the truthfulness of a method (Shaughnessy et al., 2011). A method is valid if it *measures what it claims to measure.* For example, IQ tests are purported to measure intellectual abilities, but as we shall see in Chapter 3, this claim is controversial. Critics claim that IQ tests are not valid (i.e., that they do not measure what they claim to measure). Notice that a measure is not necessarily valid even if it is reliable. It is widely agreed that IQ tests are reliable—people generally score about the same on one occasion as they do on another—but the validity of the tests is disputed. In general, validity is more difficult to establish than reliability. We will examine questions of reliability and validity throughout this text.

Research Designs

1.12 Explain the difference between a cross-sectional and a longitudinal research design.

In addition to choosing a research method, researchers must also choose a design for their study. Common research designs in the study of human development include cross-sectional and longitudinal designs (see **Table 1.2**).

Table 1.2 Research Designs: Advantages and Limitations

Method	Advantages	Limitations
Cross-sectional	Quick and inexpensive	Correlations difficult to interpret
Longitudinal	Monitors change over time	Time, expense, attrition

dizygotic (DZ) twins
Twins with about half their genotype in common, the same as for other siblings. Also known as *fraternal twins.*

reliability
Characteristic of a measure that refers to the extent to which results of the measure on one occasion are similar to results of the measure on a separate occasion.

validity
The truthfulness of a measure, that is, the extent to which it measures what it claims to measure.

CROSS-SECTIONAL RESEARCH The most common type of research design in the study of adolescents and emerging adults is **cross-sectional research**. In cross-sectional research, data are collected on a sample of people on a single occasion (Goodwin, 2009). Then, the researcher examines potential relations between variables in the data, based on the hypotheses of the study. For example, researchers may ask a sample of emerging adults to fill out a questionnaire reporting their physical health and how much they exercise, based on the hypothesis that exercising promotes better physical health. Then the data are analyzed to see if the amount of exercise is related to physical health.

Cross-sectional research has both strengths and weaknesses. The main strength is that these studies can be conducted relatively quickly and inexpensively. Data collection is done on one occasion, and the study is complete. These features explain why cross-sectional research is so widely used among researchers.

However, there are weaknesses as well in the cross-sectional research design. Most importantly, cross-sectional research yields a *correlation* between variables, and correlations can be difficult to interpret. A **correlation** is a statistical relationship between two variables, such that knowing one of the variables makes it possible to predict the other. A *positive correlation* means that when one variable increases or decreases, the other variable changes in the same direction; a *negative correlation* means that when one variable increases, the other decreases. In the example just provided, the researcher may find a positive correlation between exercising and physical health among emerging adults. But does this mean that exercising causes better physical health in emerging adulthood, or that emerging adults with better physical health are more inclined to exercise? Based on cross-sectional research alone, there is no way to tell.

It is an important statistical principle of scientific research that *correlation does not imply causation,* meaning that when two variables are correlated it is not possible to tell whether one variable caused the other. Nevertheless, this principle is frequently overlooked in research on adolescent development. For example, there are hundreds of studies showing a correlation between parenting behaviors and adolescents' functioning. Frequently this correlation has been interpreted as causation—parenting behaviors *cause* adolescents to function in certain ways—but in fact the correlation alone does not show this (Pinker, 2002). It could be that adolescents characteristics cause parents to behave in certain ways, or it could be that the behavior of both parents and adolescents is due to a third variable, such as socioeconomic status (SES) or cultural context. We will explore this issue and other **correlation versus causation** questions in later chapters.

LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH The limitations of cross-sectional research have led some researchers to use a longitudinal research design, in which the same people are followed over time and data are collected on two or more occasions. The length of longitudinal research designs varies widely, from a few weeks or months to years or even decades. Most **longitudinal studies** take place over a relatively short period, a year or less, but some studies have followed their samples over an entire lifetime, from infancy to old age (e.g., Friedman & Martin, 2011).

The great advantage of the longitudinal research design is that it allows researchers to examine the question at the heart of the study of human development: "How do people change over time?" In addition, the longitudinal research design allows researchers to gain more insight into the question of correlation versus causation. For example, one longitudinal study focused on the relation between hours of employment per week and adolescents' substance use (Mortimer et al., 2008). It had been known from previous research that substance use is positively correlated with the number of hours adolescents are employed, but the question remained, "Does working long hours cause adolescents to engage in substance use, or do adolescents who engage in substance use also choose to work more?" Using the longitudinal data, the researchers were able to determine that adolescents who work long hours in high school already have higher rates of substance use in 9th grade, before they start working long hours.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

From your daily life, think of an example of how you or people you know may have mistaken correlation for causation. How would you design a study to show whether causation is truly involved?

cross-sectional research

A research method in which data are collected on a sample of people on a single occasion then examined for potential relations between variables in the data, based on the hypotheses of the study.

correlation

A statistical relationship between two variables, such that knowing one of the variables makes it possible to predict the other.

correlation versus causation

A correlation is a predictable relationship between two variables, such that knowing one of the variables makes it possible to predict the other. However, just because two variables are correlated does not mean that one causes the other.

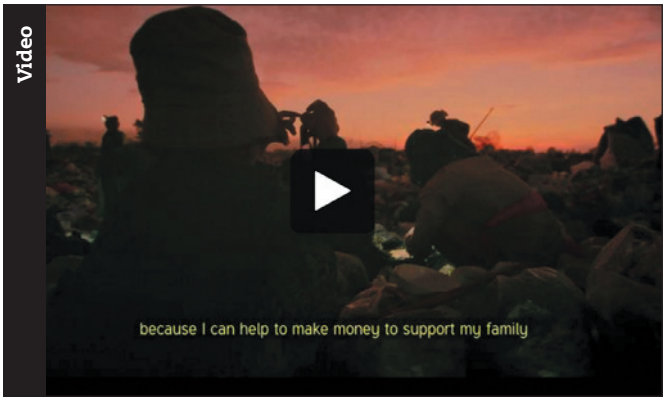
longitudinal study

A study in which data are collected from the participants on more than one occasion.

Longitudinal research designs have disadvantages as well. Most importantly, they require a great deal more time, money, and patience than the cross-sectional research design. Researchers do not learn the outcome to the investigation of their hypothesis until weeks, months, or years later. Furthermore, over time, it is inevitable that some people will drop out of a longitudinal study, for one reason or another—a process called *attrition*. Consequently, the sample the researcher has at Time 1 is likely to be different from the sample that remains at Time 2, 3, or 4, which limits the conclusions that can be drawn. In most studies, dropout is highest among people from low-SES groups, which means that the longer a longitudinal study goes on, the less likely it is to represent the SES range of the entire population.

Throughout this text, studies using a wide variety of research methods and research designs will be presented. For now, the methods and designs just described will provide you with an introduction to the approaches used most often.

Watch THE LIFE OF A CAMBODIAN ADOLESCENT



Adolescence Around the World: A Brief Regional Overview

The heart of this text is the cultural approach. In every chapter, it is emphasized that adolescents and emerging adults around the world have very different lives, depending on their culture. What it is like to be an adolescent or an emerging adult in the American middle class is different in many ways from being a young person in Egypt, or Thailand, or Brazil—and also different from being a young person in certain American minority cultures, such as the urban African American culture or the culture of recent Mexican American immigrants. Although the physical changes of puberty are similar everywhere, cultures differ greatly in how they respond to these changes and in what they allow and expect from their adolescents. Cultural context underlies every aspect of young people's lives, from their family relations to their school participation to their sexuality to their media use. As background for understanding the cultural material presented in the chapters to come, here is a brief overview of the cultural context of adolescence in the major regions of the world.

Sub-Saharan Africa

1.13 Name the main challenges facing African adolescents in the 21st century, and identify positive cultural traditions and recent trends.

Africa has been described as "a rich continent whose people are poor" (Nsamenang, 1998). The countries of Africa are extremely rich in natural resources such as oil, gold, and diamonds. Unfortunately, due to exploitation by the West in the 19th century followed by corruption, waste, and war in the 20th and 21st centuries, this natural wealth has not yet translated into economic prosperity for the people of Africa. On the contrary, sub-Saharan Africa has the worst performance of any region of the world on

African adolescents often care for younger siblings.

virtually every measure of living standards, including income per person, access to clean water, life expectancy, and prevalence of disease (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2016). Consequently, adolescents in Africa face challenges to their physical health and survival that are more formidable than in any other region of the world.

Although the problems facing young people in Africa are daunting, there are some bright spots. In the past decade, the civil wars that flared in many countries in the 1990s died down. Several African governments moved toward more open, stable, and democratic governments. Recent economic growth in Africa has been among the strongest of any world region (UNDP, 2016). There is hope that these positive changes will endure and provide Africa's adolescents with a more promising future.

African cultures also have strengths in their tradition of large families and strong, supportive family relationships (Nsamenang, 2011). In nearly all other regions of the world, birth rates have fallen steadily in recent decades and most women have only one or two children. However, in Africa the current birth rate is nearly five children per woman (UNDP, 2016). Consequently, African adolescents typically have many siblings, and they often have responsibilities for caring for their younger siblings. Siblings in Africa and elsewhere compete with each other for resources (Updegraff et al., 2011). However, in adolescence and beyond, African siblings have close ties of mutual obligation and support (Nsamenang, 2011).

North Africa and the Middle East

1.14 Explain how Islam structures development for adolescents in North Africa and the Middle East.

In North Africa and the Middle East, the Muslim religion is the predominant influence on all aspects of cultural life. The strength of Islam varies from countries in which all government policies are based on Islamic principles and texts (e.g., Kuwait and Saudi Arabia) to countries in which the influence of Islam is strong but a semblance of democracy and diversity of opinion also exists (e.g., Jordan and Morocco).

Patriarchal authority—in which the father's authority in the family is to be obeyed unquestioningly—has a long tradition in the cultures of North Africa and the Middle East and is supported by Islam (Booth, 2002). Discussion of family rules in Muslim families is uncommon. Even to suggest such a thing would be considered an unacceptable affront to the authority of the parents, especially the father.

patriarchal authority

Cultural belief in the absolute authority of the father over his wife and children.

Part of the tradition of patriarchal authority is the dominance of men over women. Islamic societies have a long tradition of keeping tight control over women's appearance and behavior. In many Islamic societies girls and women are required to wear a veil that covers the hair and part or all of the face. Muslim girls and women are often expected to wear the veil whenever they are in public, as a way of being modest, beginning at puberty. In some Islamic societies, women are not allowed to go out of the house unless accompanied by a male (Booth, 2002). Virginity before marriage is highly prized, and violation of this taboo can result in the most severe punishments, even death (Constable, 2000). Although in many Muslim countries young women exceed young men in educational attainment (UNDP, 2016), in adulthood women are generally discouraged from working outside the home. Consequently, adolescent girls in many countries in North Africa and the Middle East face sharply limited opportunities in adulthood.

Although the cultures of North Africa and the Middle East are deeply rooted in Islamic traditions, they are changing in response to globalization. Many young people in this region today are highly attracted to the popular culture and information technologies of the West (Davis & Davis, 2012). Nevertheless, Islam currently remains strong, even among the young, and the strength of fundamentalist Islam is growing.

Asia

1.15 Describe the distinctive features of the cultural context for Asian adolescents.

Asia comprises a vast and diverse area, ranging from countries that are highly industrialized (e.g., Japan) to countries that have recently industrialized (e.g., South Korea) to countries that are rapidly industrializing (e.g., China). Nevertheless, these countries share certain common characteristics and challenges.

Adolescents in North Africa and the Middle East blend Islamic traditions with modern ways.

Asian cultures such as Japan strongly emphasize education.

The cultures of Asia have been profoundly influenced by Confucianism, a set of beliefs and precepts attributed to the philosopher Confucius, who lived around 550 to 480 B.C. One of the tenets of Confucianism is **filial piety**, which holds that children should respect, obey, and revere their parents, especially the father. Part of filial piety is the expectation that the children, in particular the oldest son, have the responsibility of caring for their parents when the parents become elderly (Lieber et al., 2004). Consequently, Asian adolescents are more likely than adolescents in other parts of the world to have a grandparent living in their household (Zhao et al., 2008).

The Confucian tradition places a strong emphasis on education, which is one of the reasons for the intense focus on education in the lives of young people in Asian cultures today. As we will see in Chapter 10, school often entails strong pressures on young people in Asian societies because performance on college entrance exams largely determines their path through adult life. This system is facing increasing criticism within Asian societies by those who argue that young people should not be subjected to such pressure at a young age and should be allowed more time for fun (Nelson & Chen, 2012).

India

1.16 Identify the main challenges for Indian adolescents in the 21st century.

Geographically, India is part of Asia, but it has such a large population (over a billion people) and a distinctive cultural tradition that it merits separate attention here. Unlike the rest of Asia, India's cultural tradition is based not in Confucianism but in the Hindu religion. However, India also has the second largest Muslim population in the world (after Indonesia), nearly 300 million.

India is one of the few countries in the world that does not have compulsory education for children or adolescents (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012). Consequently, many young people are illiterate, especially girls in rural areas. Many parents do not believe girls should be educated beyond a minimal ability to write letters and keep household accounts. Rural areas in India have relatively few schools, and those that exist tend to be poorly funded and staffed by teachers who are poorly trained. Access to education is much higher in urban areas, for girls as well as boys. In urban areas India also has a large number of highly educated emerging adults, especially in fields such as medicine and information technologies, and they have made India a world economic leader in these areas.

Also contributing to high illiteracy in India is widespread child and adolescent labor, with jobs ranging from carpet weaving to mining, cigarette manufacturing, and gem polishing, often in extremely unsafe and unhealthy conditions (IPEC, 2013). Parents often prefer to have their children and adolescents working, and thus contributing to the family income, rather than attending school. Consequently, the government has taken few steps to restrict child and adolescent labor.

A distinctive feature of Indian culture is the **caste system**. According to this tradition, people are believed

Many Indian adolescents work in manufacturing jobs such as carpet weaving.

filial piety
Confucian belief, common in many Asian societies, that children are obligated to respect, obey, and revere their parents, especially the father.

caste system
Hindu belief that people are born into a particular caste based on their moral and spiritual conduct in their previous life. A person's caste then determines their status in Indian society.

to be born into a particular caste based on their moral and spiritual conduct in their previous life (reincarnation is central to the Hindu beliefs held by most Indians). A person's caste then determines his or her status in Indian society. Only people of elite castes are considered to be eligible for positions of wealth and power. People of lower castes are considered worthy only of the lowest paying, dirtiest, lowest status jobs. Also, marrying outside one's caste is strongly discouraged. Adolescents from lower castes are less likely to attend school than adolescents from higher castes, which restricts the jobs available to them as adults (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012).

Family relations are notably strong and warm in Indian families. Adolescents in India spend most of their leisure time with their families rather than with their friends, and they are happiest when with their families (Larson et al., 2000). Even highly educated emerging adults in India often prefer to have their parents arrange their marriage, which shows how deeply they trust and rely on their parents (Kapadia & Bhanaokar, 2015). Indian families are discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Latin America

1.17 Describe the common features of Latin American countries and the two key issues for today's adolescents there.

Latin America comprises a vast land area of diverse cultures, but they share a common history of colonization by southern European powers, particularly Spain, and a common allegiance to the Roman Catholic religion. For young people in Latin America, two of the key issues for the 21st century are political stability and economic growth (Galambos & Martinez, 2007). For many decades, the countries of Latin America have experienced repeated episodes of political and economic instability, but today prospects look brighter. Although political instability continues in some countries, for the most part Latin American countries have now established stable democracies. Economically, too, the situation has improved in recent years in most of Latin America. However, unemployment is high throughout Latin America, and unemployment among young people is especially high, often exceeding 25% (UNDP, 2016).

If the recent trend of political stability can be sustained, economic growth in Latin America is likely to improve. Young people in Latin America are obtaining more education, which should help prepare them for the increasingly information-based global economy. Also, the birth rate in this region has declined sharply in the past two decades. Consequently, the children who are now growing up should face less competition in the job market as they enter adolescence and emerging adulthood (PRB, 2011).

Educational attainment is increasing among adolescents in Latin America.

The West

1.18 List the common features experienced by adolescents in the countries that make up "the West," and indicate what is distinctive to minority adolescents.

"The West" is less a regional grouping than a cultural grouping that refers to the countries of Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Western countries are notably stable, democratic, and affluent. Young people in the West generally have access to opportunities for secondary and higher education, and they can choose from a wide range of occupations (Arnett, 2011). Most young people in the West have a wide range of leisure opportunities. In contrast to adolescents in other regions of the world, adolescents in the West spend most of their time (outside school) in leisure with their friends, rather than studying or working for their families. A substantial proportion of their leisure is media-based, including text messaging, playing computer games, streaming music, and using social networking sites and apps (Lenhart et al., 2010).

Although young people in Western countries are obtaining increased education, with many of them remaining in school through their early 20s, educational opportunities are not evenly distributed (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). Emerging adults in minority groups often obtain higher education at rates considerably lower than emerging adults in the majority cultures (NCES, 2016). Unemployment is also high among emerging adults in Western countries, especially among minorities (Moreno–Mínguez et al., 2012). Throughout Western countries, young minorities are disadvantaged in the workplace in part because of lower levels of education and training and in part because of prejudice and discrimination from the majority (Støren et al., 2009).

In the West, adolescents' leisure is often media based.

The overview I have just presented provides a brief look at the cultural contexts of adolescence and emerging adulthood, and you will be learning a lot more about young people's lives in different parts of the world in the course of the text. However, even this general overview shows you how different it is to be an adolescent or emerging adult depending on where in the world a person lives. Adolescents in some cultures are likely to be in school for most of a typical day through their teens and even into emerging adulthood; adolescents in other cultures begin working early in life and have little chance of obtaining education beyond primary school. Adolescents in some cultures grow up as part of a large extended family; adolescents in other cultures grow up in a small nuclear family and may not even have a sibling. Emerging adults in some cultures have a wide range of occupational possibilities; for emerging adults in other cultures the range is narrow or nonexistent, as lack of education leaves them unprepared for any but the most unskilled labor, or, for young women, as cultural beliefs about women's roles exclude them from the workplace.

This is why cultural context is essential to a full understanding of the adolescent and emerging adult experience. Throughout the text, I will present examples from many different cultures for each topic. In each chapter there is also a box called Cultural Focus, which looks in more detail at one particular culture with respect to the topic of the chapter. In addition, I often critique research from a cultural perspective. By the time you finish this text I would like you to be able to *think culturally*, so that you can analyze and critique research for whether it does or does not take culture into account.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Which of these regions do you think is most likely to change for the better in the course of the lives of today's adolescents, and why?

Other Themes of the Text

In addition to the cultural approach, a number of other themes will be part of every chapter: historical contrasts, the interdisciplinary approach, gender issues, and globalization.

Interdisciplinary Approach

1.19 Describe the disciplines that contribute to a complete understanding of adolescence and emerging adulthood.

This text draws from a wide variety of disciplines. Psychology is the main field in which research on adolescence and emerging adulthood occurs. Most scholars studying adolescence and emerging adulthood are psychologists. They have been trained in psychology, and they work as professors in the psychology departments of colleges and universities. However, many scholars in other disciplines also study adolescence and emerging adulthood. Anthropologists have contributed many enlightening ethnographies. Sociology has a long tradition of scholarship on adolescence and emerging adulthood, including some of the most important studies in such areas as peer relations, delinquency, and the transition to adulthood. Physicians, especially psychiatrists and pediatricians, have also made important contributions, most notably concerning the biology of adolescence and emerging adulthood and the treatment of psychological disorders such as depression that may occur during these stages of development. Scholars in education have contributed insightful work on adolescents' and emerging adults' development in relation to school, as well as other topics. In recent decades, historians have published a number of excellent studies on adolescence and emerging adulthood. In the same way that we can learn a lot about adolescence and emerging adulthood from comparing different cultures, we can also learn a great deal by comparing the lives of adolescents and emerging adults today to the lives of their counterparts in other times. Throughout the text, I provide historical information on each of the topics we discuss. Also, each chapter has a box entitled Historical Focus that provides more detailed information on a specific issue in a specific historical period.

The boundaries we set up among different disciplines are useful in some ways, but they are essentially artificial. If you want to understand development in adolescence and emerging adulthood, you should seek insights wherever you can find them. I want you to have as full an understanding of adolescence and emerging adulthood as possible by the time you finish this text, and toward that goal I will use material from psychology, anthropology, sociology, education, history, and other disciplines.

Gender Issues

1.20 Explain why gender issues are especially prominent in adolescence and emerging adulthood, and summarize the range of gender expectations for adolescents in different cultures.

In every culture, gender is a key issue in development throughout the life span (Carroll & Wolpe, 2005; Hatfield & Rapson, 2006). The expectations cultures have for males and females are different from the time they are born. Children become aware of their own gender by the time they are about 2 years old, and with this awareness they grow sensitive to the differences in what is considered appropriate behavior for each gender. Differences in cultural expectations related to gender typically become more pronounced at puberty. Adolescence and emerging adulthood are, among other things, periods of preparation for taking on adult roles in the family and in work. In most cultures, these roles differ considerably depending on whether you are male or female, so the expectations for male and female adolescents and emerging adults differ accordingly. Expected behaviors in the courtship and sexual behavior that are typically part of adolescence and emerging adulthood also differ considerably between males and females in most cultures.

Although all cultures have different expectations for males and females, the degree of the differences varies greatly among cultures. In the majority cultures of the West these days, the differences are relatively blurred: Men and women hold many of the same jobs, wear many of the same clothes (e.g., blue jeans, T-shirts), and enjoy many of the same entertainments. If you have grown up in the West, you may be surprised to learn how deep gender differences go in many other cultures. For example, in Morocco, boys are more or less expected to become sexually experienced before marriage (Davis & Davis, 2012). Girls, on the other hand, are expected to be virgins on their wedding night. Thus, a boy's first sexual experience is typically with a prostitute. The morning after a wedding, bride and groom are obliged to hang the sheet from their bed out the window, complete with a bloody stain on it to prove that the girl's hymen was broken on the wedding night, confirming that she had been a virgin until that time.

Although nothing comparable to this exists in the West, there are gender-specific expectations in the West, too. Even now, in the United States, there are few male nurses or secretaries or full-time fathers, and there are few female truck drivers or construction workers or U.S. senators. The differences in expectations for males and females may be more subtle in the West than in some other cultures, but they remain powerful, and they are a key part of adolescence and emerging adulthood. Throughout the text, I bring up gender differences for each of the topics we address, and Chapter 5 is devoted specifically to gender issues. By the end, I want you to have a broader sense of how males and females are treated differently in cultures around the world, and of how your own culture has shaped your development in gender-specific ways you may not have realized before now.

Globalization

1.21 Explain why it is important to account for globalization in understanding adolescents and emerging adults.

Researchers on adolescence have recently begun giving more attention to cultural influences on development in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Jensen, 2011; Larson et al., 2010). However, this attention to culture comes at a time in world history when the boundaries that give cultures their distinctiveness are becoming steadily fainter, and the world is becoming increasingly integrated into a global culture—a "global village," as the social philosopher Marshall McLuhan put it some years ago. No traditional culture has remained exempt from these changes. You can go to the remotest rain forest culture in Venezuela, the northernmost Arctic village in Canada, or the smallest mountain village of New Guinea, and you will find that every one of them is being drawn inexorably into a common world culture. Our exploration of development in adolescence and emerging adulthood would not be complete without an account of these changes, which reflect the **globalization** of adolescence and emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2002a; Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Larson et al., 2010).

Globalization means that the world is becoming "smaller," more homogeneous, due to increased connections in trade, travel, technology, and leisure. As a consequence of the globalization of adolescence and emerging adulthood, young people around the world experience increasingly similar environments. Adolescents and emerging adults in many parts of the world are growing up listening to much of the same music, watching many of the same movies, going to school for an increasing number of years, learning how to use personal computers, drinking the same soft drinks, and wearing the same brands of blue jeans. The appeal of being connected to a global culture appears to be especially high among adolescents and emerging adults (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Perhaps this is because they are more capable than

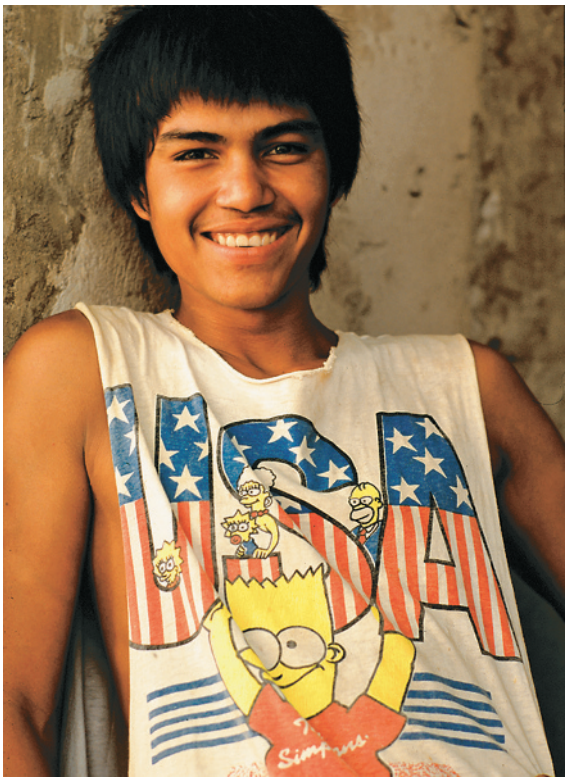
globalization

Increasing worldwide technological and economic integration, which is making different parts of the world increasingly connected and increasingly similar culturally.

children of seeking out information beyond the borders of their own culture—through travel and the Internet, for example—and are less committed to established roles and a set way of life than adults are.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Have you traveled to another country in recent years? If so, can you think of examples you have witnessed that reflect the globalization of adolescence? If not, can you think of examples you have read about or heard about? What positive and negative consequences do you anticipate from the globalization of adolescence?



The globalization of adolescence: A Venezuelan adolescent's T-shirt depicts characters from the American TV show *The Simpsons*.

Globalization does not mean that young people everywhere are growing up in exactly the same way or becoming exactly alike in their cultural identity. The more typical pattern worldwide is that young people are becoming increasingly **bicultural** in their identities, with one identity for participation in their local culture and another identity for participation in the global culture, for example through email or in interactions with foreign visitors (Arnett, 2002a). Throughout the text, I present examples of how globalization is affecting the lives of adolescents and emerging adults. We will consider how this trend is likely to affect their futures in both positive and negative ways.

Following this introductory chapter, the text is divided into three sections. The first section, Foundations, includes chapters on five different areas of development: Biological Foundations, Cognitive Foundations, Cultural Beliefs, Gender, and The Self. These chapters describe the areas that form the foundation for young people's development across a variety of aspects of their lives. Together, these chapters form the basis for understanding development as it takes place in various contexts.

Thus, the first section sets the stage for the second section, called Contexts. *Context* is the term scholars use to refer to the environmental settings in which development takes place. This section has chapters on six different contexts: Family Relationships, Friends and Peers, Love and Sexuality, School, Work, and Media.

The third section is entitled Problems and Resilience. The sole chapter in this section addresses problems ranging from risky automobile driving to drug use to depression. It also examines **resilience**, which is the ability of children and adolescents who are at-risk for problems to avoid falling prey to those risks.

bicultural
Having an identity that includes aspects of two different cultures.

resilience
Overcoming adverse environmental circumstances to achieve healthy development.

Summing Up

1.1 Describe how views of adolescence changed in the West from ancient Greece through medieval times.

Adolescence has a long history in Western societies as a specific period of life between childhood and adulthood. In ancient Greece, Plato and Aristotle viewed adolescence as the third distinct stage of life, after infancy and childhood. A focus on the struggle between reason and passion in adolescence can be found in early Christianity. The Children's Crusade was an attempt to appeal to the Muslims in peace, inspired by the belief that Jesus had decreed that the Holy Land could be gained only through the innocence of youth.

1.2 Explain what life-cycle service involves and specify when it was most common.

From about 1500 to about 1800, many young people in European societies took part in what historians term life-cycle service, a period in their late teens and 20s in which young people would engage in domestic service, farm service, or apprenticeships in various trades and crafts

1.3 Identify the three features that made the years 1890–1920 the Age of Adolescence.

It was only during the years 1890–1920 that adolescence developed into its modern form, as a period of life when young people are largely excluded from adult work and spend their time mostly in school and among their peers. Key changes during these years included the enactment of laws restricting child labor, new requirements for children to attend secondary school, and the development of the field of adolescence as an area of scholarly study.

1.4 Summarize the influences that have led to an earlier beginning and end to adolescence.

One change that has led to an earlier beginning of adolescence is the decline that took place during the 20th century in the typical age of the initiation of puberty. In terms of when adolescence ends, the change in this age may have been inspired not by a biological change but by a social change: the growth of secondary school attendance, typically ending at age 18.

1.5 Summarize the five features of emerging adulthood.

Emerging adulthood is the term for the period from ages 18 to 25. The distinctive characteristics of this age period are that it is a time of identity explorations, instability, self-focus, feeling in-between, and possibilities/optimism. Emerging adulthood exists mainly in developed countries but is growing more widespread in developing countries.

1.6 Identify the three markers of adulthood that are the most common across cultures.

In studies across many countries and cultures, young people from their early teens to their late 20s agreed that the most important markers of the transition from adolescence to adulthood are *accepting responsibility for oneself, making independent decisions*, and *becoming financially independent*, in that order.

1.7 Give examples of how criteria for adulthood vary across cultures.

In addition to the top three criteria for adulthood that have been found across cultures, studies have found distinctive cultural criteria as well. For example, young Israelis view completing military service as important for becoming an adult, whereas young Argentines value being able to support a family financially.

1.8 Describe the five steps of the scientific method.

The scientific method involves five basic steps: (1) identifying a research question, (2) forming a hypothesis, (3) choosing a research method and a research design, (4) collecting data to test the hypothesis, and (5) drawing conclusions that lead to new questions and new hypotheses. A variety of specific methods for data collection are used in the study of adolescence and emerging adulthood, ranging from questionnaires and interviews to ethnographic research to experimental research. Research designs include cross-sectional and longitudinal.

1.9 Explain the process that requires that research on adolescents must be done within ethical guidelines.

To prevent ethical violations, most institutions that sponsor research require proposals for research to be approved by an *Institutional Review Board* (IRB). In addition to IRBs, professional organizations often have a set of ethical guidelines for researchers. These often include protection from physical and psychological harm, informed consent before participation, confidentiality, and guidelines relating to deception and debriefing.

1.10 Describe the research methods used in research on adolescents and emerging adults.

Research methods include questionnaires, interviews, observations, ethnographic research, case studies, biological measurements, experiments, and natural experiments.

1.11 Define *reliability* and *validity*, and indicate which is easier to establish and why.

Reliability refers to the consistency of measurements, whereas validity is whether something measures what it claims to measure. Validity is harder to establish, because there can be different opinions about whether something measures what it claims to measure.

1.12 Explain the difference between a cross-sectional and a longitudinal research design.

In cross-sectional research, data are collected on a sample of people on a single occasion. Then, the researcher examines potential relations between variables in the data, based on the hypotheses of the study. In a longitudinal research design, the same persons are followed over time and data are collected on two or more occasions.

1.13 Name the main challenges facing African adolescents in the 21st century, and identify positive cultural traditions and recent trends.

African adolescents confront challenges of widespread disease and civil wars in the 21st century. However, they benefit from cultural traditions of interdependence and family support, and recent economic trends have been positive.

1.14 Explain how Islam structures development for adolescents in North Africa and the Middle East.

Islam supports strong patriarchal authority, in which the father's authority over children and adolescents is not to be questioned. It also advocates female modesty, and often requires that adolescent girls and women keep their hair, face, and most of the rest of their bodies concealed. Changes are taking place in the 21st century, with more adolescent girls and emerging adult women than ever pursuing university education, but in many of these countries women are mostly excluded from the workplace.

1.15 Describe the distinctive features of the cultural context for Asian adolescents.

Two distinct features of the Asian cultural context that influence the development of adolescents are filial piety, which emphasizes obedience to and respect for parents, and a strong emphasis on the value of education. The emphasis on education is reflected in strong pressures for achievement in secondary school, but this emphasis is being challenged as too extreme in the 21st century.

1.16 Identify the main challenges for Indian adolescents in the 21st century.

Indian adolescents in rural areas often receive little education, because schools are poorly funded and their parents need the income from their labor. The caste system limits the opportunities in education and occupations available to Indian adolescents in the lower castes. However, India has a strong tradition of family mutual support and obligation, reflected in the custom of arranged marriages.

1.17 Describe the common features of Latin American countries and the two key issues for today's adolescents there.

Latin American countries all have a history of colonization by European powers and a strong role for the Catholic religion. Many countries in the region have long experienced unstable governments and economies, but education is rising and the birth rate is falling, and these trends bode well for the future of today's adolescents.

1.18 List the common features experienced by adolescents in the countries that make up "the West," and indicate what is distinctive to minority adolescents.

Adolescents in the West have the advantage of living in countries that are stable, democratic, and affluent. They have more opportunities for education and leisure than adolescents in the rest of the world. However, minority adolescents in these countries often face problems of discrimination, resulting in lower education and employment rates.

1.19 Describe the disciplines that contribute to a complete understanding of adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Psychology is the main field in which research on adolescence and emerging adulthood occurs. However, many scholars in other disciplines also study adolescence and emerging adulthood. These include anthropologists, sociologists, physicians, especially psychiatrists and pediatricians, scholars in education, and historians, among others.

1.20 Explain why gender issues are especially prominent in adolescence and emerging adulthood, and summarize the range of gender expectations for adolescents in different cultures.

Gender issues are especially prominent in adolescence, when people reach sexual maturity and often are exposed to stronger cultural pressures to conform to gender roles, and emerging adulthood, when young people often find that their choices in education and occupation are limited by their gender. All cultures have gender expectations for adolescents, but the pressures tend to be stronger in the rest of the world than in the West.

1.21 Explain why it is important to account for globalization in understanding adolescents and emerging adults.

Globalization is increasing worldwide, as reflected in the multiplying of connections between cultures in trade, travel, technology, and leisure. Adolescents in traditional cultures are especially affected, as their traditional ways are challenged by new influences. Many adolescents today develop a bicultural identity, with one identity for their local culture and one identity for participating in the global culture.

Key Terms

adolescence, p. 3
life-cycle service, p. 5
culture, p. 6
the West, p. 6
developed countries, p. 6
American majority culture, p. 6
society, p. 6
traditional culture, p. 6
developing countries, p. 6
socioeconomic status (SES), p. 6
young people, p. 6
Lamarckian, p. 7
recapitulation, p. 9
storm and stress, p. 9
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stratified sampling, p. 10
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early adolescence, p. 14
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individualism, p. 15
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caste system, p. 29
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Chapter 2

Biological Foundations

Learning Objectives

2.1 Describe the functions of the hormones in the feedback loop of the endocrine system and how they initiate puberty.

2.2 Explain how the growth spurt differs for girls and boys, and identify the order in which body parts experience rapid growth.

2.3 Explain the difference between primary and secondary sex characteristics.

2.4 Provide the typical order of development of secondary sex characteristics in boys and girls.

2.5 Chart the typical order of pubertal events, and explain the basis for variations in their order, timing, and total duration.

2.6 Describe how physical functioning changes during puberty, and contrast physical functioning in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

2.7 Explain how culture influences the timing of puberty.

2.8 Identify the rates of prevalence of puberty rituals across cultures, and explain the function of these rituals.

2.9 Compare and contrast cultures in how puberty influences family relations.

2.10 Describe personal responses to menarche and semenarche among adolescents and how these responses are shaped by cultures.

2.11 Summarize the gender differences in how boys and girls respond to reaching puberty relatively early or late.

2.12 Compare and contrast passive, evocative, and active genotype → environment effects.

2.13 Explain why genotype → environment effects change over time.

"I had my first period at twelve, knew about it before and wasn't scared. I thought I was feeling pretty good, because then I would know I was growing up to be a lady, you know. And I really had a nice feeling."

—AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT GIRL (KONOPKA, 1985, P. 48)

"I didn't know about [menstruation]. [My mother] never told me anything like that. I was scared, I just started washing all my underclothing hoping that my mother won't find out but she came in and caught me washing it, and she started laughing at me. But she never did tell me what it was…. I mean she told me it wasn't anything to worry about, it's something that happens, you know, but she didn't tell me what it meant and stuff like that."

—LATINA ADOLESCENT GIRL (KONOPKA, 1985, PP. 47–48)

"Since I've gotten more physically mature I get a lot of stares when I go out. Sometimes it feels nice or funny when I'm with my friends, especially when it's someone nice. But…when some older man says something like "Ooooooh," then it's scary and I want to say, 'I'm only twelve, leave me alone.'"

—DENISE, AGE 12 (BELL, 1998, P. 24)

"I can't stand what I look like right now! Sometimes I just want to put a bag over my head to hide my face. It's all broken out with zits and oily places."

—PABLO, AGE 15 (BELL, 1998, P. 10)

"Pubic hair scared the shit out of me. I saw all these little bumps and I didn't know what they were. I thought maybe I had [a sexually transmitted infection] but I hadn't even had sex."

—JUAN (BELL, 1998, P. 20)

"[The first time I ejaculated] I'm almost positive that it was a wet dream. The problem was that I didn't know what it was. I was surprised that I had wet my bed—what did I do? I only found out a year later what it was."

—WHITE AMERICAN ADOLESCENT BOY (STEIN & REISER, 1994, P. 377)

THESE EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATE THE WIDE RANGE of reactions that adolescents have to the events that indicate the development of physical and sexual maturity. They also suggest the ways that cultures influence young people's interpretations of the biological events of puberty, in part by informing them—or neglecting to inform them—about the changes that will be taking place in their bodies.

Although adolescence is a culturally constructed period of life, the biological changes of puberty are a central part of development during adolescence in all cultures. Many changes occur, and they are often dramatic. There you are, growing at a more or less steady rate through childhood, and then suddenly the metamorphosis begins—growth spurt, pubic hair, underarm hair, acne, changes in body shape, breast development and menarche in girls, first ejaculation and facial hair in boys, and much more. The changes are often exciting and joyful, but adolescents experience them with other emotions as well—fear, surprise, annoyance, and anxiety. Reaching the key changes earlier or later than most peers is especially a source of anxiety.

The biological changes of puberty are similar across cultures, but in this chapter we will see that biological events interact with cultural influences. Culture influences the timing of biological events, and cultures respond in a variety of ways to the biological changes that signify adolescents' attainment of physical—and sexual—maturity. Adolescents, in turn, rely on information provided by their cultures for interpreting the changes taking place within their bodies and in their physical appearance.

In this chapter we will begin with a description of the hormonal changes of puberty. This will be followed by a description of the bodily changes of puberty, including changes in height, weight, muscle-to-fat ratio, and strength. Next will be a description of primary sex characteristics (sperm and egg production) and secondary sex characteristics (such as the growth of pubic hair and the development of breasts). Then we will examine cultural, social, and psychological responses to puberty, including the different experiences of adolescents who mature relatively early or relatively late. The chapter closes with an examination of the relation between genetic and environmental influences.

The Biological Revolution of Puberty: Hormonal Changes and Physical Growth

The word *puberty* is derived from the Latin word *pubescere*, which means "to grow hairy." But adolescents do a lot more in puberty than grow hairy. As noted previously, after developing gradually and steadily during childhood, at puberty the body undergoes a biological revolution that dramatically changes the adolescent's anatomy, physiology, and physical appearance. By the time adolescents enter emerging adulthood, they look much different than before puberty, their bodies function much differently, and they are biologically prepared for sexual reproduction. These changes all begin with events that occur in the endocrine system during puberty.

The Endocrine System

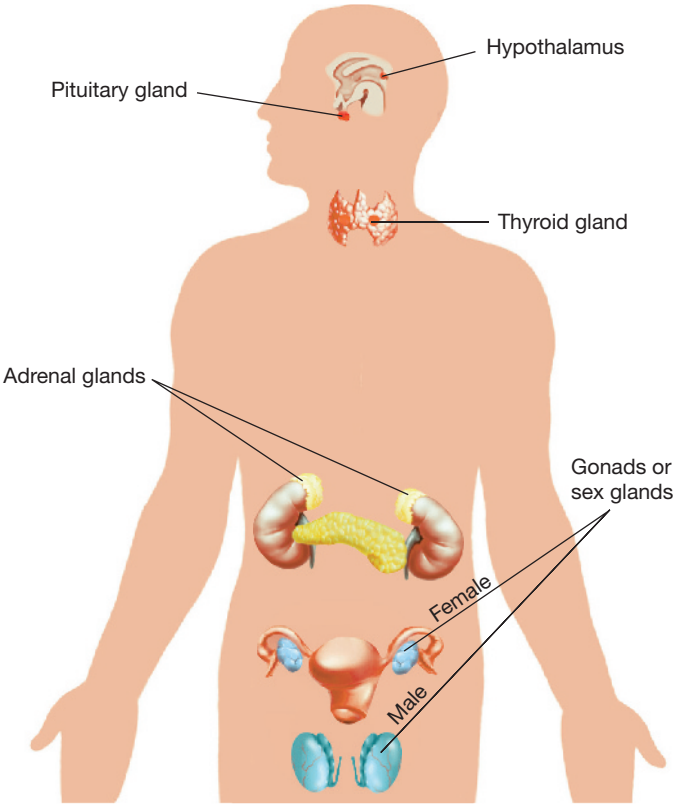
2.1 Describe the functions of the hormones in the feedback loop of the endocrine system and how they initiate puberty.

The **endocrine system** consists of glands in various parts of the body. These glands release chemicals called **hormones** into the bloodstream, and the hormones affect the development and functioning of the body. Let's take a look at each of the glands that are part of the endocrine system and at the hormones they secrete during **puberty** (see **Figure 2.1**).

THE INITIATION OF PUBERTY IN THE HYPOTHALAMUS The hormonal changes of puberty begin in the **hypothalamus**, a bean-sized structure located in the lower part of the brain, beneath the cortex. The hypothalamus has profound and diverse effects on physiological and psychological motivation and functioning in areas such as eating, drinking, and sexuality. In addition to these functions, the hypothalamus stimulates and regulates the production of hormones by other glands. To initiate puberty, the hypothalamus begins to increase its production of **gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH)**, releasing GnRH in pulses at intervals of about 2 hours (DeRose & Brooks-Gunn, 2006). The increase in GnRH begins in middle childhood, at least a year or two before even the earliest bodily changes of puberty.

But what causes the hypothalamus to increase GnRH production? This increase occurs once a threshold level of body fat is reached (Alsaker & Flammer, 2006). Fat cells produce a protein, **leptin**, which provides the signal to the hypothalamus to release the GnRH (Melmed et al., 2016). Consequently, for adolescents who are excessively thin as a result of illness, extreme exercise, or malnutrition, puberty is delayed.

Figure 2.1 The major glands involved in pubertal change.



THE PITUITARY GLAND AND THE GONADOTROPINS The increase in GnRH affects the **pituitary gland**, which is a gland about half an inch long located at the base of the brain. GnRH is appropriately named gonadotropin-releasing hormone because that is what it does when it reaches the pituitary gland—it causes hormones called **gonadotropins** to be released. The two gonadotropins

endocrine system
A network of glands in the body. Through hormones, the glands coordinate their functioning and affect the development and functioning of the body.

hormones
Chemicals, released by the glands of the endocrine system, that affect the development and functioning of the body, including development during puberty.

puberty
The changes in physiology, anatomy, and physical functioning that develop a person into a mature adult biologically and prepare the body for sexual reproduction.

hypothalamus
The "master gland," located in the lower part of the brain beneath the cortex, that affects a wide range of physiological and psychological functioning and stimulates and regulates the production of hormones by other glands, including the ones involved in the initiation of puberty.

gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH)
Hormone released by the hypothalamus that causes gonadotropins to be released by the pituitary.

leptin
A protein, produced by fat cells, that signals the hypothalamus to initiate the hormonal changes of puberty.

pituitary gland
A gland about half an inch long located at the base of the brain that releases gonadotropins as part of the body's preparation for reproduction.

gonadotropins
Hormones (follicle-stimulating hormone [FSH] and luteinizing hormone [LH]) that stimulate the development of gametes.

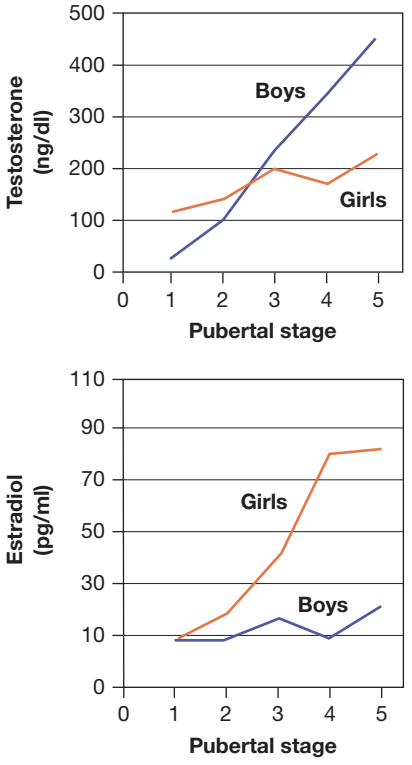
are **follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH)** and **luteinizing hormone (LH)**. FSH and LH stimulate the development of **gametes**—egg cells in the ovaries of the female and sperm in the testes of the male. FSH and LH also influence the production of sex hormones by the ovaries and testes, which will be described in more detail shortly.

THE GONADS AND THE SEX HORMONES The ovaries and testes are also known as the **gonads**, or sex glands. In response to stimulation from the FSH and LH released by the pituitary gland, the gonads increase their production of the **sex hormones**. There are two classes of sex hormones: the **estrogens** and the **androgens**. With respect to pubertal development, the most important estrogen is **estradiol** and the most important androgen is **testosterone** (Shirtcliff et al., 2009). Increases in these hormones are responsible for most of the observable bodily changes of puberty, such as breast growth in females and facial hair in males.

Estradiol and testosterone are produced in both males and females, and throughout childhood the levels of these hormones are about the same in boys and girls (DeRose & Brooks-Gunn, 2006). However, once puberty begins, the balance changes dramatically, with females producing more estradiol than males and males producing more testosterone than females (see **Figure 2.2**). By the mid-teens, estradiol production is about eight times as high in females as it was before puberty, but only about twice as high in males (Nottelmann et al., 1987; Susman, 1997). Similarly, in males, testosterone production is about 20 times as high by the mid-teens as it was before puberty, but in females it is only about four times as high (Melmed et al., 2016; Nottelmann et al., 1987).

Androgens are produced not only by the sex glands but also by the adrenal glands. At puberty, the pituitary gland increases production of a hormone known as **adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH)**, which causes the adrenal glands to increase androgen production (Archibald et al., 2003; Melmed et al., 2016). The androgens released by the adrenal gland have the same effects as the androgens released by the testes, contributing to changes such as the development of increased body hair.

Figure 2.2 Sex differences in hormonal changes during puberty.



follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH)
Along with luteinizing hormone (LH), stimulates the development of gametes and sex hormones in the ovaries and testicles.

luteinizing hormone (LH)
Along with follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH), stimulates the development of gametes and sex hormones in the ovaries and testicles.

gametes
Cells, distinctive to each sex, that are involved in reproduction (egg cells in the ovaries of the female and sperm in the testes of the male).

gonads
The ovaries and testicles. Also known as the *sex glands*.

sex hormones
Androgens and estrogens that cause the development of primary and secondary sex characteristics.

estrogens
The sex hormones that have especially high levels in females from puberty onward and are mostly responsible for female primary and secondary sex characteristics.

androgens
The sex hormones that have especially high levels in males from puberty onward and are mostly responsible for male primary and secondary sex characteristics.

estradiol
The estrogen most important in pubertal development among girls.

testosterone
The androgen most important in pubertal development among boys.

adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH)
The hormone that causes the adrenal glands to increase androgen production.

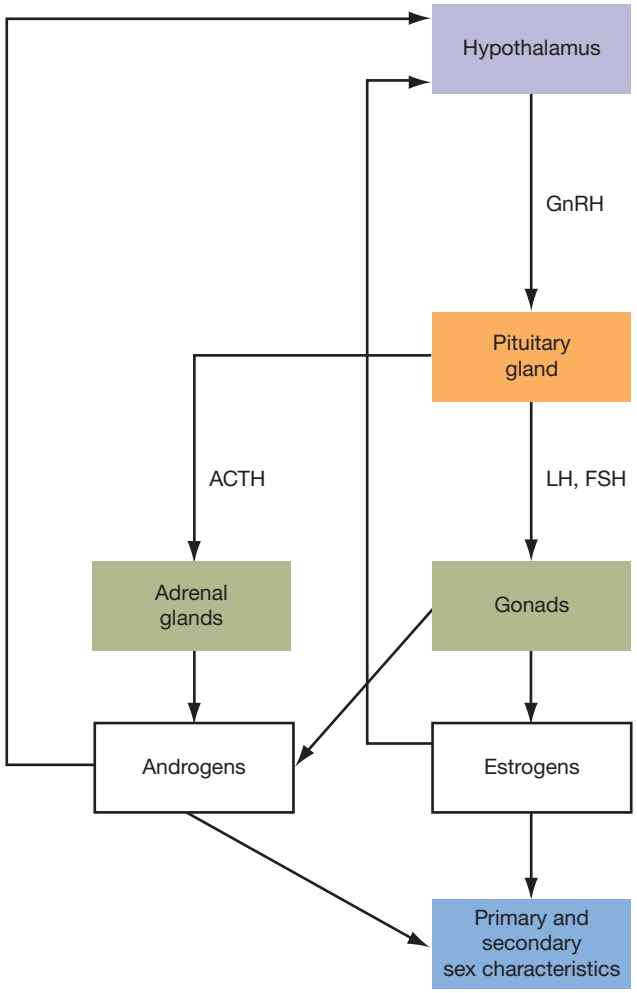
THE FEEDBACK LOOP IN THE ENDOCRINE SYSTEM From infancy onward, a **feedback loop** runs between the hypothalamus, the pituitary gland, the gonads, and the adrenal glands. This feedback loop monitors and adjusts the levels of the sex hormones (Biro et al., 2010; see **Figure 2.3**). The hypothalamus monitors the levels of androgens and estrogens in the bloodstream, and when the sex hormones reach an optimal level, called the **set point**, the hypothalamus reduces its production of GnRH. The pituitary responds to the reduction in GnRH by reducing its production of FSH, LH, and ACTH; the gonads and adrenal glands, in turn, respond to lower levels of FSH and LH by reducing the amount of sex hormones they produce.

A commonly used metaphor for the set point is a thermostat. If you set the thermostat at 70 degrees, when the temperature falls below that level the furnace comes on. As the furnace heats the rooms, the temperature rises, and when it reaches 70 degrees again the furnace turns off. In your body, when the levels of the sex hormones fall below their set points, their production by the gonads increases. Once the levels rise again to the set points, their production decreases.

When puberty begins, the set points for androgens and estrogens rise in the hypothalamus, with the set point for androgens rising higher in males than in females and the set point for estrogens rising higher in females than in males. In other words, during childhood, the gonads produce only a relatively small amount of sex hormones before the set point of the hypothalamus is reached and the hypothalamus signals the gonads to decrease production of the sex hormones. As puberty begins, however, and the set points for the sex hormones rise in the hypothalamus, the gonads can produce an increasing amount of the sex hormones before the hypothalamus instructs them to decrease production. To return to the thermostat metaphor, it is as if the thermostat were set at 40 degrees during childhood, so that the "heat" of sex hormone production is triggered only occasionally. In the course of puberty, it is as if the thermostat rises to 80, and the "heat" of sex hormone production rises accordingly.

Figure 2.3 The feedback loop.

SOURCE: Adapted from Grumbach et al. (1974).



Physical Growth During Puberty

2.2 Explain how the growth spurt differs for girls and boys, and identify the order in which body parts experience rapid growth.

The increases in the levels of the sex hormones discussed in the previous section result in a variety of dramatic changes in the bodies of adolescents. One of these changes is the rate of physical growth. After proceeding at an even pace since early childhood, growth suddenly surges when puberty arrives. In fact, one of the earliest signs of puberty for both girls and boys is the **adolescent growth spurt**. **Figure 2.4** shows the typical rate of growth in height from birth through age 19, including the adolescent growth spurt. At **peak height velocity**, when the adolescent growth spurt is at its maximum, girls grow at about 3.5 inches (9.0 cm) per year,

feedback loop
System of hormones involving the hypothalamus, the pituitary gland, and the gonads, that monitors and adjusts the levels of the sex hormones.

set point
Optimal level of sex hormones in the body. When this point is reached, responses in the glands of the feedback loop cause the production of sex hormones to be reduced.

adolescent growth spurt
The rapid increase in height that takes place at the beginning of puberty.

peak height velocity
The point at which he adolescent growth spurt is at its maximum rate.

Girls typically reach their growth spurt 2 years earlier than boys.

and boys grow at about 4.1 inches (10.5 cm) per year (Dunkel & Quinton, 2014; Huang, Biro, & Dorn, 2009; Tanner, 1971). For both girls and boys, the rate of growth at peak height velocity is the highest it has been since they were 2 years old.

As Figure 2.4 shows, girls typically reach the beginning of their growth spurt as well as their peak height velocity about 2 years earlier than boys. This is true of other aspects of physical development in puberty as well: Girls mature about 2 years ahead of boys. Until the growth spurt begins, throughout childhood, boys are slightly taller on average than girls of the same age (DeRose & Brooks-Gunn, 2006). Girls become taller on average for about 2 years in early adolescence, from ages 11 to 13, the 2 years when they have hit their growth spurt but boys have not. However, the earlier maturation of girls contributes to their smaller adult height, because the adolescent growth spurt also marks the beginning of the end of growth in height. Because girls begin their growth spurt earlier, they also reach their final height earlier—about age 15, on average, compared with about age 17 for boys (Archibald et al., 2003).

THINKING CRITICALLY

What are some of the social and psychological consequences of the fact that girls mature about 2 years earlier than boys during puberty?

Figure 2.4 Growth in height and height velocity for average males and females.

SOURCE: Adapted from Marshall, (1978).

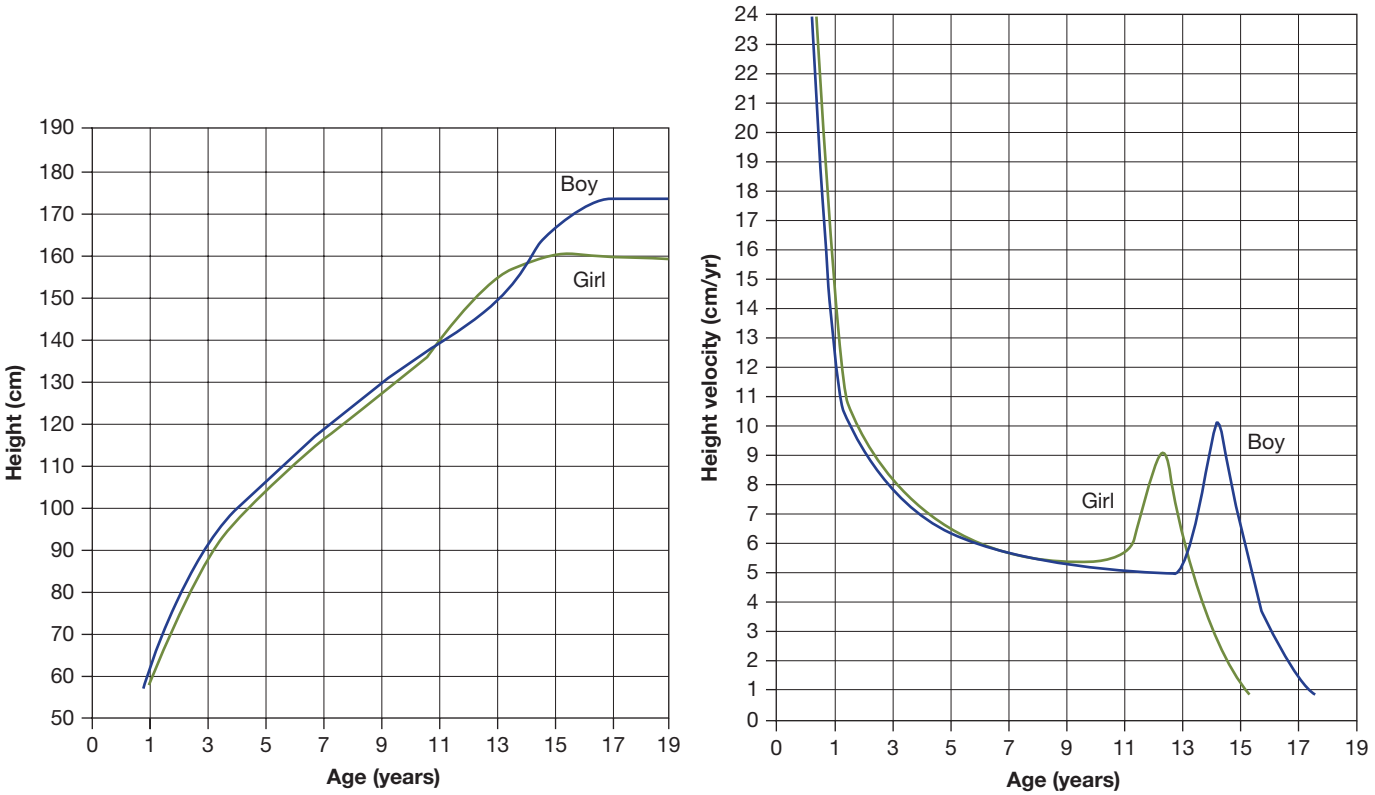
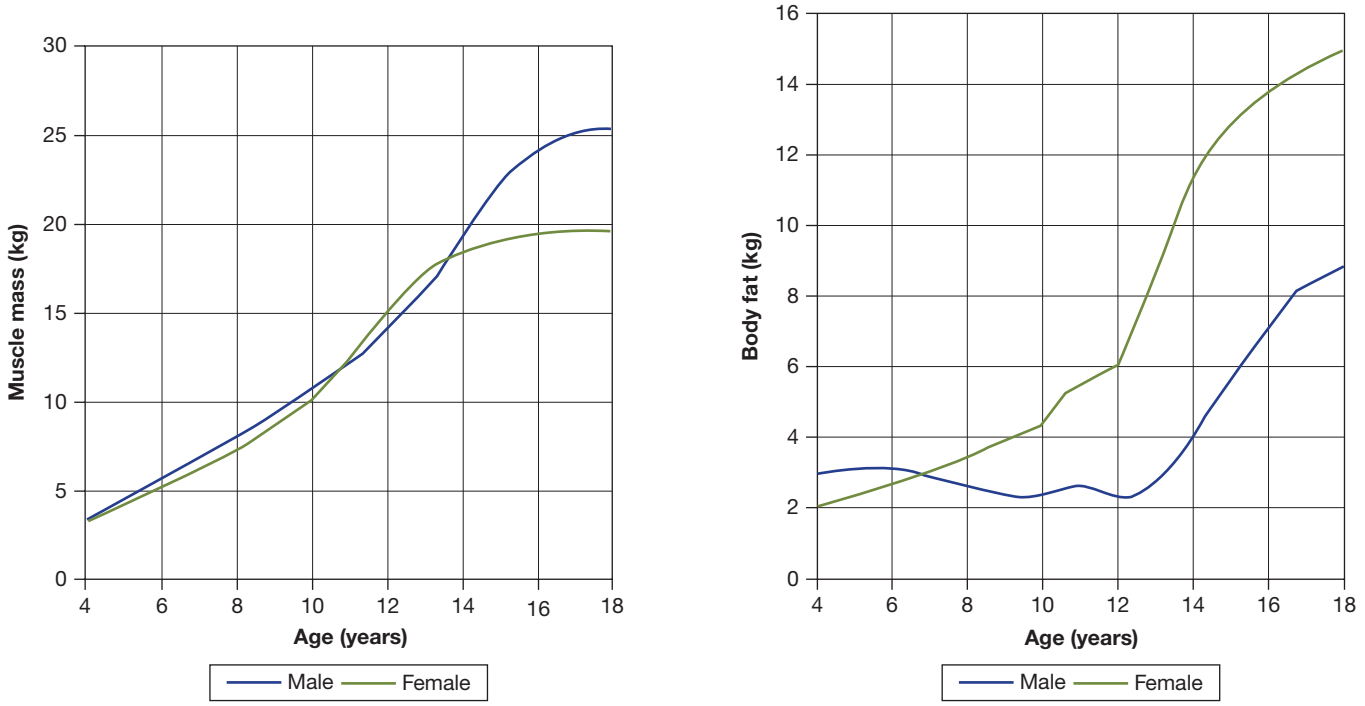


Figure 2.5 Sex differences in muscle mass and body fat during puberty.

SOURCE: Adapted from Grumbach et al. (1974).



During the adolescent growth spurt, not all parts of the body grow at the same pace. A certain amount of **asynchronicity** in growth during this time explains why some adolescents have a "gangly" look early in puberty, as some parts of the body grow faster than others. The **extremities**—feet, hands, and head—are the first to hit the growth spurt, followed by the arms and legs (Archibald et al., 2003). Some parts of the head grow more than others. The forehead becomes higher and wider, the mouth widens, the lips become fuller, and the chin, ears, and nose become more prominent (Mussen et al., 1990). The torso, chest, and shoulders are the last parts of the body to reach the growth spurt and are therefore the last to reach the end of their growth.

In addition to the growth spurt, a spurt in muscle growth occurs during puberty, primarily because of the increase in testosterone (Shirtcliff et al., 2009; Tanner, 1971). Because boys experience greater increases in testosterone than girls do, they also experience greater increases in muscle growth. As **Figure 2.5** shows, before puberty girls and boys are similar in their muscle mass.

Levels of body fat also surge during puberty, but body fat increases more for girls than for boys, as Figure 2.5 shows. As a consequence of these sex differences in muscle and fat growth, by the end of puberty boys have a muscle-to-fat ratio of about 3:1, whereas the muscle-to-fat ratio for girls is 5:4 (Biro et al., 2010; Grumbach et al., 1974). Other sex differences in body shape also develop during puberty. Hips and shoulders widen among both girls and boys, but hips widen more than shoulders in girls and shoulders widen more than hips in boys.

The Biological Revolution of Puberty: Sexual Maturity and Physical Functioning

Puberty changes the body to prepare it for sexual reproduction. There are two types of sex characteristics involved in puberty, primary and secondary. Puberty also changes physical functioning, enhancing strength and endurance. When these changes are complete, during emerging adulthood, we reach the peak of our physical abilities.

Primary Sex Characteristics

2.3 Explain the difference between primary and secondary sex characteristics.

In addition to the changes in physical growth described so far, two other kinds of changes take place in the adolescent's body in response to increased sex hormones

asynchronicity
Uneven growth of different parts of the body during puberty.

extremities
The feet, hands, and head.

during puberty. **Primary sex characteristics** involve the production of eggs and sperm and the development of the sex organs. **Secondary sex characteristics** are other bodily changes of puberty, not including the ones related directly to reproduction.

EGG AND SPERM PRODUCTION As noted, increases in the sex hormones at puberty cause eggs to develop in the ovaries of females and sperm to be produced in the testes of males. The development of the gametes is quite different for the two sexes. Females are born with about 400,000 immature eggs in each ovary (Norman, 2008). By puberty, this number has declined to about 80,000 in each ovary. Once a girl reaches **menarche** (her first menstrual period) and begins having menstrual cycles, one egg develops into a mature egg, or **ovum** (plural: ova), every 28 days or so. Females release about 400 ova over the course of their reproductive lives.

In contrast, males have no sperm in their testes when they are born, and they do not produce any until they reach puberty. The first production of sperm in boys is called **spermarche**, and it takes place on average at age 12 (Bancroft, 2006). Once spermarche arrives, boys produce sperm in astonishing quantities. There are between 30 and 500 million sperm in the typical male ejaculation, which means that the average male produces millions of sperm every day. If you are a man, you will probably produce over a million sperm during the time you read this chapter—even if you are a fast reader!

Why so many? One reason is that the environment of the female body is not hospitable to sperm. The female's immune system registers sperm as foreign bodies and begins attacking them immediately. A second reason is that sperm have, in relation to their size, a long way to go to reach the ovum. They have to make their way along and through the various structures of the female reproductive anatomy. So it helps to have a lot of sperm wiggling their way toward the ovum because this increases the likelihood that some of them may make it to the ovum at the right time for fertilization to take place.

"I was about six months younger than everyone else in my class, and so for about six months after my friends had begun to develop (that was the word we used, develop), I was not particularly worried. I would sit in the bathtub and look down at my breasts and know that any day now, any second now, they would start growing like everyone else's. They didn't…. 'Don't worry about it,' said my friend Libby some months later, when things had not improved. 'When you get married, your husband will touch your breasts and rub them and kiss them and they'll grow.'"

—NORA EPHRON 2000, *CRAZY SALAD*, PP. 2–4

THE MALE AND FEMALE REPRODUCTIVE ANATOMY The changes of puberty prepare the body for sexual reproduction, and during puberty the sex organs undergo a number of important changes as part of that preparation. In males, both the penis and the testes grow substantially (King, 2005). The penis doubles in length and diameter. In its mature form, the flaccid (limp) penis averages 3 to 4 inches in length and about 1 inch in diameter. The tumescent (erect) penis averages 5½ to 6 inches in length and 1½ inches in diameter. The growth of the testes during puberty is even more pronounced—they increase 2½ times in length and 8½ times in weight, on average. The dramatic growth of the testes reflects the production of the many millions of sperm.

In females, the external sex organs are known as the **vulva**, which includes the **labia majora** (Latin for "large lips"), the **labia minora** (Latin for "small lips"), and the **clitoris**. The vulva grows substantially in puberty (King, 2005). The ovaries also increase greatly in size and weight. Just as the testes grow as a consequence of sperm production, the growth of the ovaries reflects the growth of maturing ova. Furthermore, the uterus doubles in length during puberty, growing to a mature length of about 3 inches, about the size of a closed fist. The vagina also increases in length, and its color deepens.

As noted previously, an ovum is released in each monthly cycle. The two ovaries typically alternate months, with one releasing an ovum and then the other. The ovum

primary sex characteristics
The production of eggs and sperm and the development of the sex organs.

secondary sex characteristics
Bodily changes of puberty not directly related to reproduction.

menarche
First menstrual period.

ovum
Mature egg that develops from follicle in ovaries about every 28 days.

spermarche
Beginning of development of sperm in boys' testicles at puberty.

vulva
External female sex organs, including the labia majora, the labia minora, and the clitoris.

labia majora
Part of vulva; Latin for "large lips."

labia minora
Part of vulva; Latin for "small lips."

clitoris
Part of vulva in which females' sexual sensations are concentrated.

moves along the fallopian tube and travels to the uterus. During this time, a lining of blood builds up in the uterus in preparation for the possibility of receiving and providing nutrients for the fertilized egg. If the ovum becomes fertilized by a sperm during its journey to the uterus, the fertilized egg begins dividing immediately. When it reaches the uterus, it implants in the wall of the uterus and continues developing. If the ovum is not fertilized, it is evacuated during menstruation along with the blood lining of the uterus.

Although menarche is a girl's first menstruation, it is not the same as the first ovulation. On the contrary, the *majority* of a girl's menstrual cycles in the first 2 years after menarche do not include ovulation, and in the third and fourth years only about one third to one half of cycles include ovulation (Finkelstein, 2001c). It is only after 4 years of menstruation that girls consistently ovulate with each menstrual cycle. This early inconsistency leads some sexually active adolescent girls to believe they are infertile, but this is an unfortunate misunderstanding. Fertility may be inconsistent and unpredictable during the first 4 years after menarche, but it is certainly possible. Whether boys experience a similar lag between spermarche and the production of sperm capable of fertilizing an egg is not known.

Secondary Sex Characteristics

2.4 Provide the typical order of development of secondary sex characteristics in boys and girls.

All the primary sex characteristics are directly related to reproduction. In addition to these changes, numerous other bodily changes take place as part of puberty but are not directly related to reproduction. These changes are known as *secondary sex characteristics*.

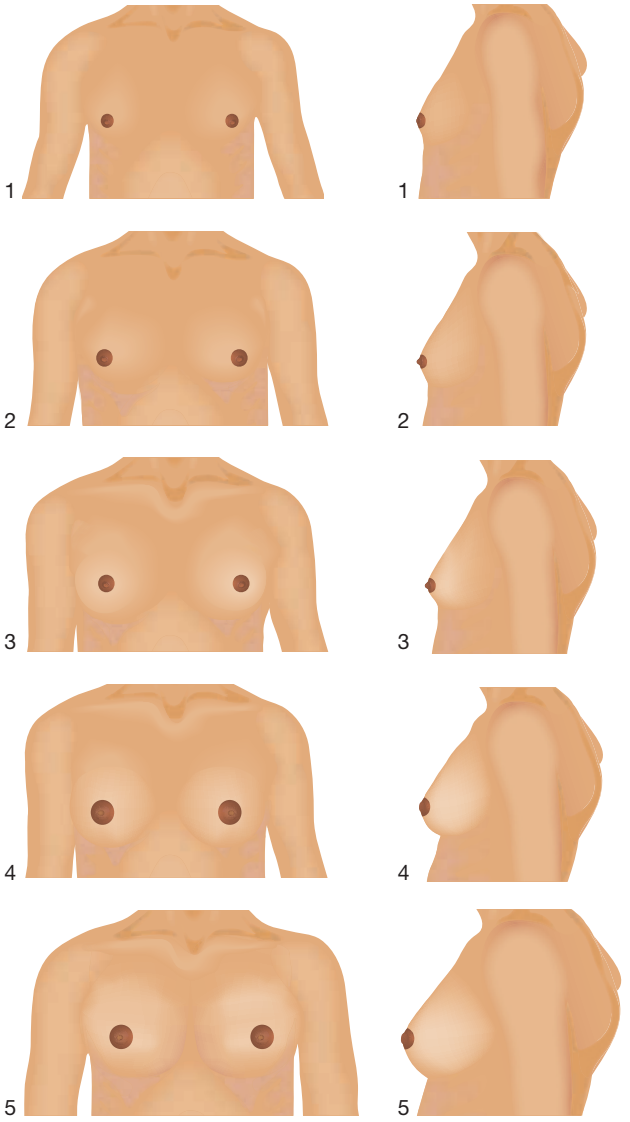
Some secondary sex characteristics develop for only males or only females, but for the most part the changes that happen to one sex also happen to the other, to some degree. Both males and females grow hair in their pubic areas and underneath their arms. Both also grow facial hair—you knew that males do, but you may not have realized that females also grow hair, just a slight amount, on their faces during puberty. Similarly, increased hairiness on the arms and legs is more pronounced in males, but females also grow more hair on their limbs at puberty. Boys also begin to grow hair on their chests, and sometimes on their shoulders and backs as well, whereas girls typically do not.

Both males and females experience various changes in their skin (Tanner, 1971). The sweat glands in the skin increase production, making the skin oilier and more prone to acne, and resulting in a stronger body odor. Males and females both experience a deepening of the voice as the vocal cords lengthen, with males experiencing a steeper drop in pitch.

Even breast development, though obviously a secondary sex characteristic that occurs in females, also occurs in a substantial proportion of males. About one fourth of boys experience enlargement of the breasts midway through puberty (Bell, 1998; Tanner, 1970). This can be a source of alarm and anxiety for adolescent boys, but usually the enlargement recedes within a year.

For girls, the breasts go through a series of predictable stages of development (**Figure 2.6**). The earliest indication of breast development, a slight enlargement of the breasts known as **breast buds**, is also one of the first outward signs of puberty in most girls (Tanner, 1971). During this early stage, there is also an enlargement of the area surrounding the nipple, called the **areola**. In the later stages of breast development, the breasts continue to

Figure 2.6 Stages of breast development.



breast buds
The first slight enlargement of the breast in girls at puberty.

areola
Area surrounding the nipple on the breast; enlarges at puberty.

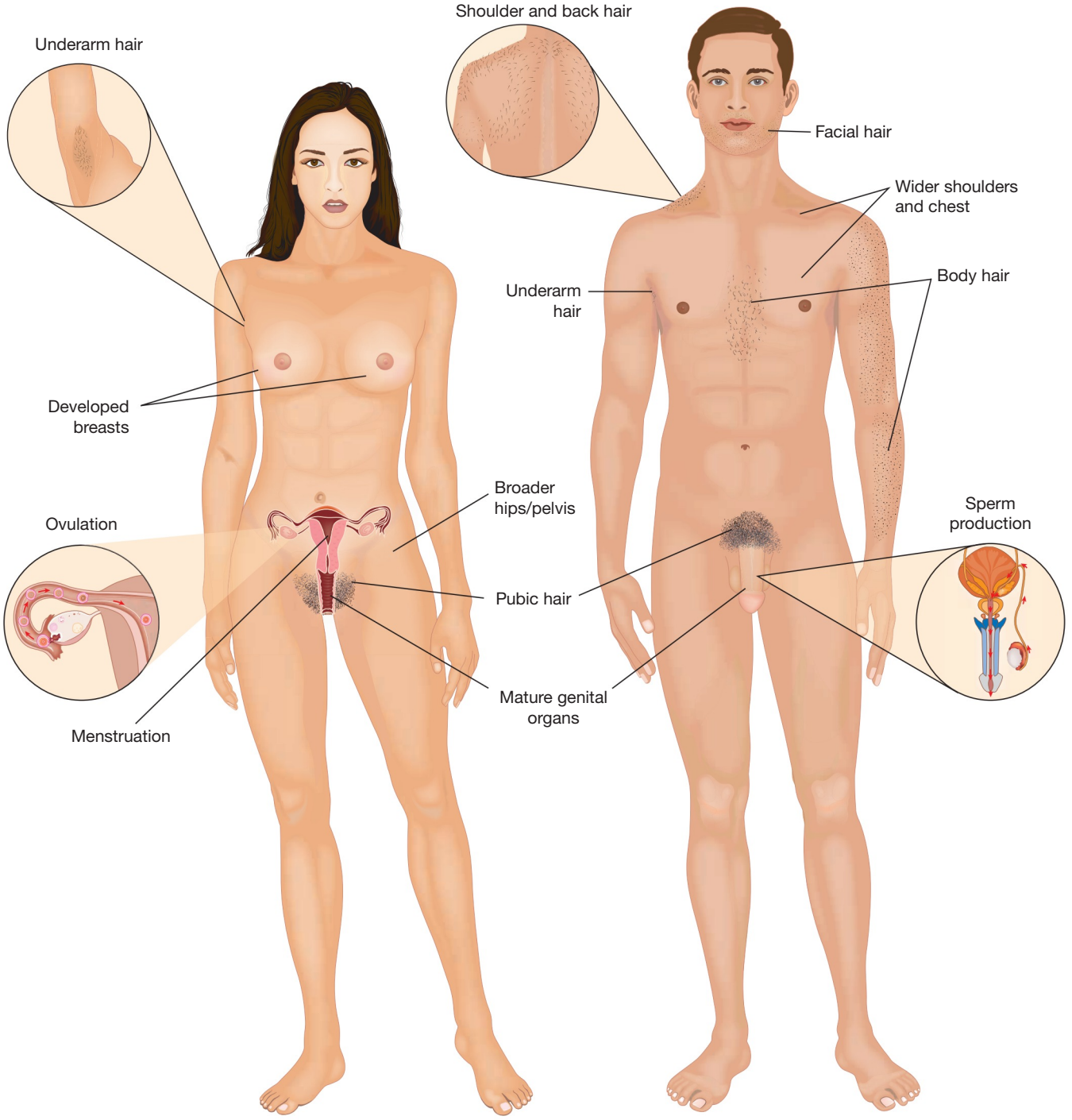
enlarge, and the areola first rises with the nipple to form a mound above the breast, then recedes to the level of the breast while the nipple remains projected (Archibald et al., 2003).

Figure 2.7 provides a summary of the physical changes in males and females during puberty.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Puberty involves the development of sexual maturation. Among the secondary sex characteristics described here, which are viewed in your culture as enhancing sexual interest and attractiveness between males and females? Which are not?

Figure 2.7 Physical changes during adolescence.



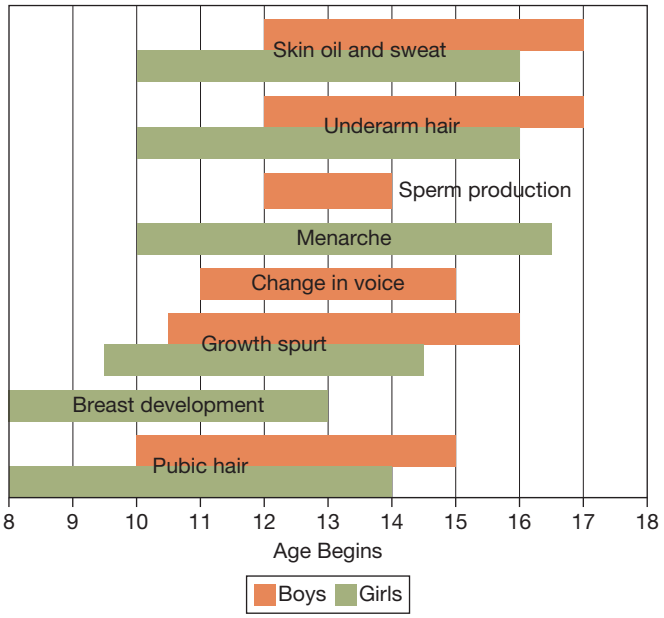
The Order of Pubertal Events

2.5 Chart the typical order of pubertal events, and explain the basis for variations in their order, timing, and total duration.

Puberty is composed of many events and processes, typically stretching out over several years (see **Figure 2.8**). A great deal of variability exists among individuals in the timing of pubertal events. Among young people in developed countries, the first pubertal events may occur as early as age 7 in girls and age 9 or 10 in boys, or as late as age 13 (Ge et al., 2007; Fisher & Eugster, 2014; Herman-Giddens et al., 2001). The duration between the initiation of the first pubertal event and full pubertal maturation can be as short as a year and a half or as long as 6 years (Tanner, 1962). Consequently, in the early teens some adolescents may have nearly finished their pubertal development, whereas others have barely begun. Because adolescents experience the first events of puberty at different ages and proceed through puberty at different rates, age alone is a poor predictor of an adolescent's pubertal development (Archibald et al., 2003).

More consistency can be seen in the order of pubertal events than in the ages they begin or the amount of time it takes to complete them (Fisher & Eugster, 2014). For girls, downy pubic hair is typically the first sign of the beginning of puberty, followed closely by the appearance of breast buds. The next event for girls is usually the growth spurt, along with the growth of the sexual and reproductive organs. Menarche, the development of underarm hair, and the secretion of increased skin oil and sweat occur relatively late in puberty for most girls.

Figure 2.8 Timing of the physical changes of puberty.



For boys, the first outward sign of puberty is usually the growth of the testes, along with or closely followed by the beginning of pubic hair (Archibald et al., 2003). These events are followed (usually about a year later) by the initiation of the growth spurt and the increased growth of the penis, along with the beginning of the deepening of the voice. Spermarche takes place at age 12 to 14 for most boys. In boys as in girls, the growth of underarm hair and the secretion of increased skin oil and sweat take place relatively late in puberty. For boys, facial hair is also one of the later developments of puberty, usually beginning about 2 years after the first outward events of puberty.

Virtually all the studies we have been considering in this section have been conducted with White adolescents in the West (Alsaker & Flammer, 2006). In fact, the main source of our information about physical growth and functioning in adolescence remains the studies by J. M. Tanner and his colleagues (see the Research Focus box), which were mostly conducted 40 to 50 years ago on British adolescents who were in foster homes. Tanner's findings have been verified in numerous studies of White adolescents in the United States (Archibald et al., 2003; Susman et al., 2003), but we do not have similarly detailed information on other ethnic and cultural groups around the world.

Three studies demonstrate the variations that may exist in other groups. Among the Kikuyu, a culture in Kenya, boys show the first physical changes of puberty *before* their female peers (Worthman, 1987), a reversal of the Western pattern. In a study of Chinese girls, Lee, Chang, and Chan (1963) found that pubic hair began to develop in most girls about 2 years after the development of breast buds, and only a few months before menarche. This is a sharp contrast to the pattern for the girls in Tanner's studies, who typically began to develop pubic hair at about the same time they developed breast buds, usually 2 years before menarche (Tanner, 1971). Also, in an American study (Herman-Giddens et al., 2001), many African American girls were found to begin developing breast buds and pubic hair considerably earlier than White girls. At age 8, nearly 50% of the African American girls had begun to develop breasts or pubic hair or both, compared with just 15% of the White girls. This was true even though Black and White girls were similar in their ages of menarche. Studies such as these indicate that it is important to investigate further cultural differences in the rates, timing, and order of pubertal events.

Given a similar environment, variation in the order and timing of pubertal events among adolescents appears to be due to genetics. The more similar two people are genetically,

Research Focus

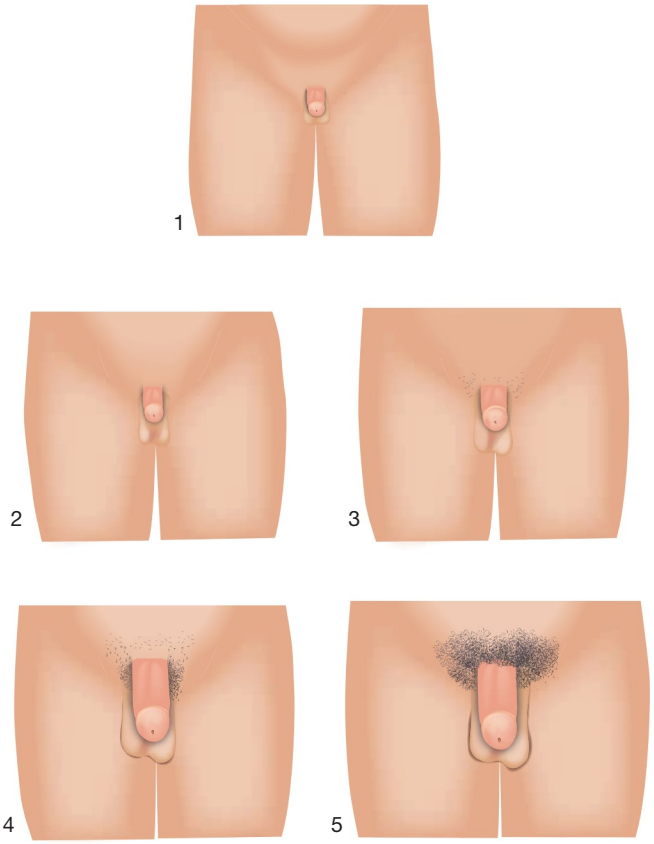
TANNER'S LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH ON PUBERTAL DEVELOPMENT

J. M. Tanner was a British biologist who studied the pattern and sequence of various aspects of physical development during puberty (Marshall & Tanner, 1969, 1970; Tanner, 1962, 1971, 1991). His research took place mainly during the 1960s and 1970s and involved White boys and girls who were living in state-run foster homes in Great Britain. Through the use of direct physical evaluations and photographs, he made careful assessments of growth and development during puberty. By following adolescents over a period of many years, he was able to establish the typical ages at which various processes of pubertal development begin and end, as well as the range of variation for each process. His work on adolescents' physical development is widely accepted by scholars on adolescence; in fact, the stages of various aspects of pubertal development are known as "Tanner stages," as shown in the examples for breast development in females (see Figure 2.6) and genital development in males (see **Figure 2.9**).

Tanner and his colleagues focused on specific aspects of physical development during puberty: the growth spurt, the development of pubic hair, genital maturity in boys, the development of breasts and menarche in girls. For breast development (girls), genital maturity (boys), and pubic hair, Tanner described a sequence of five stages. Stage 1 is the prepubertal stage, when no physical changes have appeared. Stage 5 is the stage when maturity has been reached and growth is completed. Stages 2, 3, and 4 describe levels of development in between.

The adolescents Tanner studied were mainly from low socioeconomic status (SES) families, and many of them probably did not receive optimal physical care during childhood (Marshall & Tanner, 1970). They were living in foster homes,

Figure 2.9 Boys' genital maturity from Tanner's studies.



the more similar they tend to be in the timing of their pubertal events, with identical twins the most similar of all (Ge et al., 2007; van den Berg & Boomsma, 2007). However, the key phrase here is "given a similar environment." In reality, the environments adolescents experience differ greatly, both within and between countries. These differences have profound effects on the timing of puberty, as we will see in detail in the following section.

Changes in Physical Functioning During Puberty

2.6 Describe how physical functioning changes during puberty, and contrast physical functioning in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

In addition to primary and secondary sex characteristics, puberty entails dramatic changes in how the body functions.

THE HEART, THE LUNGS, AND PHYSICAL PERFORMANCE In both boys and girls, the heart becomes larger during puberty—on average, its weight almost doubles—and the heart rate falls, but boys' hearts grow more than girls' hearts do and their heart rates fall to a lower level (Litt & Vaughan, 1987). By age 17, the average girl's heart rate is about five beats per minute faster than the average boy's (Fernandes et al., 2013). A similar change takes place in the growth of the lungs. A measure of lung size called **vital capacity**, which means the amount of air that can be exhaled after a deep breath, increases rapidly for both boys and girls during puberty but increases more for boys than for girls (Litt & Vaughan, 1987).

These sex differences in physical growth and functioning result in sex differences in strength and athletic ability during

vital capacity
The amount of air that can be exhaled after a deep breath, which increases rapidly during puberty, especially for boys.

which indicates that there had been problems of some kind in their families. Thus, the adolescents in Tanner's studies were not selected randomly and were in many ways not truly representative of the larger population of adolescents, even the larger population of White British adolescents. Nevertheless, Tanner's description of development in puberty has held up well. Studies of normal White American adolescents have found patterns similar to the ones Tanner described (Mendle, 2014; Susman et al., 2003). Since his original studies, Tanner and his colleagues have also researched development during puberty in other countries in various parts of the world (Eveleth & Tanner, 1990).

Tanner's research was longitudinal. A *longitudinal study* is a study in which the same individuals are followed across time, and data on them are collected on more than one occasion. The range of time involved can vary from a few weeks to an entire lifetime. This kind of study is different from a *cross-sectional study*, which examines individuals at one point in time. Both kinds of studies are valuable, but there are certain kinds of information that can be gained only with a longitudinal study. For example, in Tanner's research, the only way to find out how long it typically takes for females to develop from Stage 1 to Stage 5 of breast development is through a longitudinal study. If breast development were assessed with a cross-sectional study, it would be difficult to tell for each girl how long it had taken for her to develop to that stage and how long it would take for her to develop to the next stage. With a longitudinal study, this can be assessed quite precisely.

Watch TANNER'S LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH ON PUBERTAL DEVELOPMENT

adolescence and beyond. Before puberty boys and girls are about equal in strength and athletic performance, but during puberty boys overtake girls, and the difference remains throughout adulthood (DeRose & Brooks-Gunn, 2006).

Gender differences also exist in cultural expectations for physical activity in many cultures, with adolescent girls sometimes being discouraged from participating in sports to conform to cultural ideas of what it means to be "feminine." Boys are more likely to exercise in adolescence, and this gender difference contributes to the difference in athletic performance between adolescent boys and girls. This has remained true even in recent years, despite an increase in organized athletic activities for girls from childhood onward (Leech et al., 2014). A World Health Organization (WHO) survey of 15-year-olds in 26 Western countries found that in every country, boys were more likely than girls to say they exercised vigorously at least twice a week outside of school (Smith, 2000). Across countries, about three-fourths of boys exercised at least twice a week, compared with about one half of girls. In studies that take amount of exercise into account, the muscle-to-fat ratio is still higher for boys than for girls, but the difference is not as large as in studies that do not take exercise into account (DeRose & Brooks-Gunn, 2006).

OBESITY Although it is normal and healthy for young people to gain some weight during puberty, for many young people their weight gain goes well beyond what is healthy. Obesity has become a major health problem in developed countries and is becoming a problem in developing countries as well (Werner & Bodin, 2007; Zhaohui et al., 2010). Obesity is defined as exceeding a specific **body mass index (BMI)**, which is a ratio of height to weight (Davies &

body mass index (BMI)
A ratio of height to weight; BMI thresholds for obesity are determined by medical authorities and vary depending on age group.

Fitzgerald, 2008). The BMI thresholds for obesity are determined by medical authorities and vary depending on age group (The et al., 2010). Across countries, rates of overweight and obesity are highest in the most affluent regions (North America and Europe) and lowest in the poorest regions (Africa and Southeast Asia) (Lobstein et al., 2015). Among developed countries, rates of obesity are especially high in the United States. As **Figure 2.10** shows, the proportion of 15-year-olds who are overweight or obese is far greater in the United States than in other developed countries. About 20% of American adolescents ages 12 to 19 are classified as obese, a sharp rise from 5% during the period 1966 to 1980 (Fleming & Towey, 2003; Ogden et al., 2014). The problem is especially severe among African Americans and Latinos. Obese adolescents have higher leptin levels, so it may be that increased obesity has contributed to the earlier onset of puberty among African American and Latina girls in recent decades (Leech et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2005).

What is responsible for the disturbing trends in obesity among American adolescents? Not surprisingly, diet and exercise are implicated. Nearly one third of American adolescents eat at least one fast-food meal per day, and fast food tends to be extremely high in calories, loaded with fat and sugar (Bowman et al., 2004). Furthermore, fast-food portions have increased dramatically in recent years, as the burgers and drinks and French fry portions have become "supersized." The American lifestyle is more automobile-oriented than in most other developed countries, so American adolescents ride in cars more and walk or bike less. American adolescents exercise less than medical experts recommend, and African American females have especially low rates of exercise.

Among American adolescents, there is a steep decline in physical activity from middle childhood to adolescence. In one study (Nader et al., 2008), the researchers had the participants wear an "accelerometer," a device that measures movement, for 1 week. At age 9, children engaged in about 3 hours of physical activity a day on both weekdays and weekends. However, from age 9 to 15, the rate of physical activity declined steadily, and at age 15, physical activity was down to less than an hour on weekdays and just a half-hour on weekends.

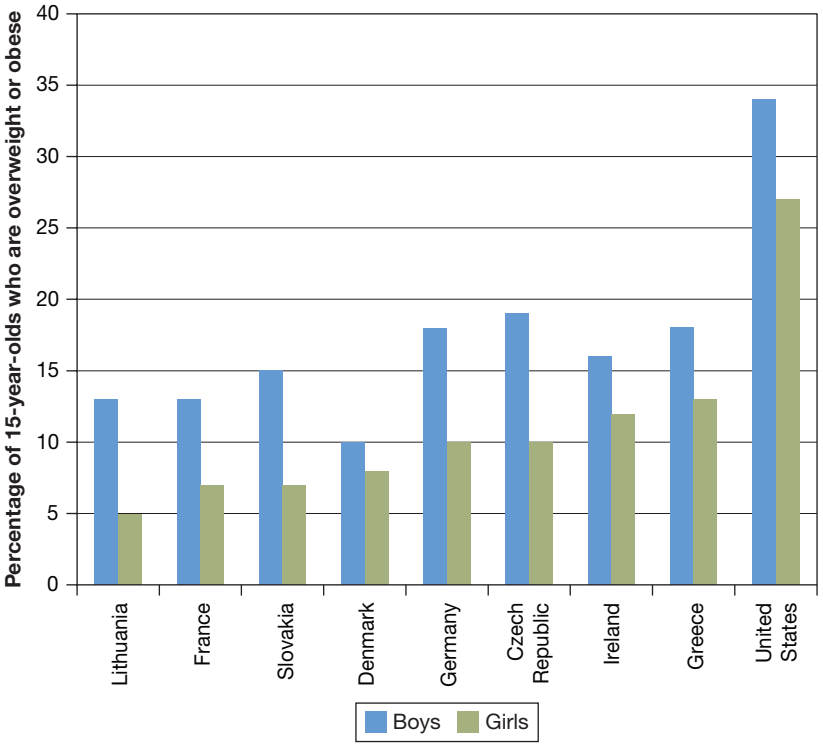
Time watching television has been found to be related to obesity, but American adolescents watch about the same amount of television as adolescents in other industrialized countries, so television-watching cannot explain the cross-national difference in obesity. Computer games have also been blamed (Davies & Fitzgerald, 2008), but again, computer games are popular in countries with widely different rates of adolescent obesity. Similarly, obesity has been found to run in families—when parents are obese, adolescents are at higher risk for obesity (Corrado et al., 2004; Davies & Fitzgerald, 2008; Dowda et al., 2001)—which suggests that heredity may be involved, but this cannot explain the steep increase in obesity in recent decades.

One trend that does shed light on the recent increase in obesity in the United States is the increased presence of soft drink and junk food machines in schools. Only one fourth of American elementary schools allow vending machines, but this proportion rises to two-thirds in middle school and nearly 90% in high schools (Terry-McElrath et al., 2015). Often, soft drink companies pay schools in return for being allowed to place their vending machines there, and cash-hungry schools are usually easy to persuade. Soft drink companies also offer money to after-school youth organizations such as the Boys and Girls Clubs of America and the YMCA in return for being able to market to the adolescents who attend their programs. Some have begun to criticize this practice, but like the schools, few youth organizations have been able to resist the money.

Obesity in adolescence is a source of concern not just because it is unhealthy during the teen years but because it predicts long-term health problems (Davies & Fitzgerald, 2008;

Figure 2.10 Rates of overweight/obesity among adolescents in selected developed countries. Why are rates of overweight/obesity so high among adolescents in the United States?

SOURCE: Currie et al. (2012).



The et al., 2010). About 80% of obese adolescents remain obese in adulthood (Engeland et al., 2004). A variety of health risks result from obesity in adulthood, including diabetes, stroke, and heart disease. To address the problem, medical professionals have developed interventions intended to reduce obesity during childhood and adolescence, usually through the schools. Successful programs have a variety of components, including nutrition education, dietary assessment, modifications of meals offered in the school, and efforts to increase physical activity (Stice, Shaw, & Marti, 2006). However, such programs also face barriers, especially resistance from adolescents who see no need to change and parents who are disinclined to become more involved.

PHYSICAL FUNCTIONING IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD Although most people reach their maximum height by the end of adolescence, in other ways emerging adulthood rather than adolescence is the period of peak physical functioning. Even after maximum height is attained, the bones continue to grow in density, and peak bone mass is reached in the 20s (Zumwalt, 2008). A measure of physical stamina called **maximum oxygen uptake**, or **VO_2 max**, which reflects the ability of the body to take in oxygen and transport it to various organs, also peaks in the early 20s (Budde et al., 2015). Similarly, **cardiac output**, the quantity of blood flow from the heart, peaks at age 25 (Lakatta, 1990). Reaction time is also faster in the early 20s than at any other time of life. Studies of grip strength among men show the same pattern, with a peak in the 20s followed by a steady decline (Aldwin & Gilmer, 2013). All together, for most people emerging adulthood is the time of life when they are at the zenith of their health and strength.

For most people, the peak of their physical functioning comes during emerging adulthood. Here, the U.S. Olympian Simone Biles.

One way to demonstrate this is at the extreme, in terms of peak performances in athletic activity. Several studies have been conducted on the ages of athletes' best performances (Ericsson, 1990; Schultz & Curnow, 1988; Stones & Kozma, 1996; Tanaka & Seals, 2008). The peak ages have been found to vary depending on the sport, with swimmers youngest (the late teens) and golfers oldest (about age 31). However, for most sports, the peak age of performance comes during the 20s.

Emerging adulthood is also the period of the life span with the least susceptibility to physical illnesses (Keyes & Grzywacz, 2002). This is especially true in modern times, when vaccines and medical treatments have dramatically lowered the risk of diseases such as polio that used to strike mainly during these years. Emerging adults are no longer vulnerable to the illnesses and diseases of childhood, and with rare exceptions they are not yet vulnerable to diseases such as cancer and heart disease that rise in prevalence later in adulthood. The immune system is at its most effective during the emerging adult years. Consequently, the late teens and early 20s are the years of fewest hospital stays and fewest days spent sick in bed at home (Keyes & Grzywacz, 2002). In many ways, then, emerging adulthood is an exceptionally healthy time of life.

This is not the whole story, however. The lifestyles of many emerging adults often include a variety of factors that undermine health, such as poor nutrition, lack of sleep, and the high stress of trying to juggle school and work or multiple jobs (Ma et al., 2002; Steptoe & Wardle, 2001). Longitudinal studies in the United States and Finland have found declines in physical activity, sports participation, and exercise from adolescence through emerging adulthood (Gordon-Larsen et al., 2004; Telama et al., 2005).

Furthermore, in the United States and other developed countries, the late teens and early 20s are the years of highest incidence of a variety of types of disease, injury, and death due to behavior. Automobile accidents are the leading cause of death among emerging adults in developed countries, and injuries and deaths from automobile accidents are higher in the early 20s than at any other period of the life span (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, 2016). Homicide is another common cause of death in developed countries during emerging adulthood (McCall, Land, & Parker, 2011). Rates of contracting sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, are highest in the early 20s (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2015). Most kinds of substance use and abuse also peak in the early 20s (Bachman et al., 2014).

maximum oxygen uptake (VO_2 max)
A measure of the ability of the body to take in oxygen and transport it to various organs; peaks in the early 20s.

cardiac output
A measure of the quantity of blood pumped by the heart; peaks at age 25.

We will discuss the causes of these problems in Chapter 13. For now, it is worth noting that in recent decades health experts have reached a consensus that the source of most physical health problems in the teens and early 20s is in young people's behavior. As a result, programs emphasizing **health promotion** during these years have become more common. Programs in health promotion tend to emphasize prevention of problems through encouraging changes in the behaviors that put young people at risk (e.g., driving at high speeds, having unprotected sex, engaging in binge drinking). Many of these programs focus on the early adolescent years, in the belief that these are the years when patterns of behavior are being established that may endure into late adolescence, emerging adulthood, and beyond. The success of such programs has been mixed so far, as we will see in more detail in Chapter 13.

Cultural Responses to Puberty

Whatever their culture, all humans go through the physical and biological changes of puberty. However, even here culture's effects are profound. Cultural diets and levels of health and nutrition influence the timing of the initiation of puberty. Perhaps more importantly, cultures define the meaning and significance of pubertal change in different ways. These cultural definitions in turn influence the ways that adolescents interpret and experience their passage through puberty. We will look at culture and pubertal timing first, and then at culture and the meaning of puberty. Next we will examine social and personal responses to puberty, with a focus on differences between adolescents who mature relatively early and adolescents who mature relatively late.

Culture and the Timing of Puberty

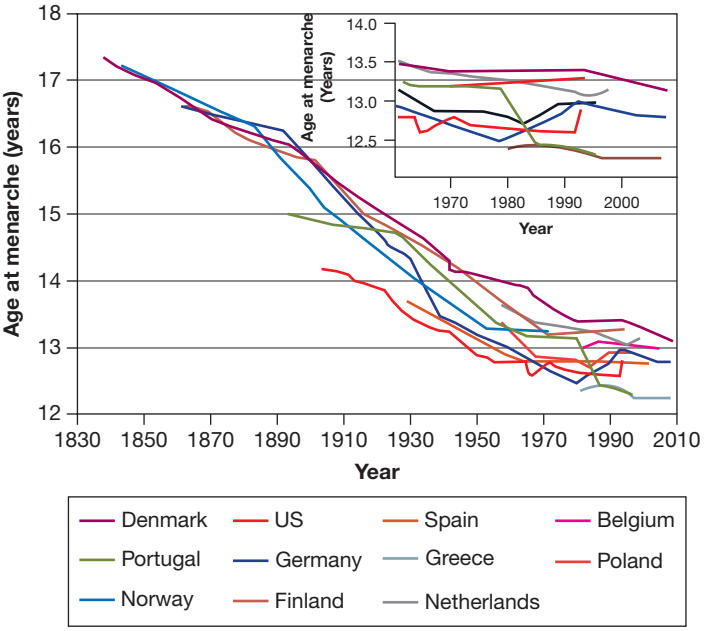
2.7 Explain how culture influences the timing of puberty.

How do cultures influence the timing of the initiation of puberty? The definition of culture includes a group's technologies. Technologies include food production and medical care, and the age at which puberty begins is strongly influenced by the extent to which food production provides for adequate nutrition and medical care provides for good health throughout childhood. In general, puberty begins earlier in cultures where good nutrition and medical care are widely available (Mendle, 2014).

Persuasive evidence for the influence of technologies on pubertal timing comes from historical records showing a steady decrease in the average age of menarche in Western countries over the past 150 years. This kind of change in a population over time is called a **secular trend** (Bullough, 1981). As you can see from **Figure 2.11,** a secular trend downward in the age of menarche has occurred in every Western country for which records exist. Menarche is not a perfect indicator of the initiation of puberty—as we have discussed, the first outward signs of puberty appear much earlier for most girls, and of course menarche does not apply to boys. However, menarche is a reasonably good indicator of when other events have begun, and it is a reasonable assumption that if the downward secular trend in the age of puberty has occurred for females, it has occurred for males as well. Menarche is also the only aspect of pubertal development for which we have records going back so many decades. Scholars believe that the secular trend in the age of menarche is due to improvements in nutrition and medical care that have taken place during the past 150 years. As medical advances have reduced illnesses and advances in food production have enhanced nutrition, puberty has come sooner.

Figure 2.11 The secular trend in age of menarche.

SOURCE: Adapted from Sørenson et al. (2012).



health promotion

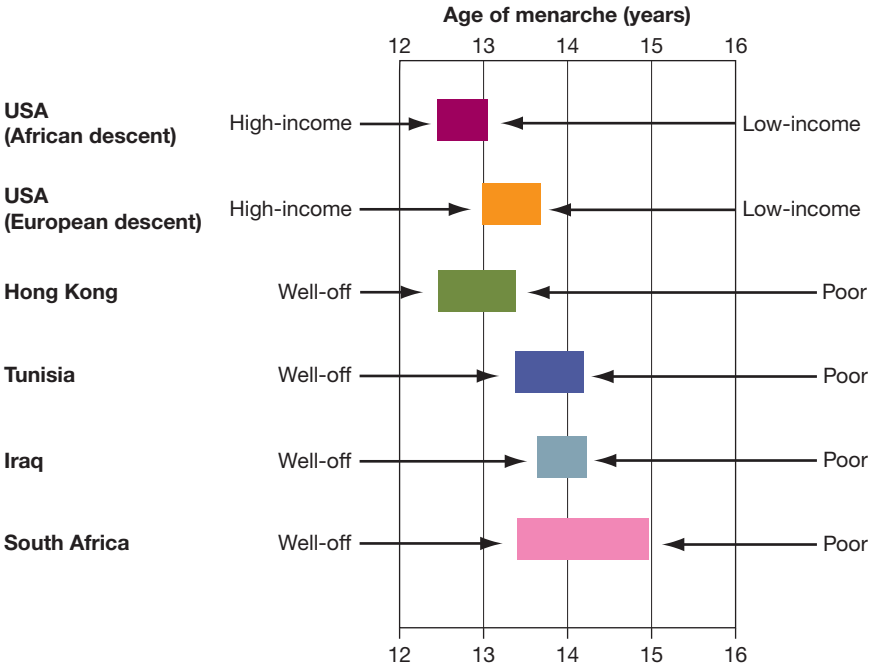
Efforts to reduce health problems in young people through encouraging changes in the behaviors that put young people at risk.

secular trend

A change in the characteristics of a population over time.

Figure 2.12 Age of menarche in relation to socioeconomic status (SES) in various countries. Why is age of menarche inversely related to wealth?

SOURCE: Adapted from Eveleth & Tanner (1990).



Further evidence of the role of nutrition and medical care in pubertal timing comes from cultural comparisons in the present. When we look around the world, we find that the average age of menarche is lowest in developed countries, where adequacy of nutrition and medical care is highest (Eveleth & Tanner, 1990; McDowell et al., 2007; Nabi et al., 2014). For girls in the United States, the average age of menarche is currently 12.5 (Sørensen et al., 2012). In contrast, the average is higher in developing countries, where nutrition may be limited and medical care is often rare or nonexistent (Nabi et al., 2014). In countries that have undergone rapid economic development in recent decades, such as China and South Korea, a corresponding decline in the average age of menarche has been recorded (Park et al., Tang et al., 2004).

One illuminating contrast is between African girls in Africa and African American girls in the United States. In African countries, the average age of menarche varies widely, but in none of them is it as low as for girls in the United States, and in some African countries the average age of menarche is as high as 15, 16, or even 17 years old (Eveleth & Tanner, 1990; Nabi et al., 2014). In contrast, the average age of menarche for African American girls is just 12.2 (Herman-Giddens et al., 1997). The lower age of menarche for African American girls compared with African girls is likely a result of African American girls' considerably better nutrition and medical care.

Studies also show that within countries, as you can see in **Figure 2.12,** adolescent girls from affluent families tend to menstruate earlier than girls from poorer families, in places as diverse as Hong Kong, Tunisia, Iraq, South Africa, and the United States (Eveleth & Tanner, 1990). Again, we can infer that economic differences result in differences in the nutrition and medical care these girls receive, which in turn influence the timing of menarche.

Given that the secular trend in the age of menarche was steadily downward for over a century in developed countries, will girls someday begin menstruating in middle childhood or even earlier? Apparently not. In most developed countries, the median age of menarche has been more or less stable since about 1970 (Sørensen et al., 2012). Although there is some evidence that a downward secular trend for breast development and pubic hair may have continued since that time, human females appear to have a genetically established **reaction range** for the age of menarche. This means that genes establish a range of possible times when menarche may begin, and environment determines the actual timing of menarche within that range.

In general, the healthier the environment, the lower the timing of menarche. However, the reaction range has boundaries: Even under relatively unhealthy conditions, most girls will eventually reach menarche, and even in

reaction range

Term meaning that genes establish a range of possible development and environment determines where development takes place within that range.

conditions of optimal health there is a lower boundary age that menarche is unlikely to fall below. Because the timing of menarche in developed countries has changed little in recent decades, it appears that girls in these countries have reached the lower boundary age of their reaction range for menarche.

With respect to nutrition in particular, substantial evidence shows that girls who are involved in activities in which there is a great deal of pressure to keep down their weight, such as ballet and gymnastics, experience later menarche and have inconsistent periods once they begin to menstruate (Robert-McComb, 2008). The body responds to their low weight as malnutrition and delays menarche.

Although the typical age of reaching menarche has stabilized in recent decades in developed countries, concern has grown that the timing of other pubertal changes is continuing to fall. For example, breast development among girls now begins by age 7 for 10% of White American girls, 15% of Latinas, and 23% of African American girls (Biro et al., 2010). The main cause of this appears to be rising rates of obesity; as noted earlier in the chapter, puberty is initiated by an increase in body fat. However, investigators are also considering the possible role of *endocrine disruptors,* such as materials in plastics and endrogens added to milk, as possible triggers of early puberty. Evidence for the role of endocrine disruptors is mixed thus far, but investigations are continuing (Fisher & Eugster, 2014).

THINKING CRITICALLY

In your view, what potential social and psychological problems may develop as a consequence of girls showing signs of reaching puberty (such as initial breast development) as early as 8 or 9 years old?

Cultural Responses to Puberty: Puberty Rituals

2.8 Identify the rates of prevalence of puberty rituals across cultures, and explain the function of these rituals.

Puberty has been marked with rituals in many cultures through history as the departure from childhood and the entrance into adolescence, particularly in traditional cultures. Schlegel and Barry (1991, 2015) analyzed information on adolescent development across 186 traditional cultures and reported that the majority of them had some kind of ritual initiation into adolescence at the beginning of puberty: 68% had a puberty ritual for boys, 79% for girls (Schlegel & Barry, 1991).

For girls, menarche is the pubertal event that is most often marked by ritual (Markstrom et al., 2015). In many cultures, menarche initiates a monthly ritual related to menstruation that lasts throughout a woman's reproductive life. It is remarkably common for cultures to have strong beliefs concerning the power of menstrual blood. Menstrual blood is often believed to present a danger to the growth and life of crops, to the health of livestock, to the success of hunters, and to the health and well-being of other people, particularly the menstruating woman's husband (Johnston-Robledo & Chrisler, 2013; Marván et al., 2014). Consequently, the behavior and movement of menstruating women are often restricted in many domains, including food preparation and consumption, social activities, religious practices, bathing, school attendance, and sexual activities.

The views of cultures toward menstrual blood are not uniformly negative, however (Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988; Howie & Shail, 2005). Often, menstrual blood is viewed as having positive powers as well. For example, it is sometimes seen as promoting fertility and is used in fertility rituals. Some cultures use menstrual blood in the treatment of medical conditions, and some use it to make love potions (Ladurie, 1979). Sometimes both positive and negative beliefs about menstruation exist within the same culture.

An example of cultural ambivalence toward menstruation can be found among the Asante, a culture in the African nation of Ghana (Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988). Among the Asante, menstruating women are subject to numerous stringent regulations concerning where they may go and what they may do, and the penalty for violating these taboos can be death. However, the Asante also celebrate girls' menarche with an elaborate ritual celebration. The menarcheal girl sits in public view under a canopy (a symbol of honor usually reserved for royalty),

Menarche is often marked by a ritual in traditional cultures. Here, girls of the N'Jembe tribe of West Africa prepare for their initiation.

while others come before her to congratulate her, present her with gifts, and perform songs and dances in her honor. Thus, on this occasion menstruation is celebrated, even though the rest of the time it is viewed with a great deal of dread and fear.

Practices among Orthodox Jews show a similar ambivalence, with a shift toward a more positive balance in recent decades. Traditionally, when girls told their mothers they had reached menarche, mothers responded with a sudden ritualistic slap on the face (Brumberg, 1997). This gesture was intended to inform the daughter of the future difficulties awaiting her as a woman. Following menarche, each time they menstruated Orthodox women were obliged to have a ritual bath called **mikveh** a week after their period was finished, as a way of cleansing themselves of the impurity believed to be associated with menstruation. Today, the slap has been retired. The mikveh still exists, but today the bath has more positive connotations. Orthodox Jewish women report that it makes them feel connected to other Jewish women—their current Jewish friends as well as Jewish women of history (Kaufman, 1991). Also, because sexual intercourse is prohibited among Orthodox Jewish couples from the time a woman begins her period until the time she completes mikveh, mikveh also marks the woman's readiness for resuming lovemaking with her husband, and consequently it has connotations of sexual anticipation (Kaufman, 1991).

Puberty rituals for males do not focus on a particular biological event comparable to menarche for females, but the rites for males nevertheless share some common characteristics. In particular, they typically require the young man to display courage, strength, and endurance (Gilmore, 1990; Schlegel & Barry, 2015). Daily life in traditional cultures often requires these capacities from young men in warfare, hunting, fishing, and other tasks, so the rituals could be interpreted as letting them know what will be required of them as adult men and testing whether they will be up to adulthood's challenges.

The rituals for boys have often been violent, requiring boys to submit to and sometimes engage in bloodletting of various kinds. Among the Sambia of New Guinea, for example, a boy climbs onto the back of a "sponsor," who runs through a gauntlet of older men who beat the boy on his back until it is bloody (Herdt, 1987). Among the Amhara of Ethiopia, boys were forced to take part in whipping contests in which they faced off and lacerated each other's faces and bodies (LeVine, 1966). Some boys went further in proving their fortitude by scarring their arms with red-hot embers. Among the Tewa people of New Mexico (also known as the Pueblo Indians), at some point between the ages of 12 and 15, boys were taken away from their homes, purified in ritual ceremonies, and then stripped naked and lashed on the back with a whip that drew blood and left permanent scars. In many African and Asian tribal cultures, boys were publicly circumcised when they reached puberty (Gilmore, 1990).

Puberty rituals for boys often require them to endure physical pain. Here, the traditional stick fight between adolescents in the Xhosa tribe of southern Africa.

Although these rituals may sound cruel if you have grown up in the West, adults of these cultures have believed that the rituals are necessary for boys to make the passage out of childhood toward manhood and be ready to face life's challenges. In all these cultures, however, with globalization the rituals have become less frequent or have disappeared altogether in recent decades (see the Cultural Focus box). Because traditional cultures are changing rapidly in response to globalization, the traditional puberty rituals no longer seem relevant to young people's futures (Schlegel, 2010; Schlegel & Barry, 2015). However, public circumcision for boys is still maintained as a puberty ritual in many African cultures (Vincent, 2008).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Are there any rituals in Western cultures that are comparable to the puberty rituals in traditional cultures? Should people in Western cultures recognize and mark the attainment of puberty more than they do now? If so, why, and how?

mikveh

A ritual bath that Jewish Orthodox women are obliged to take a week after their period as a way of cleansing themselves of the impurity believed to be associated with menstruation.

Cultural Focus

COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA

One interesting example of a puberty ritual for both males and females comes from the islands of Samoa, in the Pacific Ocean near New Zealand. Samoa became known to many Americans early in the 20th century when the anthropologist Margaret Mead wrote a book about Samoan adolescence, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), that was widely read in the United States (and, in fact, all over the world). Many people were fascinated by the stark contrast between adolescence in Samoa and adolescence in the West.

One of the ways Samoa differed from the West was in having a ritual to mark the beginning of adolescence. The traditional rite of passage into adolescence involved an elaborate process of tattooing sometime between ages 14 and 16 (Coté, 1994). The tattoos were made in elaborate geometric patterns and extended from the waist to the knees (see accompanying photo). Having the tattoos put on was painful, especially for males, whose tattoos were more elaborate than the ones for females and usually took 2 to 3 months to complete, whereas the tattoos for females took only 5 to 6 days. But the young men experienced it together and took satisfaction in sharing the ordeal of it and supporting one another. Despite the pain, few young men or young women declined to take part in it because being tattooed was considered essential to sexual attractiveness and to being accepted as a legitimate candidate for full adult status.

This tattooing ritual has been profoundly affected by the globalization of adolescence. In the past 100 years, Samoan culture has changed a great deal (Coté, 1994; McDade & Worthman, 2004). Christian missionaries arrived and sought to stamp out a variety of native practices they considered immoral, including the ritual of tattooing. The rise of secondary education and the widening of economic opportunities for Samoans who immigrated to nearby New Zealand undermined the traditional economy and caused the tattooing ritual to be viewed as irrelevant or even shamefully "primitive" by some Samoans. By now, most Samoans have abandoned their cooperative, traditional ways for participation in the wage labor of the global economy.

Recently, however, tattooing for young men has undergone a revival. Currently, the majority of young men get tattoos in their teens to demonstrate their pride in the traditional ways of their culture, as part of an explicit attempt to resist the total absorption of their indigenous culture into the global culture.

Tattooing is a traditional rite of passage for Samoan adolescents.

Social and Personal Responses to Puberty

I first menstruated when I was 13 and a half. The first thing I did was go to my mom. I wasn't sure exactly if I had begun to menstruate or not, but my mom knew. She had explained to me in great detail what would happen. She gave me a hug and I remember her saying, "Now my little girl is a woman." I remember thinking at the time how corny it was that she said that, but it made me feel a little better. My mother promised not to tell my dad, since I made her swear, although she told my grandmother, who sympathized with my plight by calling it "the curse." My grandmother told me how ignorant she was when she got hers and how she had asked my great grandmother if her brother Ed would get it, too.

—ERIN, AGE 20 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

The West does not have puberty rituals like those of traditional cultures. Nevertheless, in the West as in traditional cultures, the people in adolescents' social environment respond to the changes in adolescents' bodies that signify puberty and the development of sexual maturity. Adolescents in turn form their personal responses to puberty based in part on the information provided by the people in their social environment. First, let's look at

the adjustments that take place in parent–adolescent relations when puberty begins, then at adolescents' personal responses to puberty.

Parent–Adolescent Relations and Puberty

2.9 Compare and contrast cultures in how puberty influences family relations.

When young people reach puberty, the metamorphosis that takes place affects not only them personally but their relations with those closest to them, especially their parents. Just as adolescents have to adjust to the changes taking place in their bodies, parents have to adjust to the new person their child is becoming.

How do parent–adolescent relations change at puberty? For the most part, studies of adolescents and their parents in the American majority culture find that relations tend to become cooler when pubertal changes become evident (Ellis et al., 2011; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991). Conflict increases and closeness decreases. Parents and adolescents seem to be less comfortable in each other's presence when puberty is reached, especially in their physical closeness. In one especially creative study demonstrating this change, researchers went to a shopping mall and an amusement park and observed 122 pairs of mothers and children ages 6 to 18 (Montemayor & Flannery, 1989). For each pair, the researchers observed them for 30 seconds and recorded whether they were talking, smiling, looking at, or touching each other. The most notable result of the study is shown in **Figure 2.13**. Early adolescents (ages 11–14) and their mothers were much less likely than younger children and their mothers to touch each other, and late adolescents (ages 15–18) and their mothers touched even less. Mothers and early adolescents talked more than mothers and younger children, suggesting that parent–child communication styles shift toward talking and away from touching as puberty is reached.

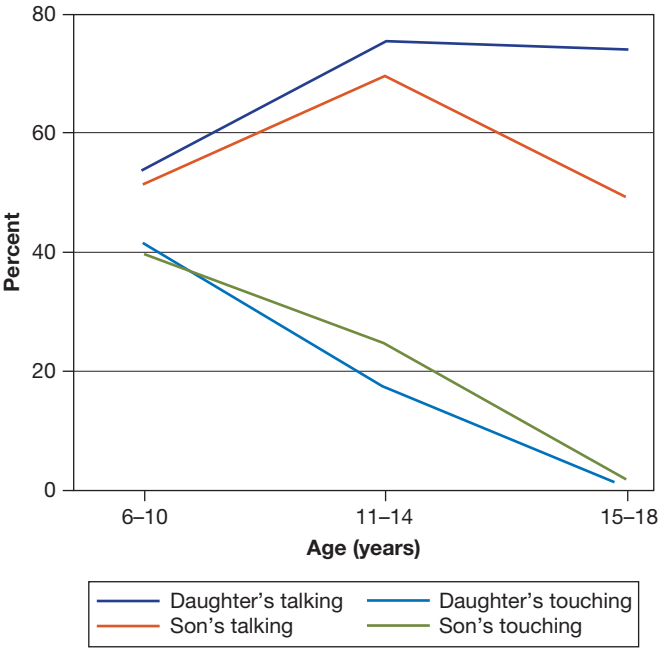
Other studies have found that the physical changes of puberty, not age alone, lead to the change in parent–adolescent relations (Ellis et al., 2011). If a child reaches puberty relatively early, relations with parents change relatively early; if a child reaches puberty relatively late, relations with parents change relatively late. For example, one study of 10- to 15-year-olds found that regardless of age, those who had reached puberty felt less close to their mothers and less accepted by their fathers (Steinberg, 1987, 1988). Studies have also found that conflict with parents tends to be especially high for adolescents who mature early (Ellis et al., 2011; Sagestrano et al., 1999).

What is it about reaching puberty that causes parent–child relations to change? At this point, the answer is uncertain. Various explanations have been proposed, centering mostly on how the biologically based **incest taboo** between parents and children becomes activated once children reach sexual maturity, resulting in more distant relations (Belsky et al., 2007). If this explanation were true, however, one would expect to find distancing between adolescents and their parents in nearly all cultures, but this is not the case. In fact, the studies that have found distancing to take place at puberty have been mainly of two-parent White American families and one study of African American families (Sagestrano et al., 1999). Distancing is not as common in Latino families or in divorced mother-headed families (Anderson et al., 1989; Molina & Chassin, 1996).

Distancing is also not typical in traditional cultures. Schlegel and Barry's (1991) survey of traditional cultures found that girls in traditional cultures often grow closer to their mothers during adolescence because they often spend much of their days side by side in shared labor. Furthermore, in nearly all cultures, adolescents of both sexes tend to be closer to their mothers than to their fathers (McKinney & Renk, 2011). If increased distance in adolescence were as a result of the incest taboo, one would expect adolescent sons to be closer to fathers, not

Figure 2.13 Frequency of adolescent–mother touching and talking.

SOURCE: Montemayor & Flannery (1989).



incest taboo

The prohibition on sexual relations between family members. Believed to be biologically based because children born to closely related parents are at higher risk for genetic disorders.

mothers. Thus, the unanswered question appears to be, what is it about the American majority culture that leads to greater distancing between parents and children when children reach puberty?

Another finding with regard to parents and puberty is that puberty tends to begin earlier for girls in families with a stepfather or other adult male not biologically related to the girl (Belsky et al., 2007). This has been found to occur in other mammals as well: Exposure to unrelated adult males causes females to reach puberty (Miracle et al., 2003). Why unrelated males would stimulate puberty in girls is not clear. It has also been found that family stress and conflict are related to early puberty in girls (Ellis & Garber, 2000; Moffitt et al., 1993). Again, the reason for this is not known.

Personal Responses to Menarche and Semenarche

2.10 Describe personal responses to menarche and semenarche among adolescents and how these responses are shaped by cultures.

Although menarche occurs relatively late in pubertal development for most girls, their responses to it have received a great deal of attention from researchers. This may be because menarche is a more momentous event than other female pubertal changes. The growth of pubic hair, the development of breasts, and most other pubertal changes occur gradually, almost imperceptibly from one day to the next, whereas menarche is suddenly there one day, when there was little to herald it the day before. Similarly, menarche is easier for scientists to measure; it is easier to identify when menarche begins than to pinpoint the beginning of other more gradual changes. Menarche also holds a special significance in that it signifies that ovulation is beginning and reproductive maturity is arriving. Of course, boys' first ejaculation holds a similar significance, but it has received far less research, perhaps because of its relation to masturbation, a taboo topic in the West as it is in most cultures (Laqueur, 2004).

How do girls respond to menarche? Almost all the research on this topic has been conducted on girls in the American majority culture, and for them the short answer would be: positively for the most part but with shades of ambivalence. In a study of more than 600 girls, Brooks-Gunn and Ruble (1982) found that girls often reported that menarche made them feel more "grown up." Many girls also indicated that they welcomed menarche because it allowed them to catch up to peers who had already begun menstruating and signified their capacity to bear children. Studies that follow girls over time find that menarche is followed by increases in social maturity, prestige with peers, and self-esteem (Mendle, 2014).

> "Each time I have a period … I have the feeling that in spite of all the pain, unpleasantness, and nastiness, I have a sweet secret and that is why, although it is nothing but a nuisance to me in a way, I always long for the time that I shall feel that secret within me again."
>
> —ANNE FRANK (1942/1997), *DIARY OF A YOUNG GIRL*, P. 117

Not all reactions to menarche are positive, however. Both culture and biology may shade girls' reactions. Cultures may provide girls with no information to help them anticipate it, or with a view that leads them to anticipate it in a negative way. During the 19th century in American society, many girls knew nothing about menarche before it occurred, and they often responded with shock and fear when they were one day surprised by it (Brumberg, 1997; see the Historical Focus box). Across cultures, evidence from anthropological studies in cultures as diverse as rural Turkey, Malaysia, and Wales suggests that even today girls often are provided with no information at all to prepare them for menarche, with the result that it is experienced with fear and dismay (Howie & Shail, 2005). The following is an example from an Egyptian woman's memoir:

> It would be difficult for anyone to imagine the panic that seized hold of me one morning when I woke to find blood trickling down beneath my thighs … I was obliged to overcome the fear and shame which possessed me and speak to my mother. I asked her to take me to a doctor for treatment. To my utter surprise she was calm and cool and did not seem to be affected by her daughter's serious condition. She explained that this was something that happened to all girls and that it recurs every month for a few days. On the last day when the flow ceased, I was to cleanse myself of this 'impure blood' by having a hot bath.… I was therefore to understand that in me there was something degrading which appeared regularly in the form of this impure blood, and that it was something to be ashamed of, to hide from others. (Saadawi, 1980, p. 45)

One review of 14 studies across a variety of cultures concluded that most girls have talked about menstruation with their mothers before menarche arrives, or received information from friends or from school, but girls who are unprepared for menarche experience it more negatively (Chang, Hayter, & Wu, 2010). Girls who mature earlier than others are more likely to be unprepared for menarche. Because it takes place earlier for them than for other girls, they are less likely to have learned about it from peers, and their mothers are less likely to have prepared them (Lien, Haavet, & Dalgard, 2010).

Even when girls receive information in advance of menarche, in some cultures it may be information that shapes their views of menstruation in negative ways. For

example, in a Chinese study, a majority of premenarcheal girls expected menstruation to be annoying, embarrassing, and confusing, whereas only 10% expected to feel happy or excited (Yeung, 2005). Negative expectations of menarche were especially high among girls who accepted erroneous traditional Chinese beliefs about menstruation, such as beliefs that menstruation brings bad luck, that women should not wash hair or eat cold food while menstruating, and that it is easier to get sick during or after menstruation. A study of Mexican premenarcheal girls found similarly negative expectations for menarche, based in similarly negative cultural views of menstruation (Marván et al., 2007). Research also indicates that girls whose mothers, peers, or other sources have led them to expect menstruation to be unpleasant report greater discomfort once menarche occurs (Brooks-Gunn & Ruble, 1982; Tang, Yeung, & Lee, 2004; Teitelman, 2004).

The results of studies of girls' responses to menarche indicate vividly that the degree to which cultures provide knowledge and shape expectations for menarche can have important effects on how girls experience it. However, studies also indicate that most girls and women experience a certain amount of biologically based discomfort associated with menstruation. Among adolescent girls, most report some degree of **premenstrual syndrome (PMS)**, the combination of behavioral, emotional, and physical symptoms that occur in the week before menstruation (Dean et al., 2006). Various studies have found that from one half to three-fourths of adolescent girls experience discomfort related to their menstrual cycles, with symptoms including cramps, backaches, headaches, fatigue, and depression, as well as general discomfort (Meaden, Hartlage, & Cook-Karr, 2005; Yonkers et al., 2006). The most common source of discomfort is cramps, experienced by 30% to 50% of girls and women. Even among girls whose experience of menarche is mostly positive, many dislike the messiness of dealing with menstrual blood and the obligation of carrying around supplies to deal with it every month (Brooks-Gunn & Ruble, 1982; Tang, Yeung, & Lee, 2003). Also, some girls report disliking the limits menstruation places on their activities.

Seen in this light, it is easier to understand the ambivalence girls often experience when they begin menstruating. They like the confirmation that they are developing normally toward reproductive maturity, but they may not like the discomfort and practical requirements that accompany menstruation each month. However, adolescent girls and adult women experience a great range of physical responses to menstruation. At the extreme, a small proportion of girls and women experience premenstrual symptoms that are severe enough to interfere with their daily functioning; on the other hand, some experience no symptoms at all, and there is a great deal of variability in between these two extremes (Dean et al., 2006; Yonkers et al., 2008). Poor diet, high stress, alcohol use, insufficient sleep, and lack of exercise all make PMS symptoms more severe, but orgasms relieve premenstrual cramps for many women (Carroll & Wolpe, 1996; Reid, 2014). Ibuprofen and other medications are also effective treatments for cramps.

For boys, perhaps the closest analogue to menarche is first ejaculation, sometimes known as **semenarche** (not to be confused with spermarche, which was described previously in this chapter). Very little research has taken place on this topic. Three small studies (Gaddis & Brooks-Gunn, 1985; Maurino, 2010; Stein & Reiser, 1994) found that boys' reactions to semenarche were mixed. They enjoyed the pleasurable sensations of it, and, like girls' experience of menarche, it made them feel more grown up. However, ambivalence existed for boys as well. Many reported that guilt, surprise, or fear was part of the experience. Most girls in Western countries now receive some information about menarche before it happens, but parents rarely talk to their boys about semenarche (Frankel, 2002; Temple-Smith, Moore, & Rosenthal, 2015).

Culture certainly influences boys' interpretation of semenarche. It may occur through "wet dreams" or masturbation, and there is a long history of shame and censure associated with masturbation in the West (Laqueur, 2004). Perhaps for this reason, American boys tend to tell no one after they experience semenarche (Frankel, 2002; Gaddis & Brooks-Gunn, 1985). In contrast, a study of boys in Nigeria found that boys tended to tell their friends about semenarche soon after it took place (Adegoke, 1993), perhaps reflecting less of a stigma associated with masturbation in Nigerian culture.

THINKING CRITICALLY

What kind of preparation for menarche and semenarche would you recommend be provided for today's adolescents? At what age? If schools provide information on menarche and semenarche, should that information include a discussion of the relation between these events and sexuality?

premenstrual syndrome (PMS)
The combination of behavioral, emotional, and physical symptoms that can occur in women the week before menstruation.

semenarche
A male's first ejaculation.

Historical Focus

MENARCHE AS A TABOO TOPIC

Some traditional cultures have harbored false beliefs about menstruation, such as the belief that menstrual blood has magical power that can cause crops to fail. However, false beliefs about menstruation are not exclusive to traditional cultures. In the United States, erroneous and even bizarre beliefs about menstruation were widespread until relatively recent times. Furthermore, menarche has been shrouded in shame and secrecy, leaving many girls entirely ignorant of it until they suddenly found themselves bleeding incomprehensibly. The history of American beliefs about menstruation and menarche is described in *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls* by Joan Jacobs Brumberg (1997).

Throughout the 19th century, menstruation and menarche were regarded as taboo topics in most middle-class American families. An 1895 study of Boston high school girls indicated that 60% had no knowledge of menarche before it occurred. A popular 1882 advice book for mothers railed against the "criminal reserve" and "pseudo-delicacy" that led mothers to fail to prepare their girls for menarche. Another 19th-century advice writer reported that "numbers of women" had written to tell her that they were totally unprepared for menarche, including one who wrote, "It has taken me nearly a lifetime to forgive my mother for sending me away to boarding school without telling me about it." A Cornell professor and author of books for young people reported that many college girls believed they were internally wounded when menarche arrived. At the time, menarche occurred later than it does now (typically age 15 or 16) and college entrance was earlier (16 or 17), so many girls experienced menarche at college.

Mothers in the 19th century rarely discussed menarche with their daughters.

Why such secrecy? Because middle-class Americans of that era believed they had a duty to protect girls' "innocence" for as long as they could. Children who grew up on farms learned a lot about the facts of life by observing and caring for farm animals, but parents in the urban middle class sought to protect their children from such raw realities. They associated menarche with budding sexuality, and they were zealous about protecting girls' virginity until marriage. As part of this effort, they often attempted to delay menarche by having girls avoid sexually "stimulating" foods such as pickles! Menarche came anyway, pickles or not, but they believed it was best to keep girls in ignorance of menarche—and sexuality—for as long as possible.

In the course of the 20th century, as the sexual restrictiveness of the 19th century faded, menarche and menstruation gradually became more openly discussed. The Girl Scouts were among the first organizations to discuss menstruation openly. Beginning in the 1920s, attaining the Health Winner merit badge required young Girl Scouts to read about menarche and talk to their troop leader about it. A substantial amount of information was communicated through the media. In the 1920s, as mass-produced "sanitary napkins" became popular (previously, cotton rags or cheesecloth had been typically used to stanch menstrual blood), ads for sanitary napkins helped to open up discussion of menstruation. Companies making sanitary napkins distributed pamphlets on menstruation to girls through mothers, teachers, and the Girl Scouts during the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1940s a cartoon produced by the Disney Company, "The Story of Menstruation," was seen by 93 million American school girls. Magazines for girls, such as *Seventeen*, provided advice on how to handle menstruation while remaining active.

Today, it is rare for an American girl to experience menarche in total ignorance of what is happening to her body. Perhaps because menarche now takes place at around age 12, cultural beliefs in American society no longer associate menarche with sexuality but rather with health and hygiene. It may be that dissociating menarche from sex has been important in allowing it to be discussed more openly. As we will see in later chapters, however, open discussions of adolescent sexuality remain rare in American society.

Early and Late Pubertal Timing

2.11 Summarize the gender differences in how boys and girls respond to reaching puberty relatively early or late.

Everybody thought there was something wrong with me because I still looked like a ten-year-old until I was fifteen or sixteen. That has been really a bad experience for me, because everybody was changing around me and I was standing still. I was changing in my head but not my body. My parents were even going to take me to the doctor to see if I was deformed or something like that, but they didn't, and finally last year I started to grow. My voice started changing and everything, so I guess I'm normal after all, but I think it's going to be awhile before I stop feeling like I'm different from everybody else.

—STEVEN, AGE 17 (QUOTED IN BELL, 1998, P. 14)

In some respects, social and personal responses to puberty are intertwined. That is, one factor that determines how adolescents respond to reaching puberty is how others respond. In developed countries, one aspect of others' responses that adolescents seem to be acutely aware of concerns perceptions of whether they have reached puberty relatively early or relatively late compared with their peers.

Within cultures, the timing of puberty appears to be based mainly on genetic factors (Anderson et al., 2007). Mothers' age of menarche strongly predicts their daughters' (Belsky et al., 2007). Sisters' ages of menarche are highly correlated, and correlations are especially high between identical twin sisters (Ge et al., 2007; van den Berg & Boomsma, 2007). However, as noted previously, there is some evidence that environmental factors such as stress or high socioeconomic status may trigger earlier puberty (DeRose & Brooks-Gunn, 2006).

Adolescents of the same age have many different levels of physical maturity. How does age-grading of schools accentuate these differences?

The timing of puberty is especially important in developed countries. One interesting feature of puberty rites in traditional cultures is that eligibility for the rites is not typically based on age but on pubertal maturation. This is obvious with regard to rites related to menarche; a girl participates the first time she menstruates. However, boys' participation in puberty rites is also based on maturation rather than age. Typically, the adults of the community decide when a boy is ready, based on his level of physical maturation and on their perceptions of his psychological and social readiness (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). Consequently, the precise age of reaching puberty matters little; everyone gets there eventually.

In contrast, chronological age has much more significance in developed countries, as reflected in the fact that the school systems are **age-graded**—that is, children are grouped on the basis of age rather than developmental maturity. As a result, the 7th grade, for example, includes children who are all 12 or 13 years old, but their pubertal development is likely to vary widely, from those who have not experienced any pubertal changes to those who are well on the way to full maturity. Grouping them together in the same classrooms for many hours each day adds to the intensity of comparisons between them and makes them highly aware of whether they are early, late, or "on time," compared with others.

"A girl could claim to have her period for months and nobody would ever know the difference. Which is exactly what I did. All you had to do was make a big fuss and walk around clutching your stomach and moaning for three to five days a month about the Curse and you could convince anybody.… 'I can't go. I have cramps.' Nobody ever used the hard-core word. Menstruation. God, what an awful word."

—NORA EPHRON, 2000, *CRAZY SALAD*, PP. 2–3

A great deal of research has been conducted on early versus late maturation among adolescents in the West, extending back over a half-century. The results are complex. They differ depending on gender, and the short-term effects of maturing early or late appear to differ from the long-term effects. The effects also differ depending on the area of development considered: body image, popularity, school performance, or behavior problems. To help clarify these differences, we will look at the results of these studies separately for girls and boys.

age-graded
Organized by age, for example in schools.

EARLY AND LATE MATURATION AMONG GIRLS The effects of early maturation are especially negative for girls. Findings from a variety of Western countries concur that early-maturing girls are at risk for numerous problems, including depressed mood, negative body image, eating disorders, substance use, delinquency, aggressive behavior, school problems, and conflict with parents (Graber, 2014; Mendle, Harden, & Brooks-Gunn, 2010; Westling et al., 2008).

Why is early maturation such a problem for girls in the West? One reason involves cultural values about physical appearance. Because early maturation typically leads to a shorter and heavier appearance, it is a disadvantage in Western cultures that value thinness in females' appearance. This helps explain why early-maturing girls have higher rates of depressed mood, negative body image, and eating disorders (Lien et al., 2006; Mendle et al., 2007). Notably, African American and Latina girls do not show these effects of early maturation, perhaps because these cultures are less likely to have a tall, thin physique as the female ideal (Ge et al., 2001; Hayward et al., 1999).

A second reason for the problems of early-maturing girls is that their early physical development draws the attention of older boys, who then introduce them to an older group of friends and to substance use, delinquency, and early sexual activity (Graber et al., 2010; Skoog & Stattin, 2014). So when early-maturing girls have higher rates of these behaviors than other girls their age, it may be because they are behaving more like their friends who are older than they are.

Late-maturing girls share few of early-maturing girls' problems, although they suffer from teasing and negative body image during the years when other girls have begun to develop and they have not (Weichold et al., 2003). By their late teens, however, they tend to have a more favorable body image than other girls (Simmons & Blyth, 1987), probably because they are more likely to end up with the lean body build that tends to be regarded as attractive in Western majority cultures.

Studies on the long-term effects of early maturation for girls are mixed. Some studies find that most of the negative effects diminish by the late teens (Posner, 2006; Weichold et al., 2003). However, one British study (Sandler, Wilcox, & Horney, 1984) and one Swedish study (Stattin & Magnusson, 1990) found that early-maturing girls entered marriage and parenthood earlier. Also, an American study reported that in their late twenties, women who had been early maturers had more psychological and social problems than women who had reached puberty "on time" (Graber, 2014). So, more research into the long-term consequences of early maturation seems warranted.

THINKING CRITICALLY

In light of the difficulties often experienced by early-maturing girls, can you think of anything families, communities, or schools could do to assist them?

EARLY AND LATE MATURATION AMONG BOYS In contrast to girls, for whom early maturation has overwhelmingly negative effects, the effects of early maturation for boys are positive in some ways and negative in others. Early-maturing boys tend to have more favorable body images and to be more popular than other boys (Graber et al., 2010; Weichold et al., 2003). This may be because early-maturing boys get their burst of growth and muscular development before other boys do, which gives them a distinct advantage in the sports activities that are often important to male prestige in middle school and high school. Also, the earlier development of facial hair, lowered voice, and other secondary sex characteristics may make early-maturing boys more attractive to girls. Early-maturing boys may also have a long-term advantage. One study that followed early-maturing adolescent boys 40 years later found that they had achieved greater success in their careers and had higher marital satisfaction than later-maturing boys (Taga et al., 2006).

However, not everything about being an early-maturing boy is favorable. Like their female counterparts, early-maturing boys tend to become involved earlier in delinquency, sex, and substance use (Graber, 2014; Mendle & Ferrero, 2012; Skoog & Stattin, 2014; Westling et al., 2008). Some studies report that early-maturing boys have higher rates of emotional distress (Ge, Conger, & Elder, 2001), despite their more positive body images. Late-maturing boys also have lower grades in school (Weichold et al., 2003). There is some evidence that late-maturing boys have elevated levels of substance use and deviant behavior well into emerging adulthood (Biehl et al., 2007; Graber et al., 2004).

In sum, the effects of early and late maturation differ considerably between girls and boys. For girls, early maturation puts them at risk for a host of problems, but late maturation does not. For boys, both early and late maturation make them at risk for problems, but early maturation also includes some benefits. The problems of early-maturing girls appear to be due in part to their associations with older boys, but the sources of the problems of early- and late-maturing boys are not clear.

Keep in mind that, so far, nearly all the studies conducted on pubertal timing have involved adolescents in the majority cultures of Western countries (Güre et al., 2006; Lien et al., 2006). I suggested earlier that the effects of maturing early or late may be due to the age-grading in these countries, but right now we do not know how adolescents respond to pubertal timing in cultures where no age-graded schooling exists.

Biological Development and the Environment: The Theory of Genotype → Environment Effects

For many decades in the social sciences, scholars have debated the relative importance of biology and the environment in human development. In this nature–nurture debate, some scholars have claimed that human behavior can be explained by biological factors (nature) and that environment matters little, whereas others have claimed that biology is irrelevant and that human behavior can be explained by environmental factors (nurture). By the early 21st century, most scholars had reached a consensus that both biology and environment play key roles in human development, although they continue to debate the relative strength of nature and nurture (Dodge & Rutter, 2011; Lerner, 2006; Pinker, 2002). A compelling theory of how nature shapes nurture is presented next.

Passive, Evocative, and Active Genotype → Environment Effects

2.12 Compare and contrast passive, evocative, and active genotype → environment effects.

Given the profound biological changes that take place in adolescence and emerging adulthood, **nature–nurture debate** issues are perhaps especially relevant to these periods of life. One influential theory of the relation between nature and nurture that I will be relying on occasionally in this book is the **theory of genotype → environment effects** (Plomin, 2009; Plomin, 2014; Scarr, 1993; Scarr & McCartney, 1983). According to this theory, both genotype (a person's inherited genes) and environment make essential contributions to human development. However, the relative strengths of genetics and the environment are difficult to unravel because our genes actually influence the kind of environment we experience. That is the reason for the arrow in the term *genotype → environment effects.* Based on our genotypes, we *create our own environments*, to a considerable extent. These genotype → environment effects take three forms: passive, evocative, and active (Plomin, 2014).

PASSIVE GENOTYPE → ENVIRONMENT EFFECTS occur in biological families because *parents provide both genes and environment for their children*. This may seem obvious, but it has profound implications for how we think about development. Take this father–daughter example: Dad has been good at drawing things ever since he was a boy, and now he makes a living as a commercial illustrator. One of the first birthday presents he gives to his little girl is a set of crayons and colored pencils for drawing. She seems to like it, and he provides her with increasingly sophisticated materials as she grows up. He also teaches her a number of drawing skills as she seems ready to learn them. By the time she reaches adolescence, she's quite a proficient artist herself and draws a lot of the art for school clubs and social events. She goes to college and majors in architecture, and then goes on to become an architect. It is easy to see how she became so good at drawing, given an environment that stimulated her drawing abilities so much—right?

Not so fast. It is true that Dad provided her with a stimulating environment, but he also provided her with half her genes. If there are any genes that contribute to drawing ability—such as genes that promote spatial reasoning and fine motor coordination—she may well have received those from Dad, too. The point is that in a biological family, it is difficult to separate genetic influences from environmental influences because *parents provide both*, and they are likely to provide an environment that reinforces the tendencies they have provided to their children through their genes.

So you should be skeptical when you read studies about parents and adolescents in biological families claiming that the behavior of parents is the cause of the characteristics of adolescents. Remember from Chapter 1: Correlation does not imply causation! Just because a *correlation* exists between the behavior of parents and the characteristics of adolescents does not mean the parents' behavior *caused* the adolescents to have those characteristics. Maybe causation was involved, but in biological families it is difficult to tell. The correlation could be due to the similarity in genes between the biological parents and their adolescents rather than to the environment the biological parents provided.

One good way to unravel this tangle is through adoption studies. These studies avoid the problem of passive

nature–nurture debate
Debate over the relative importance of biology and the environment in human development.

theory of genotype → environment effects
Theory that both genetics and environment make essential contributions to human development but are difficult to unravel because our genes actually influence the kind of environment we experience.

passive genotype → environment effects
Situation in biological families that parents provide both genes and environment for their children, making genes and environment difficult to separate in their effects on children's development.

genotype → environment effects because one set of parents provided the adolescents' genes, but a different set of parents provided the environment. So when adolescents are more similar to their adoptive parents than to their biological parents, it is possible to make a strong case that this similarity is a consequence of the environment provided by the adoptive parents, and when adolescents are more similar to their biological parents than to their adoptive parents it is likely that genes played a strong role. We will examine specific adoption studies in future chapters.

EVOCATIVE GENOTYPE → ENVIRONMENT EFFECTS occur when a person's inherited characteristics evoke responses from others in their environment. If you had a son who started reading at age 3 and seemed to love it, you might buy him more books; if you had a daughter who could sink 20-foot jump shots at age 12, you might arrange to send her to basketball camp. Did you ever babysit or work in a setting where there were many children? If so, you probably found that children differ in how sociable, cooperative, and obedient they are. In turn, you may have found that you reacted differently to them, depending on their characteristics. That is what is meant by evocative genotype → environment effects—with the crucial addition of the assumption that characteristics such as reading ability, athletic ability, and sociability are at least partly based on genetics.

ACTIVE GENOTYPE → ENVIRONMENT EFFECTS occur when people seek out environments that correspond to their genotypic characteristics. The child who reads easily may ask for books as birthday gifts; the adolescent with an ear for music may ask for piano lessons; the emerging adult for whom reading has always been slow and difficult may choose to begin working full-time after high school rather than going to college. The idea behind active genotype → environment effects is that people are drawn to environments that match their inherited abilities.

Genotype → Environment Effects Over Time

2.13 Explain why genotype → environment effects change over time.

The three types of genotype → environment effects operate throughout childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood, but their relative balance changes over time (Scarr, 1993). In childhood, passive genotype → environment effects are especially pronounced, and active genotype → environment effects are relatively weak. This is because the younger a child is, the more parents control the daily environment the child experiences and the less autonomy the child has to seek out environmental influences outside the family. However, with age, especially as children move through adolescence and emerging adulthood, the balance changes (Plomin, 2009). Parental control diminishes, so passive genotype → environment effects also diminish. Autonomy increases, so active genotype → environment effects also increase. Evocative genotype → environment effects remain relatively stable from childhood through emerging adulthood.

The theory of genotype → environment effects is by no means universally accepted by scholars on human development. In fact, it has been the source of vigorous debate in the field (Pinker, 2002). Some scholars question the theory's claim that characteristics such as sociability, reading ability, and athletic ability are substantially inherited (Lerner, 2006). However, it is currently one of the most important new theories of human development, and you should be familiar with it as part of your understanding of development during adolescence and emerging adulthood. I find the theory provocative and illuminating, and I will be referring to it in the chapters to come.

When adolescents have skills or interests similar to their parents, is the similarity the result of environment or genetics?

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of one of your abilities in relation to the genes and environment your parents have provided to you, and describe how the various types of genotype → environment effects may have been involved in your development of that ability.

evocative genotype → environment effects
Occur when a person's inherited characteristics evoke responses from others in the environment.

active genotype → environment effects
Occur when people seek out environments that correspond to their genotypic characteristics.

Summing Up

2.1 Describe the functions of the hormones in the feedback loop of the endocrine system and how they initiate puberty.

During puberty, a set of remarkable transformations takes place in young people's bodies. Hormonal changes lead to changes in physical functioning and to the development of primary and secondary sex characteristics. The hormonal changes of puberty begin in the hypothalamus, initiated when a threshold level of leptin is reached. The chain of events in the endocrine system runs from the hypothalamus to the pituitary gland to the gonads and adrenal glands to the hypothalamus again, in a feedback loop that monitors the levels of the sex hormones (androgens and estrogens). The set points for the sex hormones rise in the course of puberty.

2.2 Explain how the growth spurt differs for girls and boys, and identify the order in which body parts experience rapid growth.

After proceeding at an even pace since early childhood, growth suddenly surges when puberty arrives. One of the earliest signs of puberty for both girls and boys is the adolescent growth spurt. At peak height velocity, girls grow at about 3.5 inches per year, and boys grow at about 4.1 inches per year. The extremities—feet, hands, and head—are the first to hit the growth spurt, followed by the arms and legs.

2.3 Explain the difference between primary and secondary sex characteristics.

Primary sex characteristics are related directly to reproduction. Females are born with all their eggs already in their ovaries, but males produce sperm only once they reach puberty. Secondary sex characteristics develop at puberty but are not directly related to reproduction.

2.4 Provide the typical order of development of secondary sex characteristics in boys and girls.

Girls show the first development of secondary sex characteristics about 2 years earlier than boys. Pubic hair and (in girls) breast development usually occur first, and underarm hair and skin oil/sweat occur last. The order of pubertal events is quite predictable, but adolescents vary greatly in the ages the events begin and how long it takes to complete them.

2.5 Chart the typical order of pubertal events, and explain the basis for variations in their order, timing, and total duration.

Puberty is composed of many events and processes, typically stretching out over several years. Among young people in developed countries, the first pubertal events may occur as early as age 8 in girls and age 9 or 10 in boys, or as late as age 13. The duration between the initiation of the first pubertal event and full pubertal maturation can be as short as a year and a half or as long as 6 years. More consistency can be seen in the order of pubertal events than in the ages they begin or the amount of time it takes to complete them.

2.6 Describe how physical functioning changes during puberty, and contrast physical functioning in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Physical growth during puberty includes the growth spurt as well as increases in muscle mass (especially in boys) and body fat (especially in girls). The heart and lungs also grow dramatically, especially in boys. In many respects, emerging adulthood is a time of peak physical functioning for most people, when athletic performance peaks and susceptibility to illness and disease is at its nadir. However, emerging adults are at higher risk than people of other ages for certain problems because of lifestyle and behavior, including automobile fatalities, homicide, and sexually transmitted infections.

2.7 Explain how culture influences the timing of puberty.

Cultures influence the timing of puberty through cultural technologies in nutrition and medical care. The initiation of puberty is earlier when nutrition and medical care are good; consequently, the age of beginning puberty decreased steadily in developed countries during the 20th century and is now decreasing in developing countries.

2.8 Identify the rates of prevalence of puberty rituals across cultures, and explain the function of these rituals.

Most traditional cultures have rituals that give meaning to pubertal changes, usually focused on menarche for girls and on tests of courage, strength, and endurance for boys.

2.9 Compare and contrast cultures in how puberty influences family relations.

In the American majority culture, reaching puberty is often accompanied by "distancing," meaning that adolescents become more emotionally distant from their parents. However, in many other cultures this is not true, and adolescents may become even closer to their parents from working together.

2.10 Describe personal responses to menarche and semenarche among adolescents and how these responses are shaped by cultures.

Cultures influence adolescents' experiences of puberty by providing or failing to provide young people with information about what is happening to their bodies. Menarche

can be traumatic when girls are unprepared for it, but girls today typically know about it long before it arrives.

2.11 Summarize the gender differences in how boys and girls respond to reaching puberty relatively early or late.

In developed countries, the cultural practice of age-graded schooling means that the timing of puberty has important consequences for adolescents who begin puberty relatively early or relatively late. Early maturation is especially problematic for girls.

2.12 Compare and contrast passive, evocative, and active genotype → environment effects.

Passive genotype → environment effects occur in biological families because *parents provide both genes and environment for their children*. Evocative genotype → environment effects occur when a person's inherited characteristics evoke responses from others in their environment. Active genotype → environment effects occur when people seek out environments that correspond to their genotypic characteristics.

2.13 Explain why genotype → environment effects change over time.

According to the theory of genotype → environment effects, the influences of genetics and the environment are difficult to separate because in some ways genes shape the kind of environment we experience. During adolescence and emerging adulthood, passive genotype → environment effects decrease and active genotype → environment effects increase as young people become more capable of seeking out environments that correspond to their genotype.

Key Terms

endocrine system, p. 39
hormones, p. 39
puberty, p. 39
hypothalamus, p. 39
gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH), p. 39
leptin, p. 39
pituitary gland, p. 39
gonadotropins, p. 39
follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH), p. 40
luteinizing hormone (LH), p. 40
gametes, p. 40
gonads, p. 40
sex hormones, p. 40
estrogens, p. 40
androgens, p. 40
estradiol, p. 40
testosterone, p. 40
adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH), p. 40
feedback loop, p. 41
set point, p. 41
adolescent growth spurt, p. 41
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primary sex characteristics, p. 44
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body mass index (BMI), p. 49
maximum oxygen uptake (VO_2 max), p. 51
cardiac output, p. 51
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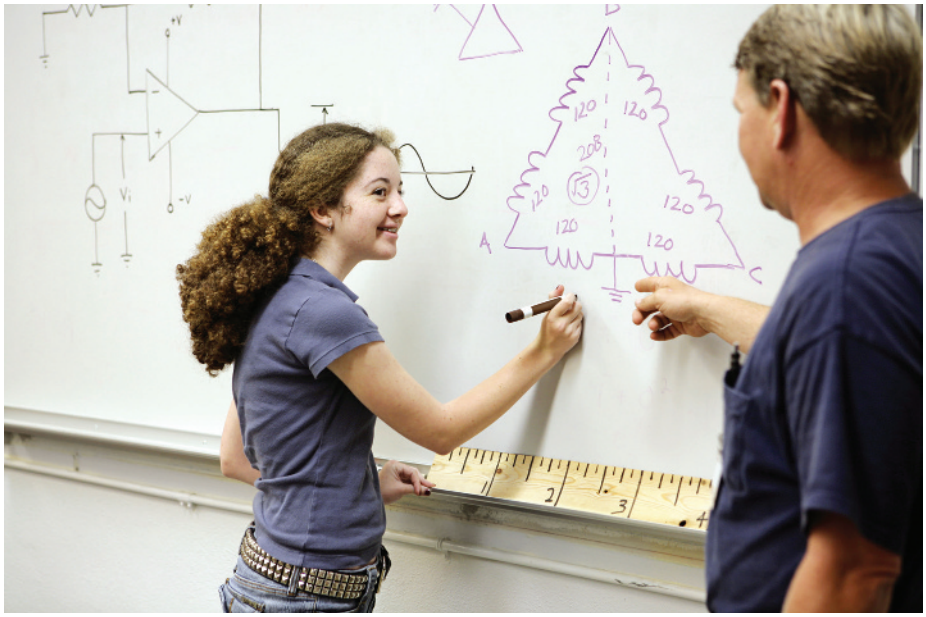
Chapter 3
Cognitive Foundations



Learning Objectives

3.1 Explain the principles of Piaget's theory of cognitive development, including mental structures, maturation, schemes, assimilation, and accommodation.

3.2 Outline Piaget's first three stages of cognitive development.

3.3 Explain how formal operations is different from concrete operations.

3.4 Describe how thinking in adolescence becomes more abstract and complex, using metacognition, metaphor, and sarcasm as examples.

3.5 Summarize the major critiques of Piaget's theory, and Piaget's response.

3.6 Describe pragmatism and how it affects thinking from adolescence to adulthood.

3.7 Describe reflective judgment and the difference between dualistic thinking and multiple thinking.

3.8 Identify how the information-processing approach differs from Piaget's cognitive-developmental approach.

3.9 Compare and contrast selective attention and divided attention.

3.10 Distinguish between short-term, long-term, and working memory, and explain how adolescents use mnemonic devices.

3.11 Give an example of automaticity, and explain how executive functioning develops in adolescence.

3.12 Summarize critiques of the information-processing approach.

3.13 Describe the features of critical thinking in adolescence and how it can best be promoted in schools.

3.14 Explain how decision-making abilities change in the course of adolescence, including with respect to judging risks.

3.15 Explain what social cognition is and what it means to say cognitive development functions as an "organizational core."

3.16 Chart the stages of Selman's theory of perspective taking and explain how "theory of mind" is related to perspective taking.

3.17 Describe how the imaginary audience and the personal fable reflect adolescents' cognitive development.

3.18 Describe the main way intelligence is assessed.

3.19 Explain how adoption studies show the expression of genotype → environment effects from childhood through adolescence.

3.20 Explain how the zone of proximal development is related to scaffolding in Vygotsky's theory.

3.21 List the types of intelligence in the theory of multiple intelligence, and explain the limitations involved in measuring them.

3.22 Describe the processes of overproduction (or exuberance) and synaptic pruning that take place in the brain during adolescence.

3.23 Explain how myelination and changes in the cerebellum enable new cognitive capacities in adolescence.

3.24 Summarize how gray and white matter change through emerging adulthood and beyond, and the neurological changes that make emerging adulthood a stage of high potential as well as high risk.

- Namo has a problem. It is early morning, and he is standing with some friends on the shore of Chuuk Island in the South Pacific. The friends (all in their late teens) have planned a spearfishing trip for today, but as Namo looks out over the ocean he notices signs that disturb him. The movement and color of the clouds, the height and activity of the waves, all suggest a storm on the way. He looks over their equipment—spears, a small outboard motorboat with a single motor (no oars or sails), some liquid refreshments. If they were planning with safety in mind they would at least take oars, but he knows that a large part of the trip's appeal is the risk involved, with the opportunity it presents to demonstrate their courage. The small boat, the dubious weather, and the large sharks common in the area where they will be swimming as they spearfish will present them with ample opportunity today to test their bravery. As he matches the anticipated challenges with their capacities, he is confident they will measure up to them. Quelling his doubts, he jumps in the boat and they set off.
- Elke has a problem. She is sitting in the staff room of a hospital in Bremen, Germany, and analyzing the medical charts of a patient being treated for ovarian cysts. Something is not quite right—the diagnosis is ovarian cysts, but the levels of some of the patient's hormones are much higher than normal and suggest that something else besides the cysts is problematic. At age 22, Elke has been studying medicine for 3 years and has learned a great deal, but she is well aware that she has not yet accumulated the knowledge and experience the doctors have. She wonders, should she tell them what she thinks?
- Mike has a problem. He is sitting in his 8th-grade classroom in San Francisco, California, and puzzling over the problems on the math quiz in front of him. "Amy received 70% of the votes in the election for class president," reads the first one. "If her opponent received the remaining 21 votes, how many people voted in the election?" Mike stares at the question and tries to remember how to solve such a problem. He was working on one last night that was just like this; how did it go? He has difficulty recalling it, and his attention begins to drift off to other topics—the basketball game coming up this Friday, the Twenty One Pilots song he was listening to on his iPod on the way to school, the legs of the girl in the white skirt two rows in front of him—wow! "Ten minutes," intones the teacher from the front of the room. "You have ten more minutes." Seized with panic, he focuses again on the problem in front of him.

ADOLESCENTS AND EMERGING ADULTS ALL OVER the world confront intellectual challenges as part of their daily lives. Often, their challenges are similar in type and magnitude to the challenges faced by adults, although usually they have less authority and responsibility than adults have. In developed countries, many of the intellectual challenges

adolescents face take place in the school setting. As we shall see, however, the changes that occur in cognitive development during adolescence and emerging adulthood affect all aspects of their lives, not just their school performance.

In this chapter we will look at changes in how adolescents and emerging adults think, how they solve problems, and how their capacities for memory and attention change. These changes are all part of cognitive development. We will begin by talking about Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development and some of the research based on it. Piaget's theory describes general changes in mental structures and problem-solving abilities that take place during childhood and adolescence. Next we will discuss some of the cognitive changes that occur during emerging adulthood. Then we will consider theory and research on information processing. In contrast to the Piagetian approach, which describes general changes in cognitive development, the information-processing approach focuses on a detailed examination of specific cognitive abilities such as attention and memory.

Later in the chapter we will look at the practical use of cognitive abilities in critical thinking and decision making, and the ways that ideas about cognitive development can be applied to social topics. Following this discussion, we will examine the major intelligence tests and studies that have used these tests to investigate the cognitive development of adolescents and emerging adults. Finally, we will present exciting new findings on brain development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

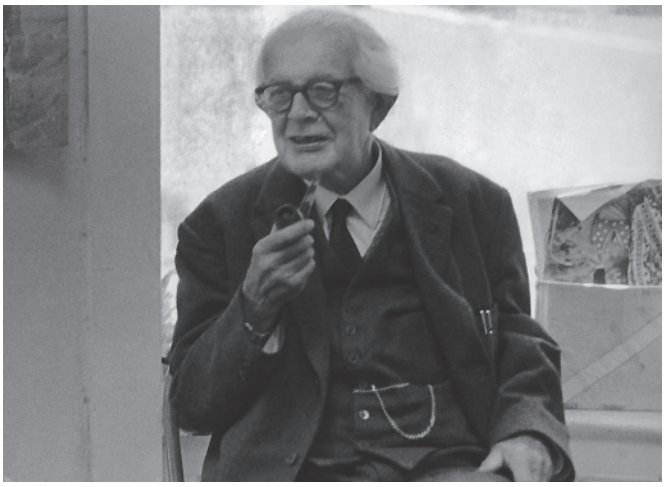
Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development

Let's begin our exploration of the cognitive development of adolescents and emerging adults by examining Piaget's theory.

Basic Principles of Piaget's Theory

3.1 Explain the principles of Piaget's theory of cognitive development, including mental structures, maturation, schemes, assimilation, and accommodation.

Unquestionably, the most influential theory of **cognitive development** from infancy through adolescence is the one proposed by the Swiss psychologist **Jean Piaget** (pronounced pee-ah-*jay*), who lived from 1896 to 1980. Piaget was quite the adolescent prodigy. He developed an early fascination with the workings of the natural world, and he published articles on mollusks while still in his early teens.



Swiss developmental psychologist Jean Piaget.

After receiving his Ph.D. at age 21 for his studies of mollusks, Piaget shifted his interests to human development. He took a job that involved intelligence testing with children, and he was intrigued by the kinds of wrong answers children would give. It seemed to him that children of the same age not only answered the questions in similar ways when they gave the correct answer, but also gave similar kinds of wrong answers. He concluded that age differences in patterns of wrong answers reflected differences in how children of various ages thought about the questions. Older children not only know more than younger children, he decided, they also think differently.

This insight became the basis of much of Piaget's work over the next 60 years. Piaget's observations convinced him that cognitive development proceeds in distinct stages (Piaget, 1972). Each stage involves a different way of thinking about the world. The idea of **cognitive stages** means that each person's cognitive abilities are organized into a coherent **mental structure**; a person who thinks within a particular stage in one aspect of life should think within that stage in all other aspects of life as well because all thinking is part of the same mental structure (Keating,

cognitive development
Changes over time in how people think, how they solve problems, and how their capacities for memory and attention change.

Jean Piaget
Influential Swiss developmental psychologist, best known for his theories of cognitive and moral development.

cognitive stage
A period in which abilities are organized in a coherent, interrelated way.

mental structure
The organization of cognitive abilities into a single pattern, such that thinking in all aspects of life is a reflection of that structure.

2012). Because Piaget focused on how cognition changes with age, his approach (and the approach of those who have followed in his tradition) is known as the **cognitive-developmental approach**.

According to Piaget, the driving force behind development from one stage to the next is **maturation** (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). All of us have within our genotypes a prescription for cognitive development that prepares us for certain changes at certain ages. A reasonably normal environment is necessary for cognitive development to occur, but the effect of the environment on cognitive development is limited. You cannot teach an 8-year-old something that only a 13-year-old can learn, no matter how sophisticated your teaching techniques. In the same way, by the time the 8-year-old reaches age 13, the biological processes of maturation will make it easy for him or her to understand the world as a typical child of 13 understands it, and no special teaching will be required.

Piaget's emphasis on the importance of maturation contrasted with the views of other theorists, who believed that there were no inherent limits to development or that environmental stimulation could override them (Flavell, Miller, & Miller, 2002). The emphasis on maturation also separated Piaget from other theorists in that Piaget portrayed maturation as an active process in which children seek out information and stimulation in the environment that matches the maturity of their thinking. This contrasted with the view of other theorists such as the behaviorists, who saw the environment as acting on the child through rewards and punishments rather than seeing the child as an active agent.

Piaget proposed that the active construction of reality takes place through the use of **schemes**, which are structures for organizing and interpreting information. For infants, schemes are based on sensory and motor processes such as sucking and grasping, but after infancy schemes become symbolic and representational, as words, ideas, and concepts.

The two processes involved in the use of schemes are **assimilation** and **accommodation**. Assimilation occurs when *new information is altered to fit an existing scheme*, whereas accommodation entails *changing the scheme to adapt to the new information*. Assimilation and accommodation usually take place together in varying degrees; they are "two sides of the same cognitive coin" (Flavell et al., 2002, p. 5). For example, an infant who has been breastfeeding may use mostly assimilation and a slight degree of accommodation when learning to suck from the nipple on a bottle, but if sucking on a ball or a rattle the infant would be able to use assimilation less and need to use accommodation more.

People of other ages, too, use both assimilation and accommodation whenever they are processing cognitive information. One example is right in front of you. In the course of reading this text, you will read things that sound familiar to you from your own experience or previous reading, so that you can easily assimilate them to what you already know. Other information, especially the information about cultures other than your own, will be contrary to the schemes you have developed and will require you to use accommodation to expand your knowledge and understanding of development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Stages of Cognitive Development in Childhood and Adolescence

3.2 Outline Piaget's first three stages of cognitive development.

Based on his own research and his collaborations with his colleague Barbel Inhelder, Piaget devised a theory of cognitive development to describe the stages that children's thinking passes through as they grow up (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Piaget, 1972; see **Table 3.1**). Piaget termed the first 2 years of life the **sensorimotor stage**. Cognitive development in this stage involves learning how to coordinate the activities of the senses (such as watching an object as it moves across your field of vision) with motor activities (such as reaching out to grab the object).

cognitive-developmental approach
Approach to understanding cognition that emphasizes the changes that take place at different ages.

maturation
Process by which abilities develop through genetically based development with limited influence from the environment.

schemes
A structure for organizing and interpreting information.

assimilation
The cognitive process that occurs when new information is altered to fit an existing scheme.

accommodation
The cognitive process that occurs when a scheme is changed to adapt to new information.

sensorimotor stage
Cognitive stage in first 2 years of life that involves learning how to coordinate the activities of the senses with motor activities.

Table 3.1 Piaget's Stages of Cognitive Development

Ages	Stage	Characteristics
0–2	Sensorimotor	Learn to coordinate the activities of the senses with motor activities.
2–7	Preoperational	Capable of symbolic representation, such as in language, but limited ability to use mental operations.
7–11	Concrete operations	Capable of using mental operations, but only in concrete, immediate experience; difficulty thinking hypothetically.
11–15/20	Formal operations	Capable of thinking logically and abstractly, capable of formulating hypotheses and testing them systematically; thinking is more complex, and can think about thinking (metacognition).

Next, from about age 2 to about age 7, is the **preoperational stage**. Here the child becomes capable of representing the world symbolically, through the use of language and in play such as using a broom to represent a horse. However, children in this stage are still very limited in their ability to use **mental operations**—that is, in their ability to manipulate objects mentally and reason about them in a way that accurately represents how the world works. For example, children of this age are easily enchanted by stories about how a pumpkin changed into a stagecoach or a frog into a prince, because with their limited understanding of the world these are not just fanciful tales but real possibilities.

Concrete operations is the next stage, lasting from about age 7 to about age 11. During this stage, children become more adept at using mental operations, and this skill leads to a more advanced understanding of the world. For example, they understand that if you take water from one glass and pour it into a taller, thinner glass, the amount of water remains the same. Mentally, they can reverse this action and conclude that the amount of water could not have changed just because it was poured into a different container. However, children in this stage focus on what can be experienced and manipulated in the physical environment. They have difficulty transferring their reasoning to situations and problems that require them to think systematically about possibilities and hypotheses. That is where the next stage, formal operations, comes in.

Formal Operations in Adolescence

3.3 Explain how formal operations is different from concrete operations.

The stage of **formal operations** begins at about age 11 and reaches completion somewhere between ages 15 and 20, according to Piaget (1972), so this is the stage most relevant to cognitive development in adolescence. Children in concrete operations can perform simple tasks that require logical and systematic thinking, but formal operations allow adolescents to reason about complex tasks and problems involving multiple variables. Essentially, formal operations involve the development of the ability to think scientifically and apply the rigor of the scientific method to cognitive tasks.

To demonstrate how this works, let's look at one of the tasks Piaget used to test whether a child has progressed from concrete to formal operations. This task is known as the **pendulum problem** (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). Children and adolescents are shown a pendulum (consisting of a weight hanging from a string and then set in motion) and asked to try to figure out what determines the speed at which the pendulum sways from side to side. Is it the heaviness of the weight? the length of the string? the height from which the weight is dropped? the force with which it is dropped? They are given various weights and lengths of string to use in their deliberations.

Children in concrete operations tend to approach the problem with random attempts, often changing more than one variable at a time. They may try the heaviest weight

preoperational stage
Cognitive stage from ages 2 to 7 during which the child becomes capable of representing the world symbolically—for example, through the use of language—but is still limited in ability to use mental operations.

mental operations
Cognitive activity involving manipulating and reasoning about objects.

concrete operations
Cognitive stage from age 7 to 11 in which children learn to use mental operations but are limited to applying them to concrete, observable situations rather than hypothetical situations.

formal operations
Cognitive stage from age 11 up in which people learn to think systematically about possibilities and hypotheses.

pendulum problem
Piaget's classic test of formal operations, in which people are asked to figure out what determines the speed at which a pendulum sways from side to side.

The pendulum problem. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this task as a measure of adolescents' cognitive development?

on the longest string dropped from medium height with medium force, then a medium weight on the smallest string dropped from medium height with lesser force. When the speed of the pendulum changes, it remains difficult for them to say what caused the change because they altered more than one variable. If they happen to arrive at the right answer—it's the length of the string—they find it difficult to explain why. This is crucial, for Piaget; cognitive advances at each stage are reflected not just in the solutions children devise for problems but in their explanations for how they arrived at the solution.

It is only with formal operations that we can find the right answer to a problem like this and explain why it is the right answer. The formal operational thinker approaches the pendulum problem by using the kind of hypothetical thinking involved in a scientific experiment. "Let's see, it could be weight; let me try changing the weight while keeping everything else the same. No, that's not it; same speed. Maybe it's length; if I change the length while keeping everything else the same, that seems to make a difference; it goes faster with a shorter string. But let me try height, too; no change; then force; no change there, either. So it's length, and only length, that makes the difference." Thus, the formal operational thinker changes one variable while holding the others constant and tests the different possibilities systematically. Through this process, the formal operational thinker arrives at an answer that not only is correct but can be defended and explained. The capacity for this kind of thinking, which Piaget (1972) termed **hypothetical-deductive reasoning**, is at the heart of Piaget's concept of formal operations.

In Piaget's research, as well as the research of many others, adolescents perform the pendulum problem and similar tasks significantly better than preadolescent children (Elkind, 2001; Lee & Freire, 2003). The transitional period from concrete operations to formal operations on these tasks usually takes place from age 11 to 14 (Keating, 2012).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Think of a real-life example of how you have used hypothetical-deductive reasoning.

Adolescent Thinking: More Abstract and More Complex

3.4 Describe how thinking in adolescence becomes more abstract and complex, using metacognition, metaphor, and sarcasm as examples.

The problems Piaget used to assess the attainment of formal operations were essentially scientific ones, involving the capacity to formulate hypotheses, test them systematically, and then make deductions (that is, draw conclusions) on the basis of the results (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958; Piaget & Inhelder, 1969). However, a number of other aspects of formal operations focus less on scientific thinking and more on logical or applied reasoning (Ginsburg & Opper, 1988; Keating, 2012). These include the development of capacities for **abstract thinking** and thinking about thinking (called **metacognition**), as well as the capacity for **complex thinking**. Piaget discussed all of these capacities, but since then other scholars have done considerable research on them as well.

Something that is abstract is something that is strictly a mental concept or process; it cannot be experienced directly, through the senses. Examples of abstract concepts include time, friendship, and faith. You were introduced to several abstract concepts in Chapters 1 and 2, including culture, the West, and adolescence itself. You cannot actually see, hear, taste, or touch these things; they exist only as ideas. *Abstract* is often contrasted with *concrete*, which refers to things you

hypothetical-deductive reasoning
Piaget's term for the process by which the formal operational thinker systematically tests possible solutions to a problem and arrives at an answer that can be defended and explained.

abstract thinking
Thinking in terms of symbols, ideas, and concepts.

metacognition
The capacity for "thinking about thinking" that allows adolescents and adults to reason about their thought processes and monitor them.

complex thinking
Thinking that takes into account multiple connections and interpretations, such as in the use of metaphor, satire, and sarcasm.

can experience through the senses. The contrast is especially appropriate here because the stage preceding formal operations is termed *concrete operations*. Children in concrete operations can apply logic only to things they can experience directly, concretely, whereas the capacity for formal operations includes the ability to think abstractly and apply logic to mental operations as well (Fischer & Pruyne, 2003; Piaget, 1972; Schmidt & Thompson, 2008).

Suppose I tell you that $A = B$ and $B = C$, and then ask you, does $A = C$? It is easy for you, as a college student, to see that the answer is yes, even though you have no idea what *A, B*, and *C* represent. However, children thinking in terms of concrete operations tend to be mystified by this problem. They need to know what *A, B*, and *C* represent. In contrast, you realize that it does not matter what they are. The same logic applies to *A, B*, and *C* no matter what they represent.

But abstract thinking involves more than just the capacity to solve this kind of logical puzzle. It also involves the capacity to think about abstract concepts such as justice, freedom, goodness, evil, and time. Adolescents become capable of engaging in discussions about politics, morality, and religion in ways they could not when they were younger because with adolescence they gain the capacity to understand and use the abstract ideas involved in such discussions (Adelson, 1971; Eisenberg et al., 2011; Kohlberg, 1976). Recent research on brain development suggests that the capacity for abstract thinking is based on a growth spurt in the brain in late adolescence and emerging adulthood that strengthens the connections between the frontal cortex and the other parts of the brain (Drury & Giedd, 2009; Fischer & Pruyne, 2003). We will discuss brain development further later in the chapter.

METACOGNITION One of the abstractions adolescents develop the capacity to think about with formal operations is their own thoughts. They become aware of their thinking processes in a way that children are not, and this ability enables them to monitor and reason about those processes. This capacity for "thinking about thinking," or metacognition, enables adolescents to learn and solve problems more efficiently (Klaczynski, 2006; Schneider & Lockl, 2008). In fact, one study indicates that instructing adolescents in metacognitive strategies improves their academic performance (Kramarski, 2004).

Metacognition first develops in adolescence, but it continues to develop in emerging adulthood and beyond. One study compared adolescents and adults of various ages (Vukman, 2005). They were given several problems and asked to "think out loud" so that the researchers could record their metacognitive processes. Self-awareness of thinking processes rose from adolescence to emerging adulthood and again from emerging adulthood to midlife, then declined in later adulthood. A more recent study found a similar pattern from adolescence through midlife (Weil et al., 2013).

You probably use metacognition to some degree as you read; almost certainly you use it when studying for an exam. As you move along from sentence to sentence, you may monitor your comprehension and ask yourself, "What did that sentence mean? How is it connected to the sentence that preceded it? How can I make sure I remember what that means?" As you study for an exam, you look over the material you are required to know, asking yourself if you know what the concepts mean and determining which are most important for you to know.

Metacognition applies not only to learning and problem solving but also to social topics—thinking about what you think of others and what they think of you. We will explore these topics in the section on social cognition later in the chapter.

METAPHOR Formal operational thinking is also more complex than the kind of thinking that occurs in concrete operations. Concrete operational thinkers tend to focus on one aspect of things, usually the most obvious, but formal operational thinkers are more likely to see things in greater complexity and perceive multiple aspects of a situation or an idea. This greater complexity can be seen in the use of metaphor and sarcasm.

With formal operations, adolescents become capable of understanding metaphors that are more subtle than metaphors they may have understood earlier (Ichikawa et al., 2015; Sternberg & Nigro, 1980). Metaphors are complex because they have more than one meaning, the literal, concrete meaning as well as less obvious, more subtle meanings. Poems and novels are full of metaphors. Consider, for example, this famous passage from the beginning of Shakespeare's play *Richard III*. The Duke of Gloucester is greeting the Duke of York:

> Now is the winter of our discontent
> Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
> And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
> In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.

Metacognition first develops in adolescence.

On a literal level, the passage is about changing weather, but of course the deeper meaning is about a change in emotional states; Gloucester's mood has risen with York's arrival. Adolescents can grasp multiple meanings such as this to a degree that children usually cannot (Gibbs, Leggitt, & Turner, 2002; Sternberg & Nigro, 1980).

One study examined understandings of metaphors in adolescents and emerging adults ages 11–29 (Duthie et al., 2008). As the metaphors, the study used sayings such as "One bad apple spoils the whole barrel." Early adolescents tended to describe the meanings of the metaphors in concrete terms (e.g., age 11, "There's a big barrel of apples and a woman picks up one that is rotten and there are worms in it and the worms go to all the other apples"). In later adolescence and emerging adulthood, understanding of the metaphors became more abstract and more focused on their social meanings (e.g., age 21, "One bad comment can spoil the entire conversation").

Recently, clinical psychologists have proposed that the use of metaphors can be an effective way of approaching psychotherapy with adolescents, who can sometimes be difficult to reach with more direct means (Ranzoni, 2013). In a similar vein, a recent Swedish study reported that the use of metaphors was an effective part of an intervention to prevent depression in adolescents (Garmy et al., 2014).

SARCASM Sarcasm is another example of complex communication. As with metaphors, more than one interpretation is possible. "Nice pants," someone says to you as they greet you. That has a literal meaning, as a compliment for your fine taste in fashion. But depending on who says it, and how they say it, it could have another, quite different meaning: "What an ugly pair of pants! You look like a fool." Adolescents become capable of understanding (and using) sarcasm in a way children cannot, and as a result sarcasm is more often part of adolescents' conversations (Creusere, 1999; Eder, 1995; Ichikawa et al., 2015). Media that employ sarcasm, such as *Mad* magazine and *The Simpsons* television show, are more popular among adolescents than other age groups, perhaps because adolescents enjoy using their newly developed abilities for understanding sarcasm (Katz, Blasko, & Kazmerski, 2004).

One study examined how understanding of sarcasm changes from middle childhood through adolescence (Demorest et al., 1984). Participants of various ages were presented with stories in which they were asked to judge whether a particular remark was sincere, deceptive, or sarcastic (e.g., "That new haircut you got looks terrific"). Children aged 9 or younger had difficulty identifying sarcastic remarks, but 13-year-olds were better at it than 9-year-olds, and college students were better than 13-year-olds.

Another study used an unusual method to examine adolescents' uses of humor, including sarcasm (Cameron, Fox, & Cameron, 2010). The researchers focused on adolescents who lived in difficult circumstances, including poverty, family conflict, and parents' substance abuse. They followed the adolescents through "A Day in the Life" with a video camera, recording the adolescents' activities and conversations. They found that adolescents used sarcasm for multiple purposes, such as talking about socially sensitive topics and situations, and reaffirming affiliations with friends. The authors concluded that sarcastic humor is one aspect of adolescents' resilience and helps them navigate challenging social terrain.

Limitations of Piaget's Theory

3.5 Summarize the major critiques of Piaget's theory, and Piaget's response.

Piaget's theory of cognitive development has endured remarkably well. Decades after he first presented it, Piaget's theory remains the dominant theory of cognitive development from birth through adolescence. However, that does not mean that the theory has been verified in every respect. On the contrary, Piaget's theory of formal operations is the part of his theory that has been critiqued the most and that has been found to require the most modifications, more than his ideas about development at younger ages (Keating, 2012; Marti & Rodriguez, 2012; Miller, 2011). The limitations of Piaget's theory of formal operations fall into two related categories: individual differences in the attainment of formal operations and the cultural basis of adolescent cognitive development.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN FORMAL OPERATIONS Recall that Piaget's theory of cognitive development puts a strong emphasis on maturation. Although he acknowledged some degree of **individual differences**, especially in the timing of transitions from one stage to the next, Piaget asserted that most people proceed through the same stages at about the same ages because they experience the same maturational processes (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). Every 8-year-old is in the stage of concrete operations; every 15-year-old should be a formal operational thinker. Furthermore, Piaget's idea of stages means that 15-year-olds should reason in formal operations in all aspects of their lives because the same mental structure should be applied no matter what the nature of the problem (Keating, 2012).

Abundant research indicates decisively that these claims were inaccurate, especially for formal operations

individual differences

Approach to research that focuses on how individuals differ within a group, for example, in performance on IQ tests.

(Freeman, 2006). In adolescence and even in adulthood, a great range of individual differences exists in the extent to which people use formal operations. Some adolescents and adults use formal operations over a wide range of situations; others use it selectively; still others appear to use it rarely or not at all. Reviews of research in this area find that, on any particular Piagetian task of formal operations, the success rate among late adolescents and adults is only 40% to 60%, depending on the task and on individual factors such as educational background (Keating, 2012; Lawson & Wollman, 2003). Thus, even in emerging adulthood and beyond, a large proportion of people use formal operations either inconsistently or not at all.

Even people who demonstrate the capacity for formal operations tend to use it selectively, for problems and situations in which they have the most experience and knowledge (Miller, 2011). For example, adolescents who are experienced chess players may apply formal operational thinking to chess strategies, even though they may not have performed well on standard Piagetian tasks such as the pendulum problem (Chi, Glaser, & Rees, 1982). An adolescent with experience working on cars may find it easy to apply principles of formal operations in that area but have difficulty performing classroom tasks that require formal operations.

A specific kind of experience, in the form of science and math education, is also important for the development of formal operations. Adolescents who have had courses in math and science are more likely than other adolescents to exhibit formal operational thought (Lawson & Wollman, 2003), especially when the courses involve hands-on experience. This makes sense, if you think about the kinds of reasoning required for formal operations. The hypothetical-deductive reasoning that is so important to formal operations is taught as part of science classes; it forms the basis of the scientific method. Not surprisingly, it is easier for adolescents to develop this type of thinking if they have systematic instruction in it, and the more they have applied hypothetical-deductive thinking to problems in science classes, the more likely they are to perform well on tasks used to assess formal operations.

Gray (1990) suggests that Piaget underestimated how much effort, energy, and knowledge it takes to use formal operations. According to Gray (1990), concrete operations are sufficient for most daily tasks and problems, and because formal operations are so much more difficult and taxing, people often will not use them even if they have the capacity to do so. Formal operations might be useful for scientific thinking, but most people will not go to the time and trouble to apply it to every aspect of their daily lives. When people have a problem, they generally do not feel the need to understand the true nature of the problem, they just want it resolved. Thus, the concept of formal operations is inadequate for describing how most people—adolescents as well as adults—solve practical problems and draw causal inferences in their everyday lives.

CULTURE AND FORMAL OPERATIONS Questions have been raised about the extent to which cultures differ in whether their members reach formal operations at all. In many cultures formal operational thought (as measured with Piagetian tasks) does not appear to develop in most people, and this is particularly true in cultures that do not have formal schooling (Cole, 1996).

Piaget responded to these criticisms by suggesting that even though all people reach the potential for formal operational thinking, they apply it first (and perhaps only) to areas in which their culture has provided them with the most experience and expertise (Piaget, 1972). In other words, it may not make sense to give such tasks as the pendulum problem to people in all cultures because the materials and the task may be unfamiliar to them. However, if you use materials and tasks familiar to them and relevant to their daily lives, you may find that they display formal operational thinking under those conditions.

Studies like the ones described in the Cultural Focus box indicate that Piaget's ideas about cognitive development in adolescence can be applied to non-Western cultures as long as they are adapted to the ways of life of

In traditional cultures, practical activities sometimes require formal operations. Here, an adolescent girl in Peru learns to weave a rug.

Cultural Focus

FORMAL OPERATIONS AMONG THE INUIT

Until recent decades, Inuit (formerly known as Eskimo) children and adolescents of the Canadian Arctic had never attended school (Balikci, 1970; Condon, 1988; Stern, 2003). If Inuit adolescents had tried to perform the tasks of formal operations, they probably would have done poorly (Cole, 1996).

But did they, nevertheless, possess and use formal operational thinking? Consider the kind of work adolescent boys and girls performed by the age of 12 or 13 (Balikci, 1970; Condon, 1988; Grigorenko & O'Keefe, 2004).

Boys

Harnessing dog team for sledge
Pushing and pulling sledge when stuck in snow
Preparing bows and arrows, harpoons, and spears for hunting
Helping to build snowhouses
Helping to erect skin tents
Hunting polar bears, seals, etc.
Fishing

Girls

Cutting fresh ice
Fetching water
Gathering moss for fire
Caring for infants and small children
Sewing
Tanning animal skins
Cooking

Not all these tasks would require formal operations. Assigning them to adolescents (rather than children) may have been appropriate simply because adolescents' larger physical size meant they could perform many tasks better than children, such as fetching water and helping to move a sledge that was stuck in the snow. Other tasks, however, would be likely to demand the kind of thinking involved in formal operations.

Take the hunting trips that adolescent boys would participate in with their fathers, or sometimes undertake by themselves. To become successful, a boy would have to think through the components involved in a hunt and test his knowledge of hunting through experience. If he were unsuccessful on a particular outing, he would have to ask himself why. Was it because of the location he chose? the equipment he took along? the tracking method he used? Or were there other causes? On the next hunt he might alter one or more of these factors to see if his success improved. This would be hypothetical-deductive reasoning, altering and testing different variables to arrive at the solution to a problem.

Many of the daily tasks of Inuit life require formal operations.

Or take the example of an adolescent girl learning to tan animal hides. Tanning is an elaborate process, involving several complicated steps. Girls were given responsibility for this task on their own beginning at about age 14. If a girl failed to do it properly, as would sometimes happen, the hide would be ruined, and her family would be disappointed and angry with her. She would have to ask herself, where did the process go wrong? Mentally, she would work her way back through the various steps in the process, trying to identify her error. This, too, is formal operational thinking, mentally considering various hypotheses to identify a promising one to test.

In recent decades, globalization has come to the Inuit, and adolescents spend most of their day in school rather than working alongside their parents (Condon, 1988; Kral et al., 2014; Stern, 2003). As a result, they have a greater range of opportunities than they had before. Some of them go to larger nearby cities after high school to receive professional training of various kinds. By now, they face many of the same cognitive demands as adolescents in the Canadian majority culture.

As has so often happened in the course of globalization, however, there have been negative repercussions as well (Kassam, 2006; Kral et al., 2014; Leineweber & Arensman, 2003). Many adolescents find school boring and irrelevant to their lives, and some of them turn to alcohol, glue sniffing, and shoplifting to add excitement. Inuit young people are not only in transition between childhood and adulthood but also in transition between two incompatible ways of life, and the transition has not been easy to make.

each culture. There is widespread support among scholars for the proposition that the stage of formal operations constitutes a universal human potential, but the forms it takes in each culture are derived from the kinds of cognitive requirements people in the culture face (Maynard, 2008). However, in every culture there is likely to be considerable variation in the extent to which adolescents and adults display formal operational thought, from people who display it in a wide variety of circumstances to persons who display it little or not at all.

THINKING CRITICALLY

If abstract thinking is required for the formation of ideas about politics, morality, and religion, how can you explain why such ideas exist even in cultures in which math and science education is rare?

Cognitive Development in Emerging Adulthood: Postformal Thinking

In Piaget's theory, formal operations is the end point of cognitive development. Once formal operations is fully attained, by age 20 at the latest, cognitive maturation is complete. However, like many aspects of Piaget's theory of formal operations, this view has been altered by research. In fact, research indicates that cognitive development often continues in important ways during emerging adulthood.

Pragmatism

3.6 Describe pragmatism and how it affects thinking from adolescence to adulthood.

Research has inspired theories of cognitive development beyond formal operations, known as **postformal thinking** (Kincheloe et al., 2013; Sinnott, 2014). Two of the most notable aspects of postformal thinking in emerging adulthood concern advances in *pragmatism* and *reflective judgment*.

Pragmatism involves adapting logical thinking to the practical constraints of real-life situations. Theories of postformal thought emphasizing pragmatism have been developed by several scholars (Basseches, 1989; Labouvie-Vief, 2006; Sinnott, 2003). All these theories propose that the problems faced in normal adult life often contain complexities and inconsistencies that cannot be addressed with the logic of formal operations.

According to Labouvie-Vief (1982, 1990, 1998, 2006; Labouvie-Vief et al., 2010), cognitive development in emerging adulthood is distinguished from adolescent thinking by a greater recognition of practical limitations to logical thinking. In this view, adolescents exaggerate the extent to which logical thinking will be effective in real life. In contrast, emerging adulthood brings a growing awareness of how social factors and factors specific to a given situation must be taken into account in approaching most of life's problems.

For example, in one study Labouvie-Vief (1990) presented adolescents and emerging adults with stories and asked them to predict what they thought would happen. One story described a man who was a heavy drinker, especially at parties. His wife had warned him that if he came home drunk one more time, she would leave him and take the children. Some time later he went to an office party and came home drunk. What would she do?

Labouvie-Vief found that adolescents tended to respond strictly in terms of the logic of formal operations: The wife said she would leave if her husband came home drunk once more. He came home drunk; therefore, she will leave. In contrast, emerging adults considered many possible dimensions of the situation. Did he apologize and beg her not to leave? Did she really mean it when she said she would leave him? Does she have some place to go? Has she considered the possible effects on the children? Rather than relying strictly on logic, with a belief in definite wrong and right answers, the emerging adults tended to be postformal thinkers in the sense that they realized that the problems of real life often involve a great deal of complexity and ambiguity. However, Labouvie-Vief (2006) emphasizes that with postformal thinking as with formal thinking, not everyone continues to move to higher levels of cognitive complexity, and many people continue to apply earlier, more concrete thinking in emerging adulthood and beyond.

A similar theory of cognitive development in emerging adulthood has been presented by Michael Basseches (1984, 1989, 2010; Benack, Basseches, & Swan, 2013). Like Labouvie-Vief, Basseches views cognitive development in emerging adulthood as involving a recognition that formal logic can rarely be applied to the problems most people face in their daily lives. **Dialectical thought** is Basseches's term for the kind of thinking that develops in emerging adulthood, involving a growing awareness that problems often have no clear solution and that two opposing strategies or points of view may each have some merit. For example, people may have to decide whether to quit a job they dislike without knowing whether their next job will be more satisfying.

postformal thinking
Type of thinking beyond formal operations, involving greater awareness of the complexity of real-life situations, such as in the use of pragmatism and reflective judgment

pragmatism
Type of thinking that involves adapting logical thinking to the practical constraints of real-life situations.

dialectical thought
Type of thinking that develops in emerging adulthood, involving a growing awareness that most problems do not have a single solution and that problems must often be addressed with crucial pieces of information missing.

Some cultures may promote dialectical thinking more than others. Peng and Nisbett (1999) have proposed that Chinese culture traditionally promotes dialectical thought by advocating an approach to knowledge that strives to reconcile contradictions and combine opposing perspectives by seeking a middle ground. In contrast, they argue, the European American approach tends to apply logic in a way that polarizes contradictory perspectives in an effort to determine which is correct.

To support this theory, Peng and Nisbett (1999) conducted studies comparing Chinese and American college students. They found that the Chinese students were more likely than the Americans to prefer dialectical proverbs containing contradictions. The Chinese students were also more likely to prefer dialectical arguments, involving argument and counterargument, over arguments that used classical Western logic. In addition, when two apparently contradictory propositions were presented, the Americans tended to embrace one and reject the other, whereas the Chinese students were moderately accepting of both propositions, seeking to reconcile them.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of a problem you have had in your life lately. Can you apply the insights of Labouvie-Vief and Basseches to the problem?

Reflective Judgment

3.7 Describe reflective judgment and the difference between dualistic thinking and multiple thinking.

Reflective judgment, another cognitive quality that has been found to develop in emerging adulthood, is the capacity to evaluate the accuracy and logical coherence of evidence and arguments. An influential theory of the development of reflective judgment in emerging adulthood was proposed by William Perry (1970/1999), who based his theory on his studies of college students in their late teens and early 20s. According to Perry (1970/1999), adolescents and first-year college students tend to engage in **dualistic thinking**, which means they often see situations and issues in polarized terms—an act is either right or wrong, with no in-between; a statement is either true or false, regardless of the nuances or the situation to which it is being applied. In this sense, they lack reflective judgment. However, reflective judgment begins to develop for most people in their late teens. First a stage of **multiple thinking** takes place, in which emerging adults believe there are two or more sides to every story, two or more legitimate views of every issue, and that it can be difficult to justify one position as the only true or accurate one. In this stage, people tend to value all points of view equally, even to the extent of asserting that it is impossible to make any judgments about whether one point of view is more valid than another.

By the early 20s, according to Perry, multiple thinking develops into **relativism**. Like people in the stage of multiple thinking, relativists are able to recognize the legitimacy of competing points of view. However, rather than denying that one view could be more persuasive than another, relativists attempt to compare the merits of competing views. Finally, by the end of their college years, many emerging adults reach a stage of **commitment** in which they commit themselves to certain points of view they believe to be the most valid, while being open to reevaluating their views if new evidence is presented to them.

Research on reflective judgment indicates that significant gains may take place in emerging adulthood (King & Kitchener, 2002, 2004, 2015; King, Kitchener, & DeLuca,2006; Pascarella

What is it about the college environment that promotes reflective judgment?

reflective judgment
The capacity to evaluate the accuracy and logical coherence of evidence and arguments.

dualistic thinking
Cognitive tendency to see situations and issues in polarized, absolute, black-and-white terms.

multiple thinking
Cognitive approach entailing recognition that there is more than one legitimate view of things and that it can be difficult to justify one position as the true or accurate one.

relativism
Cognitive ability to recognize the legitimacy of competing points of view but also compare the relative merits of competing views.

commitment
Cognitive status in which people commit themselves to certain points of view they believe to be the most valid while at the same time being open to reevaluating their views if new evidence is presented to them.

& Terenzini, 1991). However, the gains that take place in emerging adulthood appear to be due more to education than to maturation (Labouvie-Vief, 2006; Zeidler et al., 2009)—that is, people who pursue a college education during emerging adulthood show greater advances in reflective judgment than people who do not. Also, Perry and his colleagues acknowledged that the development of reflective judgment is likely to be more common in a culture that values pluralism and whose educational system promotes tolerance of diverse points of view (Perry, 1970/1999). However, thus far little cross-cultural research has taken place on reflective judgment.

THINKING CRITICALLY

The Constitution of the United States specifies a minimum age of 35 before a person can be elected president. Why do you suppose this is so? What cognitive qualities might be insufficiently developed before that age for a person to be capable of exercising the duties of the office?

The Information-Processing Approach

The approach of Piaget and the scholars who have continued his line of theory and research describes how adolescents and emerging adults develop capacities such as hypothetical-deductive reasoning, abstract thinking, and reflective judgment. The focus is on how the development of these general cognitive capacities is reflected in young people's performance on specific tasks such as the pendulum problem. Piaget also emphasized the way cognitive abilities change with age, from preadolescence to adolescence, from concrete operations to formal operations. However, another major approach to studying cognitive functioning focuses on processes that occur at all ages.

The Basics of the Information-Processing Approach

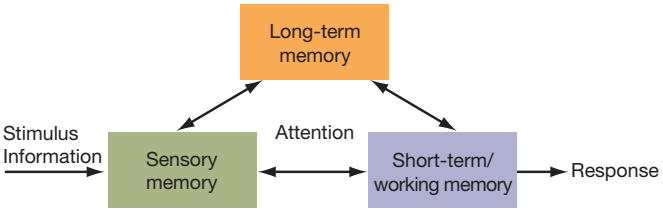
3.8 Identify how the information-processing approach differs from Piaget's cognitive-developmental approach.

The **information-processing approach** to understanding cognitive development in adolescence is quite different from the cognitive-developmental approach. Rather than viewing cognitive development as **discontinuous**, that is, as separated into distinct stages, the way Piaget did, the information-processing approach views cognitive change as **continuous**, meaning gradual and steady. However, the information-processing approach usually does not have a developmental focus. The focus is not on how mental structures and ways of thinking change with age but on the thinking processes that exist at all ages. Nevertheless, some studies of information processing do compare adolescents or emerging adults to people of other ages.

The original model for the information-processing approach was the computer (Hunt, 1989). Information-processing researchers and theorists have tried to break down human thinking into separate parts in the same way that the functions of a computer are separated into capacities for *attention, processing,* and *memory*. In the pendulum problem, someone taking the information-processing approach would examine how adolescents draw their attention to the most relevant aspects of the problem, process the results of each trial, remember the results, and retrieve the results from previous trials to compare to the most recent trial. In this way the information-processing approach is a **componential approach**, because it involves breaking down the thinking process into its various components (McDaniel & Einstein, 2011; Sternberg, 1983).

Recent models of information processing have moved away from a simple-computer analogy and recognized that the brain is more complex than any computer (Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2015). Rather than occurring in a step-by-step fashion as in a computer, in human thinking, the different components operate simultaneously, as **Figure 3.1** illustrates. Nevertheless, the focus of information processing

Figure 3.1 A model of information processing. Attention and memory are the key components.



information-processing approach
An approach to understanding cognition that seeks to delineate the steps involved in the thinking process and how each step is connected to the next.

discontinuous
A view of development as taking place in stages that are distinct from one another rather than as one gradual, continuous process.

continuous
A view of development as a gradual, steady process rather than as taking place in distinct stages.

componential approach
Description of the information-processing approach to cognition, indicating that it involves breaking down the thinking process into its various components.

remains on the components of the thinking process, especially attention and memory.

Let's look at each of these components of information processing and how they change during adolescence and emerging adulthood. For all of the components, adolescents perform better than younger children, and for some, emerging adults perform better than adolescents.

Attention

3.9 Compare and contrast selective attention and divided attention.

Information processing begins with stimulus information that enters the senses (see Figure 3.1), but much of what you see, hear, and touch is processed no further. For example, as you are reading this, there may be sounds in the environment, other sights in your visual field, and the feeling of your body in the seat where you are reading, but if you are focusing on what you are reading, most of this information goes no further than sensory memory. The only information you process is the information on which you focus your attention.

Are you able to read a textbook while someone else in the same room is watching television? Are you able to have a conversation at a party where music and other conversations are blaring loudly all around you? These are tasks that require **selective attention**—the ability to focus on relevant information while screening out information that is irrelevant (Spataro et al., 2011). Adolescents tend to be better than preadolescent children at tasks that require selective attention, and emerging adults are generally better than adolescents (Blumberg et al., 2013; Sinha & Goel, 2012). Adolescents are also more adept than preadolescents at tasks that require **divided attention**—reading a book and listening to music at the same time, for example—but even for adolescents, divided attention may result in less efficient learning than if attention were focused entirely on one thing. One study found that watching TV interfered with adolescents' homework performance but listening to music did not (Pool, Koolstra, & van der Voort, 2003).

One aspect of selective attention is the ability to analyze a set of information and select the most important parts of it for further attention. When you listen to a lecture in class, for example, your attention may fluctuate. You may monitor the information being presented and increase or decrease your level of attention according to your judgment of the information's importance. This aspect of selective attention is also a key part of problem solving; one of the initial steps of solving any problem is to decide where to direct your attention. For example, if your computer fails to boot up, the first thing you try to do is to decide where the source of the problem is—the monitor, the connections, or the computer itself. Adolescents are better than children at focusing on the most relevant aspects of a problem (Blumberg et al., 2013). Selective attention is especially a problem for children and adolescents with learning disabilities (Yu & Dong, 2007).

Capacities for selective attention and divided attention improve during adolescence. Does divided attention impede learning?

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Design a simple study to assess the abilities of adolescents or emerging adults for selective attention, and a separate study on their learning abilities under conditions of divided attention.

Storing and Retrieving Information: Short-Term and Long-Term Memory

3.10 Distinguish between short-term, long-term, and working memory, and explain how adolescents use mnemonic devices.

Memory is a key part of information processing, perhaps even the most important part. Drawing your attention to something and processing information about it would not do you much good if you could not store the results in your memory and call them back into your mind when you needed them. Because memory is so important to learning, a great deal of research has focused on it.

selective attention
The ability to focus on relevant information while screening out information that is irrelevant.

divided attention
The ability to focus on more than one task at a time.

One important distinction scholars have made is between short-term and long-term memory. **Short-term memory** is memory for information that is currently the focus of your attention. It has a limited capacity and retains information for only about 30 seconds or less. **Long-term memory** is memory for information that is committed to longer-term storage, so that you can draw on it again after a period when your attention has not been focused on it. The capacity of long-term memory is unlimited, and information is retained indefinitely. You can probably think of things you experienced 10 or more years ago that you can still call up from your long-term memory. Both short-term and long-term memory improve substantially between childhood and adolescence (Ashcraft & Radvansky, 2015).

There are two types of short-term memory. One type is involved in the input and storage of new information. This type of short-term memory has a limited capacity. The most common test of short-term memory capacity is to recite lists of numbers or words, gradually increasing the length, and see how many the person can remember without making a mistake. So if I give you the list "1, 6, 2, 9," you can probably remember that pretty easily. Now try this: "8, 7, 1, 5, 3, 9, 2, 4, 1." Not so easy, is it? But you are certainly better at this kind of test now than when you were 8 or 10. Short-term memory capacity increases throughout childhood and early adolescence until the mid-teens and remains stable after about age 16 at an average of seven units of information (Dempster, 1984).

The other type of short-term memory is known as **working memory** (Kail & Hall, 2001). Working memory is a "mental workbench" where you keep information as you are working on it. It is where you analyze and reason about information in the course of making decisions, solving problems, and comprehending written and spoken language. The information may be new, or it may be called up from long-term memory, or some combination of the two. The size of a person's working memory is highly correlated with overall intelligence (Colom, Flores-Mendoza, & Rebollo, 2003). Like short-term memory capacity for new information, the capacity of working memory increases from childhood through the mid-teens and then stabilizes (Conklin et al., 2007; Keage et al., 2008; Pugin et al., 2014).

An experiment by Robert Sternberg and his colleagues demonstrates how increases in working memory take place between childhood and adolescence (Sternberg & Nigro, 1980). They presented analogies to 3rd-grade, 6th-grade, 9th-grade, and college students. For example, "Sun is to moon as asleep is to . . . ?"

1. Star
2. Bed
3. Awake
4. Night

There was improvement with age, especially between the younger (3rd- and 6th-grade) and older (9th-grade and college) students. Sternberg attributed the differences to short-term working memory capacities. Analogies take a considerable amount of short-term memory space. You have to keep the first set of words ("sun is to moon") and the nature of their relationship in your working memory continuously as you consider the other possible pairings ("asleep is to star . . . asleep is to bed . . .") and analyze their relationships as well. Before adolescence, children do not have enough working memory capacity to perform tasks like this effectively. (The correct answer is "awake," in case you are wondering.)

Long-term memory also improves in adolescence. Adolescents are more likely than preadolescent children to use **mnemonic devices** (memory strategies), such as organizing information into coherent patterns (Barry & Welsh, 2007). Think of what you do, for example, when you sit down to read a textbook chapter. You probably have various organizational strategies you have developed over the years (if you do not, you would be wise to develop some), such as writing a chapter outline, taking notes, organizing information into categories, and so on. By planning your reading in these ways, you remember (and learn) more effectively.

Another way long-term memory improves in adolescence is that adolescents have more experience and more knowledge than children do, and these advantages enhance the effectiveness of long-term memory (Keating, 2012). Having more knowledge helps you learn new information and store it in long-term memory. This is a key difference between short-term and long-term memory. Because the capacity of short-term memory is limited, the more information you have in there already, the less effectively you can add new information to it. With long-term memory, however, the capacity is essentially unlimited, and the more you know the easier it is to learn new information.

What makes it easier is that you already have information in your memory that you can use to form associations

short-term memory
Memory for information that is the current focus of attention.

long-term memory
Memory for information that is committed to longer-term storage, so that it can be drawn upon after a period when attention has not been focused on it.

working memory
An aspect of short-term memory that refers to where information is stored as it is comprehended and analyzed.

mnemonic devices
Memory strategies.

with the new information, which makes it more likely that the new information will be remembered (Pressley & Schneider, 1997). For example, if you have already had a course in child development or human development, some of the concepts (such as concrete operations) and big names (such as Piaget) presented here may be familiar to you. If so, the new information you come across here will be easier for you to remember than for someone who has never had a related course before, because you can make associations between the new information and the knowledge you already have. Notice the relation here to Piaget's concepts of assimilation and accommodation: The more information you have in your long-term memory, the more you can assimilate new information and the less accommodation is required.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Among the courses you have taken in your college education, for which have you found information easiest to remember, and for which hardest? In what ways do the memory concepts presented here help explain why some courses are easier than others for retaining information?

Processing Information: Speed, Automaticity, and Executive Functioning

3.11 Give an example of automaticity, and explain how executive functioning develops in adolescence.

Three other aspects of information processing also advance in adolescence. Adolescents generally process information with greater speed than children do (Case, 1985, 1997; Cepeda, Blackwell, & Munakata, 2013). With regard to speed, think of the example of an electronic game. Adolescents are generally better at such games than children because the games typically require the player to respond to changing circumstances, and adolescents are faster at processing information as those changes occur. In experimental situations involving tasks such as matching letters, there is an increase in speed of processing from age 10 through the late teens (Fry & Hale, 1996; Luna et al., 2004), with the largest gains coming in the early part of this age period.

Electronic games require speed of information processing.

Another aspect of processing is **automaticity**, that is, how much cognitive effort the person needs to devote to processing the information (Case, 1997; Cepeda et al., 2013). For example, if I give you a few computational problems—100 divided by 20, 60 minus 18, 7 times 9—you can probably do them without writing them down and without straining yourself too much. This is partly because you have done problems like this so much in the course of your life that they are almost automatic—much more than they would be for a preadolescent child.

Adolescents show greater automaticity of processing in a variety of respects, compared with preadolescent children. However, automaticity depends more on experience than on age alone. This has been shown in studies of chess players. Expert chess players have been found to process the configurations on chessboards with a high degree of automaticity, which enables them to remember the configurations better and analyze them faster and more effectively than novices do (Chi et al., 1982; Grabner, 2014). Furthermore, expert chess players who are children or adolescents demonstrate greater automaticity in processing chess configurations than novice adults do, even though the adults outperform them on other cognitive tests (Chi et al., 1982; Keating, 2012).

Automaticity is closely related to speed and to working memory capacity (Cepeda et al., 2013). The more automatic a cognitive task is, the faster you are able to do it. Also, the more automatic a task is, the less working memory capacity it takes, leaving more room for other tasks. For example, you may be able to read a magazine while you watch TV, but you would probably find it harder to fill out your tax forms while watching TV. This is because reading the language on tax forms, filled as it is with terms you are likely to see only on tax forms, is much less automatic to you than reading the language of a magazine.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of an example of a task you performed today in which you used automaticity.

automaticity

Degree of cognitive effort a person needs to devote to processing a given set of information.

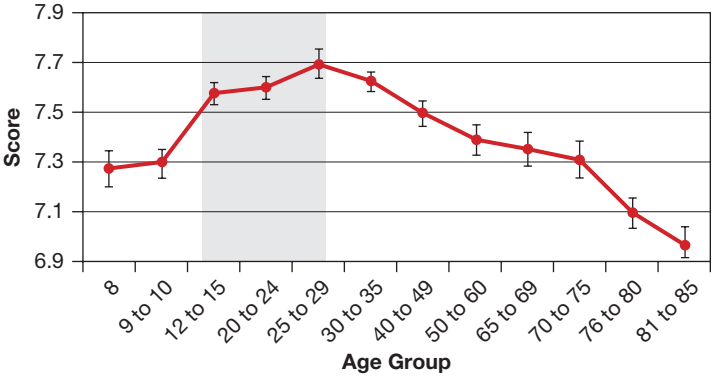
Finally, adolescents advance in their **executive functioning**, which means the ability to control and manage their cognitive processes (Blakemore & Choudhury, 2006; Vetter et al., 2013). Executive functioning is what allows you to combine cognitive abilities such as attention, memory, planning, and reasoning into coherent thoughts and actions. Improvements in executive functioning allow adolescents to perform many cognitive tasks that young children cannot; for example, children cannot handle the cognitive challenges involved in driving an automobile or working as a clerk in a retail store. However, there are distinct cultural differences in how the capacities of adolescents are viewed and the responsibilities they are given. If you live in a developed country, you probably would not allow your 12-year-old to work in a factory or go into town and sell tea at a stand all day. Yet in many cultures, by age 12 adolescents are given daily responsibility for these kinds of jobs, and some of this work probably requires a substantial amount of executive functioning.

For children in developed countries, executive functioning is important to school success (Latzman et al., 2010). It helps adolescents organize their efforts in completing a task. In a testing situation, it enables them to focus on the most important aspects of a problem and ignore irrelevant information. Problems in executive functioning in adolescence lead to other kinds of problems, such as depression and learning difficulties (Martel et al., 2007; Pharo et al., 2011; Poletti, 2009).

To assess executive functioning from early childhood through old age, researchers use brief (less than 5 minutes) tasks. One common task is the *dimensional change card sort (DCCS)* (Zelazo et al., 2016). The cards for this task show images that combine two dimensions, such as a red circle and a blue square. People are first asked to sort based on one dimension (e.g., color), and then to switch to the other (e.g., shape). The switch condition requires the use of executive function, and young children often continue to sort based on the first dimension when asked to switch to the second one (Carlson, Zelazo, & Faja, 2013). However, we get better with age at focusing on the most relevant features of a task or problem. **Figure 3.2** shows the results of a study, using the card sort task, that included 8- to 85-year-olds (Zelazo et al., 2016). As you can see from figure, performance rises through childhood and adolescence and peaks during emerging adulthood, at age 25 to 29.

Figure 3.2 Executive functioning from age 8 to 85, on card sort task.

SOURCE: Zelazo et al. (2016).



Limitations of the Information-Processing Approach

3.12 Summarize critiques of the information-processing approach.

Like Piaget's theory of cognitive development, the information-processing approach has its critics. According to the critics, information-processing theorists and researchers are guilty of **reductionism**, which means breaking up a phenomenon into separate parts to such an extent that the meaning and coherence of the phenomenon as a whole become lost. From this perspective, what information-processing scholars see as a strength—the focus on the separate components of cognitive processes—is actually a weakness. In the words of one critic, this approach leads scholars to the false conclusion that "the performance is *nothing but* the serial execution of a specified set of individual processes" (Kuhn, 1992, p. 236, emphasis in original).

According to the critics, by taking a reductionist approach, information-processing scholars have lost the holistic perspective that characterized Piaget's work. That is, they fail to consider how human cognition works as a whole rather than as a set of isolated parts. The analogy of a computer once favored by information-processing scholars is misguided because human beings are not computers.

executive functioning
The ability to control and manage one's cognitive processes.

reductionism
Breaking up a phenomenon into separate parts to such an extent that the meaning and coherence of the phenomenon as a whole becomes lost.

Historical Focus

GENDER AND COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

In most cultures throughout history, opportunities for enhancing cognitive development through education have been much more limited for females than for males. In the United States and other Western countries, this issue pertains particularly to emerging adulthood. Historically, there has been much more debate over, and resistance to, the idea that females should receive higher education. Many people in the 18th and 19th centuries were vehemently opposed to the idea that females should be allowed to attend colleges and universities.

Historian Linda Kerber (1997) distinguishes three periods in the history of higher education for women. The first extended from 1700 to 1775. During this time, female literacy grew (as it did for males), but no colleges or universities accepted female students. Of course, it was also rare for males to receive higher education at that time, but at least the more privileged males had this opportunity. Females were barred entirely.

The second period extended from 1776 to 1833, and Kerber calls it the "Era of the Great Debate over the Capacities of Women's Minds." The question of whether women were cognitively capable of benefiting from higher education was hotly debated during this time. In the final year of this period, 1833, the first women entered higher education, at Oberlin College, which was founded as a women's college.

The third period, from 1833 to 1875, was marked by a steady expansion in opportunities for women to pursue higher education. By 1875, dozens of institutions accepted female students, and the debate over whether women should be allowed to pursue higher education had turned in favor of the proponents.

Arguments against allowing young women the opportunity for higher education had two main features. One was the claim that "too much" education for young women would be hazardous to them, because it would spoil their feminine qualities and because it might exhaust them and even make them ill. A second was the claim that women were inherently inferior to men intellectually, and therefore, higher education would be wasted on them.

The first claim, that intellectual stimulation was hazardous to young women, was especially prevalent in the 18th century. A popular verse during that century read:

> Why should girls be learn'd and wise?
> Books only serve to spoil their eyes.
> The studious eye but faintly twinkles
> And reading paves the way to wrinkles.

About the same time, an influential Boston minister declared, "Women of masculine minds have generally masculine manners, and a robustness of person ill-calculated to inspire tender passion."

This argument continued to be stated during the 19th century, but as women began to break through the barriers to higher education, some men claimed that women were "scientifically" shown to be cognitively inferior. A lot of scientific activity took place in the 19th century, and a lot of pseudoscience, too. Some of the worst pseudoscience attempted to establish biologically based group differences in intelligence (Gould, 1981). Even scientists who were otherwise respectable were infected by pseudoscientific reasoning when it came to issues of intelligence. Paul Broca, perhaps the most important figure in neurology in the 19th century, claimed that

Computers have no capacity for self-reflection, and no awareness of how their cognitive processes are integrated, organized, and monitored. Because self-reflection and self-awareness are central to human cognition, critics argue, overlooking them leaves the information-processing approach insufficient and inadequate.

Computers also lack emotions, and according to some scholars, emotions must be taken into account when considering cognitive functioning. Evidence suggests that adolescents' emotions tend to be more intense and more variable than either preadolescent children's or adults' emotions (Larson & Richards, 1994), so this would seem to be an especially important consideration with regard to adolescent cognition. In one study, researchers presented three dilemmas to high school students, college students, and adults (Blanchard-Fields, 1986). The dilemmas were intended to vary in the degree of emotional involvement they elicited from the participants. The low-involvement dilemma concerned conflicting accounts of a war between two fictitious nations, whereas the high-involvement dilemmas concerned a conflict between parents and their adolescent son over whether he should join them on a visit to his grandparents, and a man and a woman disagreeing over whether their unintended pregnancy should end in abortion. The researchers found that the high school and college students showed less advanced reasoning about the high-involvement dilemmas than about the low-involvement dilemmas, whereas the adults showed similar reasoning levels for all three dilemmas. This study indicates both that emotions can affect cognition and that the effect may be greater for adolescents and

the smaller brains of women demonstrated their intellectual inferiority. He knew very well that brain size is related to body size and that women's smaller brain size simply reflected their smaller body size rather than inferior intelligence, but his prejudice against the cognitive capacities of women allowed him to talk himself out of it:

> We might ask if the small size of the female brain depends exclusively on the small size of her body. . . . But we must not forget that women are, on average, a little less intelligent than men. . . . We are therefore permitted to suppose that the relatively small size of the female brain depends in part upon her physical inferiority and in part upon her intellectual inferiority. (1861, quoted in Gould, 1981, p. 104)

The pseudoscientific claims got even worse than that. Gustave Le Bon, the French scholar who was one of the founders of social psychology, commented:

> In the most intelligent races, as among the Parisians, there are a large number of women whose brains are closer in size to those of gorillas than to the most developed male brains. This inferiority is so obvious that no one can contest it even for a moment; only its degree is worth discussion. All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women . . . recognize today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilized man. They excel in fickleness, inconstancy, absence of thought and logic, and incapacity to reason. Without doubt there exist some distinguished women, very superior to the average man, but they are as exceptional as the birth of any monstrosity, as, for example, of a gorilla with two heads; consequently we may neglect them entirely. (1879, quoted in Gould, 1981)

In the 19th century, there were strong prejudices against women with regard to their intellectual abilities.

Keep in mind that Broca and Le Bon were not regarded as cranks or fools, but were two of the most important scholars of their time. They both reflected and affected attitudes toward the cognitive capacities of females that many people held in those days.

Things have changed now in the West. In all Western countries, females exceed males' performance on nearly every measure of educational achievement (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2016). However, it remains true in most of the world that females receive less education than males. It is also true that certain prejudices against females' cognitive abilities continue to exist in the West, as we will discuss in the chapters on gender and school.

emerging adults than for adults. Recent brain research seems to support this conclusion (Sercombe, 2009; Vetter et al., 2013).

Practical Cognition: Critical Thinking and Decision Making

Some research on cognitive development in adolescence and emerging adulthood has been especially concerned with how cognition operates in real life, applied to practical situations. Two areas of research on practical cognition in adolescence and emerging adulthood are critical thinking and decision making.

The Development of Critical Thinking

3.13 Describe the features of critical thinking in adolescence and how it can best be promoted in schools.

In combination, the changes in cognitive development during adolescence described thus far have the potential to provide adolescents with a greater capacity for **critical thinking**, which is thinking that involves not merely memorizing information but analyzing it, making judgments

critical thinking
Thinking that involves not merely memorizing information but analyzing it, making judgments about what it means, relating it to other information, and considering ways in which it might be valid or invalid.

about what it means, relating it to other information, and considering how it might be valid or invalid.

According to the cognitive psychologist Daniel Keating (2004, 2012), cognitive development in adolescence provides the potential for critical thinking in several ways. First, a wider range of knowledge is available in long-term memory, across a variety of domains; thus, the ability to analyze and make judgments about new information is enhanced because more previous knowledge is available for comparison. Second, the ability to consider different kinds of knowledge simultaneously is increased, which makes it possible to think of new combinations of knowledge. Third, more metacognitive strategies are available for applying or gaining knowledge, such as planning and monitoring one's own comprehension; these strategies make it possible to think more critically about what one is learning.

However, Keating and others stress that critical-thinking skills do not develop automatically or inevitably in adolescence. On the contrary, critical thinking in adolescence requires a foundation of skills and knowledge obtained in childhood, along with an educational environment in adolescence that promotes and values critical thinking. According to Keating (2004, 2012), gaining specific knowledge and learning critical-thinking skills are complementary goals. Critical thinking promotes gaining knowledge of a topic because it leads to a desire for underlying explanations, and gaining knowledge of a topic makes critical thinking possible because it makes relevant knowledge available for analysis and critique.

Given the potential usefulness of critical thinking in the learning process, one might expect that critical-thinking skills would be a primary goal of teaching in schools. However, observers of the American educational system generally agree that American schools do a poor job of promoting critical thinking (Marin & Halpern, 2011). Assessments of adolescents' critical-thinking skills generally find that few adolescents develop such skills and use them capably, in part because such skills are so rarely promoted in the classroom. Instead of promoting the complementary development of knowledge and critical thinking, a great deal of secondary school teaching is limited to promoting the rote memorization of concrete facts, with the limited goal that students will be able to remember those facts until a test is taken.

The promotion of critical thinking would require small classes and a classroom environment in which focused discourse between teachers and students was the norm (Glassner & Schwarz, 2007; Miller, 2005). These characteristics are not typical of American secondary schools. Asian secondary schools have also been observed to have an especially strong emphasis on rote learning and to discourage critical thinking (Chen, 2012; Tian & Low, 2011). Some scholars argue that European secondary schools are better at providing a classroom environment that promotes critical thinking (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). American colleges also tend to have more success than American secondary schools in promoting critical thinking, especially in relatively small classes (Wass et al., 2011). In this text, the Thinking Critically questions in each chapter are intended to promote critical thinking on adolescence and emerging adulthood. They also provide you with examples of what critical thinking means.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Did your high school successfully promote critical thinking? If not, why do you think it did not? What practical barriers exist to the promotion of critical thinking?

Can Adolescents Make Competent Decisions?

3.14 Explain how decision-making abilities change in the course of adolescence, including with respect to judging risks.

We saw in Chapter 1 that making independent decisions is one of the qualities that most adolescents and emerging adults in a variety of cultures consider to be a crucial part of becoming an adult. What do studies tell us about whether adolescents possess the cognitive abilities to make decisions competently? The answer to this question has important implications, given that adolescents in many societies are confronted with decisions about whether to use drugs (including alcohol and cigarettes), when to become sexually active, and which educational path to pursue.

This area also has political and legal implications in debates over whether adolescents should have the right to make independent decisions about using contraception, obtaining an abortion, or pursuing various medical treatments. In many American states, adolescents (under age 18) are prohibited from making independent decisions about medical treatments (Woolard et al., 2013). Also, legal contracts entered into by adolescents under age 18 do not have the same binding power as contracts signed by people age 18 or older. Adolescents may disavow a contract any time they wish, whereas adults may not. Furthermore, crimes committed by adolescents are treated under a different legal system than crimes committed by adults, and usually more leniently, which reflects a perception that adolescents should not be held responsible for bad decisions in the same way adults are. Increasingly in the United States, states are narrowing this distinction and trying juveniles under the same rules

Are adolescents competent to make major decisions, such as about legal or medical issues?

as adults for many crimes, but most states have maintained at least some distinction in the legal system that recognizes differences in decision-making capabilities between adolescents and adults (Woolard et al., 2013).

Studies indicate that competence in decision making varies substantially with age. Compared with preadolescent children, early adolescents generally identify a wider range of possible choices, are better at anticipating the consequences of the possible choices, and are better at evaluating and integrating information (Keating, 2012). In each of these respects, however, early adolescents are less skilled than late adolescents or emerging adults (Defoe et al., 2015).

For example, Lewis (1981) presented adolescents in grades 8, 10, and 12 with hypothetical situations regarding decisions about medical procedures. The 12th graders were more likely than the 10th or 8th graders to mention risks to be considered (83%, 50%, and 40%, from oldest to youngest), to recommend consultation with an outside specialist (62%, 46%, and 21%), and to anticipate possible consequences (42%, 25%, and 11%).

Most studies comparing adolescents and adults have found that adolescents take more risks than adults on "hot tasks" that have immediate outcome feedback on rewards and losses (Defoe et al., 2015). Adolescents appear to be more influenced than adults are by strong emotions and by the presence of friends (Steinberg et al., 2009). In other words, even though adolescents may be able to show the same level of cognitive ability as adults in making a decision, adolescents may make different decisions because they are more likely than adults to be affected by psychosocial factors, such as the emotions of the moment and the desire to be accepted by peers. Research indicates that it is especially adolescents ages 15 and younger whose decision-making competence is impaired by psychosocial immaturity (Grisso et al., 2003; van Duijvenvoorde et al., 2013).

It should be emphasized that scholars on decision making agree that even in adulthood, the process of making decisions is rarely based purely on reason and is often inaccurate because of reasoning errors or the influence of social and emotional factors (Defoe et al., 2015; Jacobs & Klaczynski, 2005). Decision-making abilities may improve from childhood through adolescence and into emerging adulthood and beyond, but at all ages the process of decision making is often subject to errors and distortions.

THINKING CRITICALLY

By what age, if at all, should adolescents be allowed to decide whether to get a tattoo, whether to use birth control, and whether to live on their own? Justify your answer in terms of the decision-making concepts presented here.

Social Cognition

Cognition is the basis of our understanding of the physical world, but it also contributes to our understanding of the social world.

What Is Social Cognition?

3.15 Explain what social cognition is and what it means to say cognitive development functions as an "organizational core."

Cognitive development is discussed in an early chapter of this text because it is an area of development that provides a foundation for a wide range of other aspects of development, from family relations and friendships to school performance and risk behavior. Cognitive development in adolescence functions as an **organizational core** that affects all areas of thinking, no matter what the topic (Tomlinson-Keasey & Eisert, 1981).

This means that the cognitive concepts we have discussed in relation to the physical world can be applied to social topics as well. **Social cognition** is the term for the way we think about other people, social relationships, and social institutions (Evans, 2008). Because social cognition (like cognitive development generally) is reflected in so many other areas of adolescent development, we will be

organizational core

Term applied especially to cognitive development, meaning that cognitive development affects all areas of thinking, no matter what the topic.

social cognition

How people think about other people, social relationships, and social institutions.

discussing social cognition throughout the text. Here, as an introduction, we examine two aspects of social cognition: perspective taking and adolescent egocentrism.

Perspective Taking

3.16 Chart the stages of Selman's theory of perspective taking and explain how "theory of mind" is related to perspective taking.

Have you had a conversation lately with a young child? If you have, you may have found that such conversations tend to go most smoothly when the focus of the conversation is on them rather than you. Young children tend to assume that topics that focus on themselves are of great interest not only to themselves but to others, and it rarely occurs to them to ask themselves how your interests might differ from theirs. As children grow into adolescence, they become better at **perspective taking**, the ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others. Of course, understanding the thoughts and feelings of others remains a challenge even for adults. But most people improve at this as they grow up, and adolescence is an especially important period in the development of perspective taking.

Robert Selman (1976, 1980; Selman & Byrne, 1974) was an important early theorist and researcher on the development of perspective taking (De Lisi, 2005; Lapsley & Woodbury, 2015). On the basis of his research, he proposed a theory describing how perspective taking develops through a series of stages, from early childhood through adolescence. In the course of these stages, according to Selman, the egocentrism of childhood gradually develops into the mature perspective-taking ability of adolescence.

Selman has used mainly interviews as the method of his research. In the interviews, children and adolescents are provided with hypothetical situations and asked to comment on them. For example: "Dr. Miller has just finished his training to be a doctor. He was setting up an office in a new town and wanted to get a lot of patients. He didn't have much money to start out with. He found an office and was trying to decide if he should spend a lot of money to make it fancy, by putting down a fancy rug, buying fancy furniture, and expensive lighting, or if he should keep it plain, with no rug, plain furniture, and a plain lamp" (Selman, 1980, p. 42).

Responses indicating perspective-taking abilities are then elicited by asking questions concerning the doctor's thinking about attracting new patients and asking about the point of view of patients and of society in general on the doctor's behavior (e.g., "What do you think society thinks about doctors spending money to make their offices fancy to attract people?").

Selman's research indicates that until adolescence, children's capacity for perspective taking is limited in various ways. Young children have difficulty separating their own perspective from those of others. When they reach ages 6 to 8, children begin to develop perspective-taking skills but have difficulty comparing perspectives. By preadolescence (ages 8 to 10), most children can understand that others may have a point of view that is different from their own. They also realize that taking another's perspective can assist them in understanding others' intentions and actions.

According to Selman, in early adolescence, about ages 10 to 12, children become capable for the first time of **mutual perspective taking**. That is, early adolescents understand that their perspective-taking interactions with others are mutual—just as you understand that another person has a perspective that is different from your own, you also realize that other people understand that you have a perspective that is different from theirs. Also, unlike younger children, early adolescents have begun to be able to imagine how their view and the view of another person might appear to a third person. In the Dr. Miller example just presented, this stage would be reflected in the ability to explain the doctor's perceptions of how others might view both him and his patients.

According to Selman's theory, social cognition develops further in late adolescence. After mutual perspective taking comes **social and conventional system perspective taking**, meaning that adolescents come to realize that their social perspectives and those of others are influenced not just by their interactions with each other but also by their roles in the larger society. In the Dr. Miller example, this stage would be reflected in an understanding of how the role of doctor is perceived by society and how that would influence the perspective of the doctor and his patients.

In general, Selman's research has demonstrated that perspective-taking abilities improve from childhood through adolescence. However, his research also shows that there is only a loose connection between age and perspective-taking abilities. Adolescents may reach the stage of mutual perspective taking as early as age 11 or

perspective taking
The ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others.

mutual perspective taking
Stage of perspective taking, often found in early adolescence, in which persons understand that their perspective-taking interactions with others are mutual, in the sense that each side realizes that the other can take their perspective.

social and conventional system perspective taking
Realizing that the social perspectives of self and others are influenced not just by their interaction with each other but by their roles in the larger society.

as late as age 20 (Selman, 1980). Notice that this is similar to the findings we discussed earlier on formal operations. In both areas there is a wide range of individual differences, and people of any given age vary a great deal in their cognitive skills.

Other studies of perspective taking have found it plays an important role in adolescents' peer relationships. For example, studies have found that adolescents' perspective-taking abilities are related to their popularity among peers and to their success at making new friends (Bagwell & Schmidt, 2013). Being able to take the perspective of others helps adolescents to be aware of how the things they say and do might please or displease other people. Perspective taking is also related to how adolescents treat others (Wentzel, 2014). In a study of Brazilian adolescents, perspective-taking abilities were found to predict sympathy and **prosocial** behavior, meaning behavior that is kind and considerate (Eisenberg, Zhou, & Koller, 2001). Because perspective taking promotes these qualities, it makes sense that adolescents who are good at perspective taking would also be good at making friends. In the same vein, a study of Mexican American adolescents found that the cultural value of family closeness enhanced adolescents' perspective-taking abilities, which in turn promoted their prosocial behavior (Knight et al., 2015).

A concept related to perspective taking is **theory of mind**. Theory of mind is the ability to attribute mental states to one's self and others, including beliefs, thoughts, and feelings (Kuhn, 2000). So far, most research using the theory of mind idea has been on young children, looking at how they first develop an understanding that others have a mental life independent from their own (Lillard, 2007). However, some research is turning toward adolescence. For example, a study using techniques for measuring brain activity found that increased understanding of theory of mind from childhood to adolescence was related to increased activation of the frontal cortex when performing theory of mind tasks (Moriguchi et al., 2007). Another study looked at adolescents' theory of mind in relation to their family lives and found that adolescents were quite advanced in describing their parents' thoughts and feelings concerning the marital relationship (Artar, 2007). Recent research has begun to explore further advances in perspective taking and theory of mind in emerging adulthood, including the features of brain development that underlie these advances (Lapsley & Woodbury, 2015).

Adolescent Egocentrism

3.17 Describe how the imaginary audience and the personal fable reflect adolescents' cognitive development.

I remember a time in high school when everybody who was anybody wore Guess jeans. I was pretty poor back then and couldn't afford to pay $50 or $75 for a pair of jeans, so I went without. Every time I was walking down the hall with my non-Guess jeans on and heard anyone whispering or giggling behind me, I was convinced they were laughing at me because I wasn't wearing Guess jeans. It's pretty sad—now I own two pairs of Guess jeans and nobody (including myself) cares.

—DAWN, AGE 20 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

During early adolescence I believed/pretended that a movie crew was following me around and taping everything I did. They personally picked me because I was the most popular girl in school and had the most interesting life. Or so I thought!

—DENISE, AGE 21 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

When I was in high school a group of us would go to the cliffs at the lake and "blind jump" at night. Usually everyone had been drinking. To add an element of danger, about 60 feet or so down the cliff there was a shelf that stuck out about 6 feet that you had to avoid. There was one guy we knew, 18 years old, who tripped when he was jumping, landed on the shelf, broke his neck and died. We all thought he must have done something stupid and that it couldn't happen to us.

—RYAN, AGE 22 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

We have seen that adolescents become less egocentric than younger children as they learn to take the perspectives of others. However, cognitive development in adolescence also leads to new kinds of egocentrism that are distinctly adolescent.

It was noted earlier in the chapter that cognitive development in adolescence includes the development of metacognition, which is the capacity to think about thinking. This advance includes the ability to think about not only your own thoughts but also the thoughts of others. When these abilities first develop, adolescents may have difficulty distinguishing their thinking about their own thoughts from their thinking about the thoughts of others, resulting in a distinctive kind of **adolescent egocentrism**. Ideas about adolescent egocentrism were first put forward by Piaget (1967) and were developed further by David Elkind (1967, 1985; Alberts, Elkind, & Ginsberg, 2007). According to Elkind, adolescent egocentrism has two aspects, the imaginary audience and the personal fable.

prosocial
Promoting the well-being of others.

theory of mind
The ability to attribute mental states to one's self and others, including beliefs, thoughts, and feelings.

adolescent egocentrism
Type of egocentrism in which adolescents have difficulty distinguishing their thinking about their own thoughts from their thinking about the thoughts of others.

Adolescents often feel that an imaginary audience is acutely conscious of how they look and behave.

THE IMAGINARY AUDIENCE The **imaginary audience** results from adolescents' limited capacity to distinguish between their thinking about themselves and their thinking about the thoughts of others. Because they think about themselves so much and are so acutely aware of how they might appear to others, they conclude that others must also be thinking about them a great deal. Because they exaggerate the extent to which others think about them, they imagine a rapt audience for their appearance and behavior. In the current era, using social media such as Facebook may exacerbate adolescents' feelings of being the center of an imaginary audience (Cingel & Krcmar, 2014).

The imaginary audience makes adolescents much more self-conscious than they were before formal operations. Do you remember waking up in 7th or 8th grade with a pimple on your forehead, or discovering a mustard stain on your pants and wondering how long it had been there, or saying something in class that made everybody laugh—even though you did not intend it to be funny? Of course, experiences like that are not much fun as an adult either. But they tend to be worse in adolescence because the imaginary audience makes it seem as though "everybody" knows about your humiliation and will remember it for a long, long time.

The imaginary audience is not something that simply disappears when adolescence ends. Adults are also egocentric to some extent. Adults, too, imagine (and sometimes exaggerate) an audience for their behavior. It is just that this tendency is stronger in adolescence, when the capacity for distinguishing between our own perspective and the perspective of others is less developed.

imaginary audience
Belief that others are acutely aware of and attentive to one's appearance and behavior.

THE PERSONAL FABLE The **personal fable** is built on the imaginary audience, according to Elkind (1967, 1985; Alberts et al., 2007). The belief in an imaginary audience that is highly conscious of how you look and act leads to the belief that there must be something special, something unique, about you—otherwise, why would others be so preoccupied with you? Adolescents' belief in the uniqueness of their personal experiences and their personal destiny is the personal fable.

The personal fable can be the source of adolescent anguish, when it makes them feel that "no one understands me" because no one can share their unique experience (Elkind, 1978). It can be the source of high hopes, too, as adolescents imagine their unique personal destiny leading to the fulfillment of their dreams to be a rock musician, or a professional athlete, or a Hollywood star, or simply successful in the field of their choice. It can also contribute to risky behavior by adolescents whose sense of uniqueness leads them to believe that adverse consequences from behavior such as unprotected sex and drunk driving "won't happen to me" (Alberts et al., 2007; Lapsley & Hill, 2010). In a study by Elkind and his colleagues (Alberts et al., 2007), personal fable scores increased from early to mid-adolescence and were correlated with participation in risk behaviors such as substance use. Boys were higher than girls on both personal fable scores and reports of risk behavior.

Like the imaginary audience, the personal fable diminishes with age, but it never disappears entirely for most of us. Even most adults like to think there is something special, if not unique, about their personal experiences and their personal destiny. But the personal fable tends to be stronger in adolescence than at later ages, because with age our experiences and conversations with others lead us to an awareness that our thoughts and feelings are not as exceptional as we thought (Elkind, 1978).

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Do you think most emerging adults have outgrown adolescent egocentrism? Give examples of the imaginary audience and the personal fable that you have witnessed among your peers or experienced yourself.

A concept related to the personal fable, known as the **optimistic bias**, has been researched more extensively

personal fable
A belief in one's personal uniqueness, often including a sense of invulnerability to the consequences of taking risks.

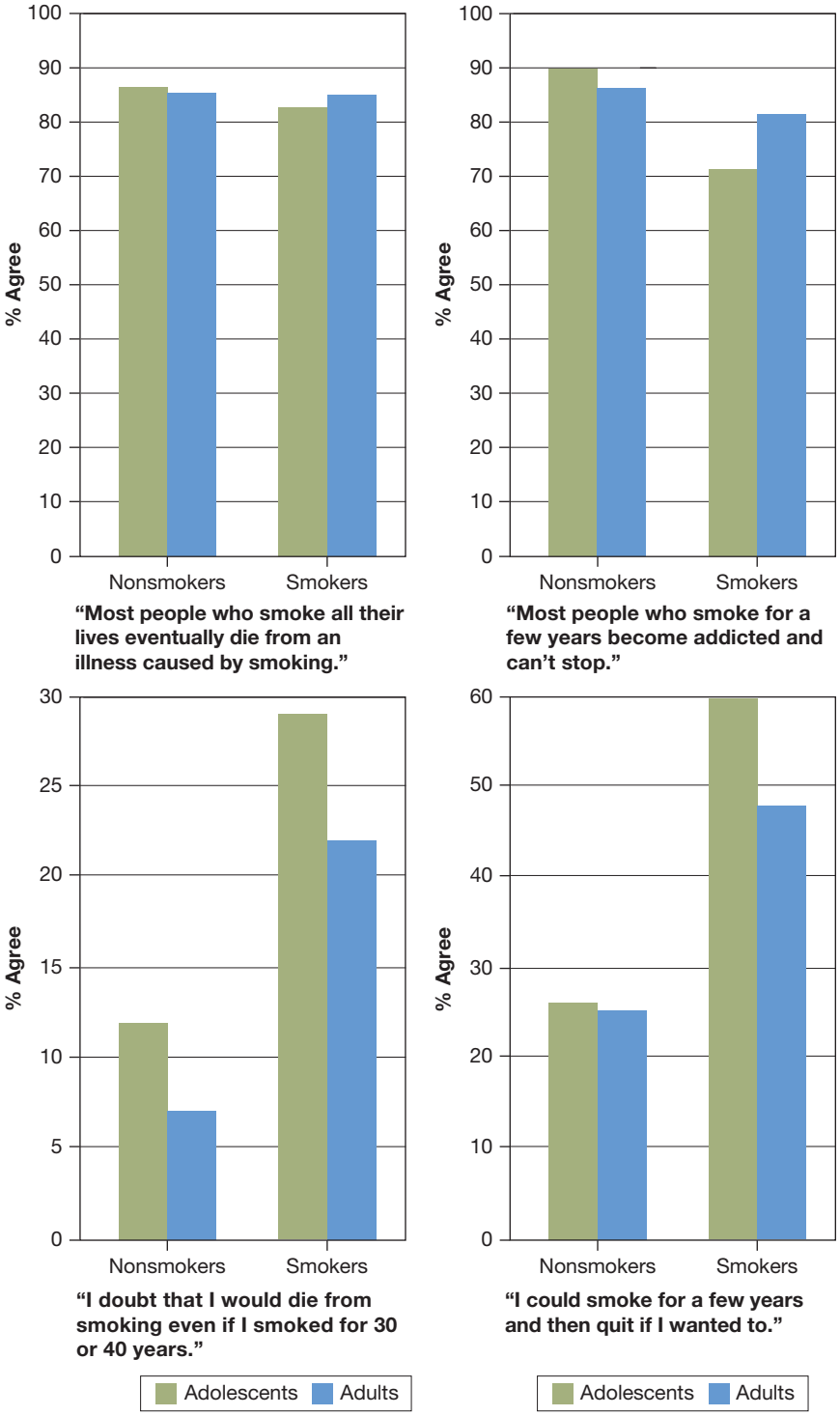
optimistic bias
The tendency to assume that accidents, diseases, and other misfortunes are more likely to happen to other people than to one's self.

than the personal fable itself. The idea of the optimistic bias comes out of health psychology, and it concerns a specific aspect of the personal fable: the tendency to assume that accidents, diseases, and other misfortunes are more likely to happen to others than to ourselves (Fife-Schaw & Barnett, 2004; Masiero, Lucchiari, & Pravettoni, 2015; Weinstein, 1998). Research in this area has found that both adolescents and adults have an optimistic bias with regard to health risk behaviors such as driving while intoxicated or smoking cigarettes, but adolescents tend to have a stronger optimistic bias than adults do (Branstrom & Brandberg, 2010; Klein & Helweg-Larsen, 2002).

For example, in one study adolescent and adult smokers and nonsmokers were asked about the risks of smoking for others and for themselves (Arnett, 2000b). As you can see from **Figure 3.3**, strong majorities of both adolescents and adults, both smokers and nonsmokers, believed that smoking is addictive and deadly for "most people." However, when they applied the risk to themselves, there was evidence of an optimistic bias. Smokers were more likely than nonsmokers to believe that they would not die as a consequence of smoking for 30 to 40 years.

Still, even most of the smokers believed that smoking would eventually be fatal for them personally, if they smoked long enough. The real heart of the optimistic bias for smoking seems to be in relation to addiction. Although the great majority of both adolescents and adults believed that "Most people who smoke for a few years become addicted and can't stop," 48% of the adult smokers and 60% of the adolescent smokers believed that "I could smoke for a few years and then quit if I wanted to." These findings indicate that one of the reasons adolescents take up smoking despite the well-known health risks is that they hold an optimistic bias with regard to addiction. They do not believe they will ultimately die from smoking, not because they do not believe smoking is deadly but because they believe they will quit smoking long before it kills them. The findings also show that many adults, too, have an optimistic bias about their smoking behavior, but it may not be as strong among adults as it is among adolescents.

Figure 3.3 Adolescent and adult smokers' perceptions of the risks of smoking. Does this study show evidence of the optimistic bias in adolescence?



The Psychometric Approach: Intelligence Testing

Thus far, we have looked mostly at the cognitive functioning of adolescents and emerging adults in general. Another way to look at cognitive development is to focus on individual differences, that is, on how various individuals within a group (all 16-year-olds, for example) might differ in their cognitive abilities. This is the goal of intelligence tests.

Measuring Intelligence

3.18 Describe the main way intelligence is assessed.

Attempting to understand human cognition by evaluating cognitive abilities with intelligence tests is known as the **psychometric approach**.

The most widely used intelligence tests are the Wechsler scales, including the **Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-V)** for children ages 6 to 16 and the **Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS-V)** for people ages 16 and up. The Wechsler tests contain six **Verbal subtests** and five **Performance subtests**. The results of the Wechsler tests provide a Verbal IQ and a Performance IQ as well as an overall **intelligence quotient (IQ).** More details on the WISC-V and the WAIS-V are provided **Table 3.2**.

A great deal of research has gone into the development of the Wechsler scales (Hartman, 2009; Kaufman & Lichtenberger, 2006). One goal of this research was to establish **age norms**. Age norming means that a typical score for each age is established by testing a large random sample of people from a variety of geographical areas and social class backgrounds. An individual's IQ score is determined by comparing the individual's performance on the test to the "norm," or typical score,

Table 3.2 The WAIS-V: Sample Items

Verbal Subtests
Information: General knowledge questions, for example, "Who wrote *Huckleberry Finn*?"
Vocabulary: Give definitions, for example, "What does *formulate* mean?"
Similarities: Describe relationship between two things, for example, "In what ways are an apple and an orange alike?" and "In what ways are a book and a movie alike?"
Arithmetic: Verbal arithmetic problems, for example, "How many hours does it take to drive 140 miles at a rate of 30 miles an hour?"
Comprehension: Practical knowledge, for example, "Why is it important to use zip codes when you mail letters?"
Digit Span: Short-term memory test. Sequences of numbers of increasing length are recited, and person is required to repeat them.
Performance Subtests
For all the Performance tests, scores are based on speed as well as accuracy of response.
Picture Arrangement: Cards depicting various activities are provided, and the person is required to place them in an order that tells a coherent story.
Picture Completion: Cards are provided depicting an object or scene with something missing, and the person is required to point out what is missing (e.g., a dog is shown with only three legs).
Matrix Reasoning: Patterns are shown with one piece missing. The person chooses from five options the one that will fill in the missing piece accurately.
Block Design: Blocks having two sides all white, two sides all red, and two sides half red and half white are provided. A card with a geometrical pattern is shown, and the person must arrange the blocks so that they match the pattern on the card.
Digit Symbol: At the top of the sheet, numbers with matching symbols are shown. Below, sequences of symbols are given with an empty box below each symbol. The person must place the matching number in the box below each symbol.

psychometric approach
Attempt to understand human cognition by evaluating cognitive abilities using intelligence tests.

Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-V)
Intelligence test for children ages 6 to 16, with six Verbal and five Performance subtests.

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS-V)
Intelligence test for people ages 16 and up, with six Verbal and five Performance subtests.

Verbal subtests
In the Wechsler IQ tests, subtests that examine verbal abilities.

Performance subtests
In the Wechsler IQ tests, subtests that examine abilities for attention, spatial perception, and speed of processing.

intelligence quotient
A measure of a person's intellectual abilities based on a standardized test.

age norms
Technique for developing a psychological test, in which a typical score for each age is established by testing a large random sample of people from a variety of geographical areas and social class backgrounds.

for people the same age. The **median**—the point at which half of the sample scores above and half below—is assigned the score of 100, and other scores are determined according to how high or low they are in relation to the median.

As the Research Focus box indicates, **relative performance** on IQ tests is stable—people who score higher than average in childhood tend to score higher than average as adolescents and adults, and people who score lower than average in childhood tend to score lower than average as adolescents and adults. However, some interesting patterns of change occur in **absolute performance** from mid-adolescence through young adulthood. **Figure 3.4** shows how scores on the WAIS subtests changed from age 16 to age 38 in one longitudinal study (Bayley, 1968). Notice how absolute scores on the Verbal subtests generally improved from age 16 to 38, whereas absolute scores on the Performance subtests tended to peak in the mid-20s and then decline.

These patterns reflect a distinction that some scholars have made between fluid and crystallized intelligence (Horn, 1982; Kaufman et al., 2009; Schroeders, Schipolowski, & Wilhelm, 2015). **Fluid intelligence** refers to mental abilities that involve speed of analyzing, processing, and reacting to information, which is the kind of ability tapped by the Performance subtests. IQ tests indicate that this kind of intelligence peaks in emerging adulthood and then declines. **Crystallized intelligence**, in contrast, refers to accumulated knowledge and enhanced judgment based on experience. Subtests like Information, Comprehension, and Vocabulary assess this kind of intelligence, and absolute scores on these subtests tend to improve through the 20s and 30s and beyond.

Intelligence Tests and Adolescent Development

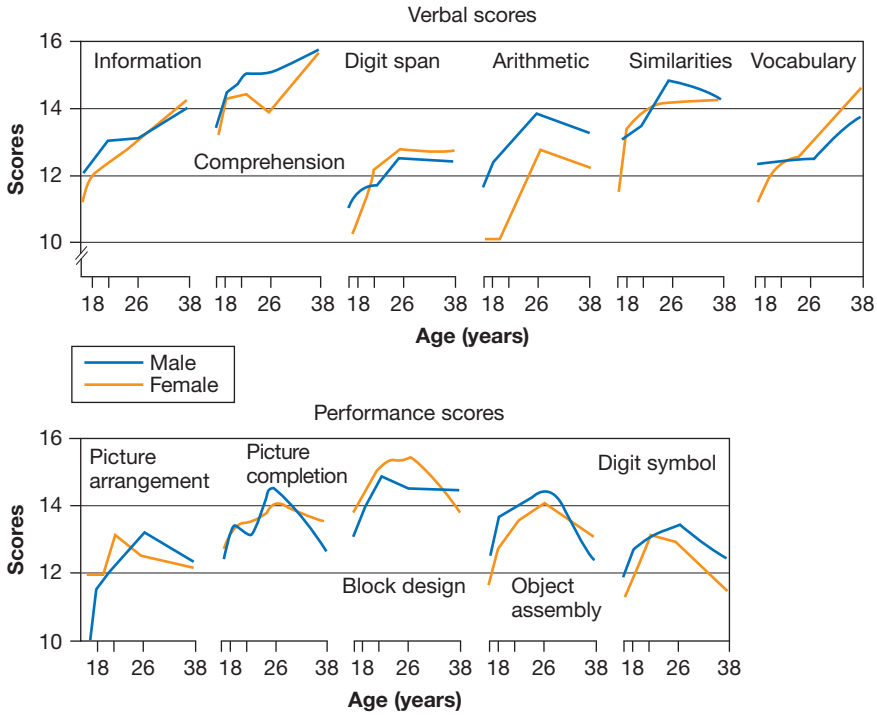
3.19 Explain how adoption studies show the expression of genotype → environment effects from childhood through adolescence.

An enormous amount of research using IQ tests has been conducted since they were first developed. With respect to adolescence, the most notable results concern adoption studies.

As described in Chapter 1, adoption studies take advantage of a natural experiment. A natural experiment is a situation that exists naturally—in other words, the researcher does not control the situation—but that provides valuable scientific information to the perceptive observer. Adoption is a natural experiment in the sense

Figure 3.4 Changes in scores on IQ subtests, ages 16 to 38.

SOURCE: Bayley (1968).



median

In a distribution of scores, the point at which half of the population scores above and half below.

relative performance

In IQ tests, score compared to those of other people of the same age.

absolute performance

In IQ tests, score compared to those of other people, regardless of age.

fluid intelligence

Mental abilities that involve speed of analyzing, processing, and reacting to information.

crystallized intelligence

Accumulated knowledge and enhanced judgment based on experience.

Research Focus

THE WECHSLER IQ TESTS

Among the most widely used IQ tests are the Wechsler scales. Children and early adolescents (ages 6 to 16) are typically tested using the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-V), and older adolescents and adults (ages 16 and up) with the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS-V). The "V" in the names indicates that this is the fifth version of the tests.

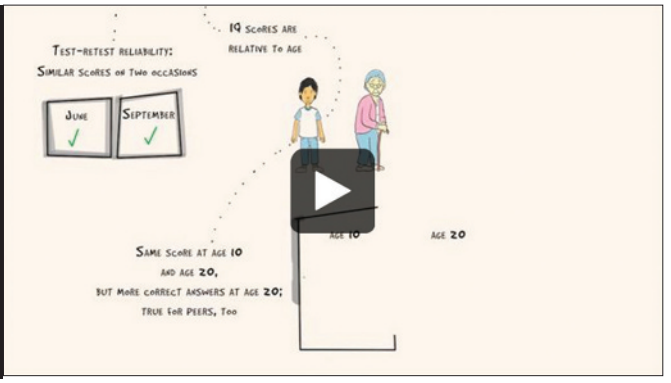
Two important considerations in the research to develop the Wechsler tests were reliability and validity. As discussed in Chapter 1, reliability is a measurement of the extent to which responses on a measure are consistent. There are a number of kinds of reliability, but one of the most important is **test-retest reliability**, which examines whether people's scores on one occasion are similar to their scores on another occasion. The Wechsler IQ tests have high test-retest reliability, which improves as people get older (Psychological Corporation, 2000). For most people, little change in IQ scores takes place after about age 10 (Gold et al., 1995).

Of course, that does not mean that your mental abilities never advance after age 10! Keep in mind that IQ is a relative score. It indicates how you compare with other people your age. So, people who have an IQ of 100 at age 10 are likely to have an IQ of around 100 at age 20 as well, even though they get more problems correct, because their peers also get more problems correct at age 20 than at age 10. Some people change dramatically in IQ during childhood or adolescence, for better or worse (Moffitt et al., 1993), but the more typical pattern is one of great stability in IQ scores.

The validity of an instrument is the extent to which it measures what it claims to measure. For IQ tests, the validity question would be, do IQ tests really measure intelligence? Questions about validity are much harder to answer than questions about reliability, and the validity of IQ tests remains hotly debated among scholars and in the general public. In general, it can be concluded at this point that IQ tests have reasonably good **predictive validity**; that is, high IQ scores in adolescence predict relatively high educational attainment in emerging adulthood and occupational success in young adulthood and beyond (Firkowska-Mankiewicz, 2011). High IQs in adolescence are also predictive of positive outcomes in adulthood unrelated to education and occupation, for example, lower likelihood of divorce or alcoholism (Hartman, 2009).

Watch THE WECHSLER IQ TESTS

Video



that, unlike in most families, children in adoptive families are raised by adults with whom they have no biological relationship. This eliminates the problem of passive genotype → environment interactions we discussed in Chapter 2, in which it is difficult to know the extent to which similarities between parents and children in biological families are the result of genes or environment because the parents provide both. Similarities between adoptive parents and adopted children are likely to be due to the environment provided by the

test-retest reliability
Type of reliability that examines whether or not people's scores on one occasion are similar to their scores on another occasion.

predictive validity
In longitudinal research, the ability of a variable at Time 1 to predict the outcome of a variable at Time 2.

parents because the parents and children are biologically unrelated. Similarities between adopted children and their biological parents are likely to be due to genetics because the environment the children grew up in was not provided by the biological parents.

An interesting pattern occurs in adoption studies that follow children from birth through adolescence (Neiss & Rowe, 2000; Plomin et al., 2013). In early and middle childhood, a substantial correlation in IQ exists between adopted children and their adoptive parents. However, by the time adopted children reach adolescence, the correlation between their IQs and the IQs of their adoptive parents has declined, even though the number of years they have all been in the same family has increased. How could this be?

What may explain it is a gradual decline with age in the influence of the immediate family environment on intellectual development, and a gradual increase in active genotype → environment interactions—that is, in the degree to which children choose their own environmental influences (Scarr & McCartney, 1983). In early and middle childhood, parents have a great deal of control over the kind of environment their children experience. Parents control decisions about how much time their children spend on homework, how much television they watch, what they do for fun on the weekends, whom they play with, and so on. However, adolescents make many of these decisions for themselves (Plomin et al., 2013; Rowe, 1995). Parents still have important influences on adolescents, but adolescents have much more autonomy than younger children. Adolescents have a greater say in how much time they spend on homework, how much of their free time they spend reading or watching television, and who their friends will be. All these decisions contribute to intellectual development, and as a consequence adolescents bear less resemblance in IQ to their adoptive parents than younger adopted children do.

A particularly interesting line of research concerns **transracial adoption**, involving Black children who have been adopted by White parents (Burrow & Finley, 2004). One of the most bitter controversies surrounding intelligence tests concerns racial differences in IQ (Fraser, 1995; Gould, 1981). African Americans and Latinos generally score lower than Whites on the most widely used IQ tests, from childhood through adulthood. However, scholars disagree vehemently over the source of these group differences. Some assert that the differences are the result of genetic ethnic/racial differences in intelligence (Herrnstein & Murray, 1995; Rushton & Jensen, 2005). Others assert that the differences simply reflect the fact that IQ tests concern knowledge obtained in the majority culture, which Whites are more likely than minorities to have grown up in (Anderson, 2007). Transracial adoption represents an extraordinary natural experiment, in that it involves raising African American children in the White-dominated majority culture.

And what do these studies find? In general, they indicate that when Black children are raised in adoptive White families, their IQs are as high or higher than the average IQ for Whites (Weinberg, Scarr, & Waldman, 1992; Raleigh & Kao, 2013). Their IQ scores decline somewhat in adolescence but nevertheless remain relatively high (Burrow & Finley, 2004). This indicates that overall differences in IQ between Whites and African Americans are the result of cultural and social class differences rather than to genetics.

transracial adoption
The adoption of children of one race by parents of a different race.

A Cultural Approach to Cognitive Development

3.20 Explain how the zone of proximal development is related to scaffolding in Vygotsky's theory.

Although they differ in many ways, the three major perspectives on cognitive development discussed in this chapter—cognitive-developmental, information-processing, and psychometric—all underemphasize the role of culture in cognitive development. The goal of theories and research from these perspectives has been to discover principles of cognitive development that apply to all people in all times and all cultures—in other words, to strip away the effect of culture on cognition in an effort to identify universal human cognitive characteristics (Cole, 1996; Jensen, 2015).

However, in recent years a cultural approach to cognition has gained increased attention from scholars on childhood and adolescence. This approach is founded on

According to Vygotsky, cognitive development is always a social and cultural process. Here, a father in Haiti teaches his son how to make shoes.

the ideas of the Russian psychologist Lev **Vygotsky** (1896–1934). Vygotsky died of tuberculosis when he was just 37, and it took decades before his ideas about cognitive development were translated and recognized by scholars outside Russia. It is only in the past two decades that his work has been widely influential among Western scholars, but his influence is increasing as interest in understanding the cultural basis of development continues to grow (Daniels, 2011).

Vygotsky's theory is often referred to as a *sociocultural* theory because in his view cognitive development is inherently both a social and a cultural process (Miller, 2011). It is social because children learn through interactions with others and require assistance from others to learn what they need to know. It is cultural because what children need to know is determined by the culture they live in. As we have seen in this chapter, there are distinct cultural differences in the knowledge adolescents must acquire, from spearfishing skills in the South Pacific to the skills needed for surviving in the harsh Arctic environment of the Inuit, to the verbal and scientific reasoning skills taught in schools.

Two of Vygotsky's most influential ideas are the *zone of proximal development* and *scaffolding*. The **zone of proximal development** is the gap between what adolescents can accomplish alone and what they are capable of doing if guided by an adult or a more competent peer (Rieber & Robinson, 2013). According to Vygotsky, children and adolescents learn best if the instruction they are provided is near the top of the zone of proximal development, so that they need assistance at first but gradually become capable of performing a task on their own. For example, adolescents learning a musical instrument may be lost or overwhelmed if learning entirely on their own, but they can make progress if guided by someone who already knows how to play the instrument.

Scaffolding refers to the degree of assistance provided to the adolescent in the zone of proximal development (Rieber & Robinson, 2013). According to Vygotsky, scaffolding should gradually decrease as children become more competent at a task. When children and adolescents begin learning a task, they require substantial instruction and involvement from the teacher, but as they gain knowledge and skill the teacher should gradually scale back the amount of direct instruction provided. These ideas underscore the social nature of learning in Vygotsky's theory. In his view, learning always takes place via a social process, through the interactions between someone who possesses knowledge and someone who is in the process of obtaining it.

An example of scaffolding and the zone of proximal development can be found in research by Tanon (1994), who studied weaving skills among male adolescents in the Dioula culture in Ivory Coast, on the western coast of Africa. An important part of the Dioula economy is making and selling large handmade cloths with elaborate designs. The training of weavers begins when they are ages 10–12 and continues for several years. Boys grow up watching their fathers weave, but it is in early adolescence that they begin learning weaving skills themselves. Teaching takes place through scaffolding: The boy attempts a simple weaving pattern, the father corrects his mistakes, the boy tries again. When the boy gets it right, the father gives him a more complex pattern, thus raising the upper boundary of the zone of proximal development so that the boy continues to be challenged and his skills continue to improve. As the boy becomes more competent at weaving, the scaffolding provided by the father diminishes. Eventually the boy gets his own loom, but he continues to consult with his father for several years before he can weave entirely by himself.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Think of an example of learning in your own culture that involves scaffolding and the zone of proximal development.

One scholar who has been important in extending Vygotsky's theory is Barbara Rogoff (1990, 1995, 1998, 2003, 2007; Rogoff et al., 2010; Rogoff, Najafi, & Mejía-Arauz, 2014). Her idea of **guided participation** refers to the teaching interaction between two people (often an adult and a child or adolescent) as they participate in a culturally valued activity. The guidance is "the direction offered by cultural and social values, as well as social partners" (Rogoff, 1995) as learning takes place. This is like Vygotsky's idea of scaffolding, except that

Vygotsky
Russian psychologist who emphasized the cultural basis of cognitive development.

zone of proximal development
The gap between how competently a person performs a task alone and when guided by an adult or more competent peer.

scaffolding
The degree of assistance provided to the learner in the zone of proximal development, gradually decreasing as the learner's skills develop.

guided participation
The teaching interaction between two people (often an adult and a child or adolescent) as they participate in a culturally valued activity.

Rogoff is even more explicit than Vygotsky in emphasizing the importance of cultural values in determining what children and adolescents learn and how they learn it.

For example, in one study Rogoff and her colleagues observed a troop of early adolescent Girl Scouts in the United States as they sold and delivered Girl Scout cookies as a fund-raising project (Rogoff et al., 1995). The girls' involvement in the project reflected scaffolding and guided participation, as they began by taking a small observational role but gradually moved toward active participation and finally toward taking greater responsibilities in managing the sales (e.g., making calculations of how much money was due from each customer and keeping track of which customers had or had not paid). The project demonstrated the sociocultural basis of cognitive development. The girls' learning was social, because they were taught through participation in cookie selling with older girls, mothers, troop leaders, and even customers (who sometimes helped with the calculations). Their learning was also cultural, because it involved participation in a culturally valued activity and the implicit expression of cultural values such as efficiency, competition, cooperation, and responsibility.

The growing interest in a cultural approach to cognitive development is part of a broader perspective that has come to be known as **cultural psychology** (Heine, 2015; Shweder, 2007; Shweder et al., 2006). In this perspective, cognition is inseparable from culture. Rather than trying to strip away the effect of culture on cognition, cultural psychologists seek to examine the ways that culture and cognition are interrelated and the profound effects that culture has on cognitive development. Rather than seeking to develop tests of cognitive abilities to examine underlying structures that apply to all aspects of thinking, cultural psychologists seek to analyze how people use cognitive skills in their daily activities (Segall et al., 1999). Cultural psychology is being applied to an increasing range of topics, but thus far the main focus has been on culture and cognition.

Despite the rise of cultural psychology, far more research is still being conducted using the cognitive-developmental, information-processing, and psychometric approaches than is conducted using a cultural approach (Daniels, 2011). Nevertheless, the cultural approach to adolescent cognition promises to grow in importance in the years to come.

Other Conceptions of Intelligence: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences

3.21 List the types of intelligence in the theory of multiple intelligence, and explain the limitations involved in measuring them.

For many centuries of Western history, intelligence has been viewed as the degree of a person's knowledge and reasoning abilities (Kail & Pellegrino, 1985). This conception of intelligence underlies the construction of intelligence tests, and it is the one that most people hold. In one study, scholars and nonscholars indicated the abilities they believed to be characteristic of an intelligent person (Sternberg et al., 1981). The scholars (psychologists studying intelligence) and nonscholars (from a variety of backgrounds) provided similar responses. Both groups viewed intelligence as being comprised mainly of verbal abilities (e.g., "good vocabulary," "high reading comprehension") and problem-solving skills (e.g., "reasons logically," "can apply knowledge to the situation at hand").

In recent years, however, alternative theories of intelligence have been proposed. These theories have sought to present a conception of intelligence that is much broader. One of the most influential alternative theories of intelligence has been presented by Howard Gardner. Gardner's **theory of multiple intelligences** includes nine types of intelligence (Gardner, 1983, 2006; Gardner & Traub, 2010; Gardner Goleman, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2013). In Gardner's view only two of them, linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences, are evaluated by intelligence tests. The other intelligences are spatial (the ability to think three-dimensionally); musical; existential (sensitivity to deep questions about human existence); bodily kinesthetic (the kind that athletes and dancers excel in); naturalist (ability for understanding natural phenomena); interpersonal (ability for understanding and interacting with others); and intrapersonal (self-understanding). As evidence for the existence of these different types of intelligence, Gardner argues that each involves different cognitive skills, that each can be destroyed by damage to a particular part of the brain, and that each appears in extremes in geniuses as well as in *idiots savants* (the French term for people who are low in general intelligence but possess an extraordinary ability in one specialized area).

Gardner argues that schools should give more attention to the development of all nine kinds of intelligence and develop programs tailored to each child's individual

cultural psychology

Approach to human psychology emphasizing that psychological functioning cannot be separated from the culture in which it takes place.

theory of multiple intelligences

Howard Gardner's theory that there are eight separate types of intelligence.

According to Howard Gardner's theory, musicians such as Taylor Swift could be described as being high in musical intelligence.

profile of intelligences. He has proposed methods for assessing different intelligences, such as measuring musical intelligence by having people attempt to sing a song, play an instrument, or orchestrate a melody (Gardner, 2006). However, neither Gardner nor others have developed reliable and valid methods for analyzing the intelligences he proposes (Kornhaber, 2004). Gardner has also been criticized for extending the boundaries of intelligence too widely. When an adolescent learns to play piano more quickly than her peers, is this an indication of musical "intelligence" or simply of musical talent? Gardner himself has been critical of the concept of "emotional intelligence" proposed by Daniel Goleman and others (Goleman, 1997), arguing persuasively that the capacity to empathize and cooperate with others is better viewed as "emotional sensitivity" rather than intelligence (Gardner, 1999). However, Gardner is vulnerable to a similar criticism for proposing "interpersonal" and "intrapersonal" intelligences.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you agree that all the mental abilities described by Gardner are different types of intelligence? If not, which types would you remove? Are there other types you would add?

The underlying issue in alternative theories of intelligence is the question of how intelligence should be defined. If intelligence is defined simply as the mental abilities required to succeed in school, the traditional approach to conceptualizing and measuring intelligence is generally successful. However, if one wishes to define intelligence more broadly, as the entire range of human mental abilities, the traditional approach may be seen as too narrow, and an approach such as Gardner's may be preferred.

Brain Development in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

In recent years, there has been a surge of research on neurological development in adolescence and emerging adulthood that casts new light on cognitive development during these years. Some of these findings have yielded surprises about brain growth during the teens and 20s.

A New Burst of Growth

3.22 Describe the processes of overproduction (or exuberance) and synaptic pruning that take place in the brain during adolescence.

Research technologies, especially functional magnetic resonance imaging (**fMRI**), have made possible a more advanced understanding of how the brain develops, because these technologies show how different parts of the brain function when performing a cognitive task (e.g., solving a math problem). This research unveils the underlying neurological basis for the kinds of changes we have discussed in this chapter in areas such as decision making and reflective judgment.

It has long been known that by age 6 the brain is already 95% of its adult size. However, when it comes to brain development, size is not everything. Equally if not more important are the connections or **synapses** between the **neurons** (brain cells) (see **Figure 3.5**). Now scientists have learned that a considerable thickening of synaptic connections occurs around the time puberty begins, ages 10–12, a process neuroscientists call **overproduction or exuberance** (Giedd et al., 2015). It had been known for decades that overproduction occurs during prenatal development and through the first 18 months of life, but now it turns out that a new period of overproduction occurs in early adolescence as well. Overproduction of synaptic connections occurs in many parts of the brain's

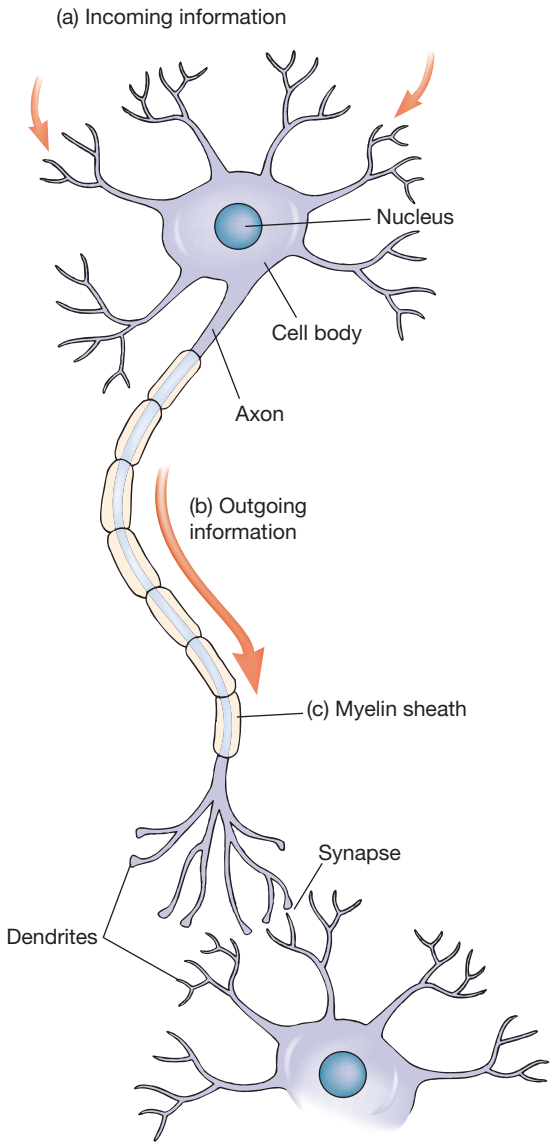
fMRI
A technique for measuring brain functioning during an ongoing activity.

synapse
The point of transmission between two nerve cells.

neurons
Cells of the nervous system, including the brain.

overproduction or exuberance
A rapid increase in the production of synaptic connections in the brain.

Figure 3.5 Two neurons and the synapse between them.



gray matter, its outer layer, but is especially concentrated in the **frontal lobes**, the part of the brain that is right behind your forehead. The frontal lobes are involved in most of the higher functions of the brain, such as planning ahead, solving problems, and making moral judgments.

The findings about overproduction in early adolescence are surprising and fascinating, but equally fascinating is what follows. Overproduction peaks at about age 11 or 12, but obviously that is not when our cognitive abilities peak. In the years that follow a massive amount of **synaptic pruning** takes place, in which the overproduction of synapses is whittled down considerably. In fact, between the ages of 12 and 20 the average brain loses 7% to 10% of its gray matter through synaptic pruning (Giedd et al., 2015; Laviola & Marco, 2011). "Use it or lose it" seems to be the operating principle; synapses that are used remain, whereas those that are not used wither away. Research using fMRI methods shows that synaptic pruning is especially rapid among adolescents with high intelligence (Shaw et al., 2006).

Synaptic pruning allows the brain to work more efficiently, as brain pathways become more specialized. Imagine if you had to drive somewhere, and there were either many different back roads to get to your destination or one smooth highway. You would get there a lot faster if you took the highway. Synaptic pruning is like scrapping the many back roads in favor of one smooth highway. However, as the brain specializes in this way, it also becomes less flexible and less amenable to change.

Further Myelination and New Growth in the Cerebellum

3.23 Explain how myelination and changes in the cerebellum enable new cognitive capacities in adolescence.

Myelination is another important process of neurological growth in adolescence. Myelin is a blanket of fat wrapped around the main part of the neuron (**Figure 3.5**). It serves the function of keeping the brain's electrical signals on one path and increasing their speed. Along with synaptic pruning, myelination leads to better executive functioning over the course of adolescence (Giedd et al., 2015; Poletti, 2009). Myelination was also previously thought to be over prior to puberty but has now been found to continue through the teens (Giorgio et al., 2010). This is another indication of how brain functioning becomes faster and more efficient during adolescence. However, like synaptic pruning, myelination also makes brain functioning less flexible and changeable.

frontal lobes

The part of the brain immediately behind the forehead. Known to be involved in higher brain functions such as planning ahead and analyzing complex problems.

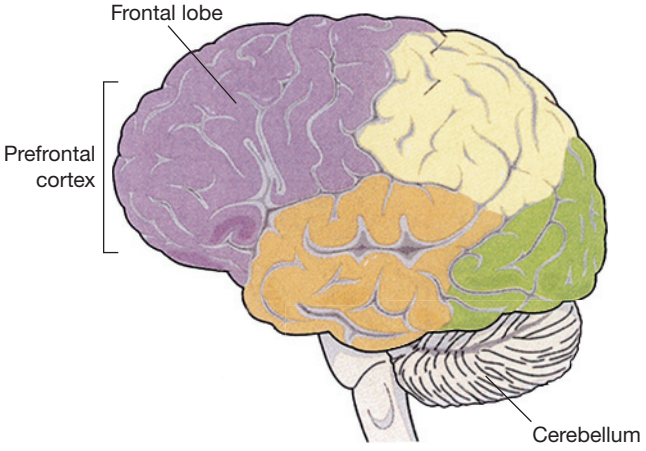
synaptic pruning

Following overproduction, the process by which the number of synapses in the brain is reduced, making brain functioning faster and more efficient but less flexible.

myelination

Process by which myelin, a blanket of fat wrapped around the main part of the neuron, grows. Myelin serves the function of keeping the brain's electrical signals on one path and increasing their speed.

Figure 3.6 The most important recent findings on adolescent brain development involve the frontal lobes and the cerebellum.



Finally, one last recent surprise for researchers studying brain development in adolescence has been in the growth of the **cerebellum** (see **Figure 3.6**). This is perhaps the biggest surprise of all because the cerebellum is part of the lower brain, well beneath the cortex, and has been long thought to be involved only in basic functions such as movement. Now, however, it turns out that the cerebellum is important for many higher functions as well, such as mathematics, music, decision making, and even social skills and understanding humor. It also turns out that the cerebellum continues to grow through adolescence and well into emerging adulthood (Tiemeier et al., 2009). In fact, it is the last structure of the brain to stop growing, not completing its phase of overproduction and pruning until the mid-20s, even after the frontal lobes.

Changes in Gray and White Matter in Emerging Adulthood

3.24 Summarize how gray and white matter change through emerging adulthood and beyond, and the neurological changes that make emerging adulthood a stage of high potential as well as high risk.

Clearly, adolescence is a time of dynamic developments in the brain. What about emerging adulthood? Is it a time of stability in brain development, or is there continued maturation and reorganization?

As you might expect, given the many changes that take place during emerging adulthood in behavior, self-perceptions, and cognitive functioning, emerging adulthood is also a time of great changes in brain development. Research has shown that brain structure changes in emerging adulthood through continued myelination, synaptic pruning, and the formation of new connections (Taber-Thomas & Perez-Edgar, 2015).

Neuroscientists distinguish in brain content between **gray matter**, which is composed of brain cells, and **white matter**, which consists of myelinated axons and other connections between brain cells. Studies analyzing brain content have found that gray matter decreases and white matter increases through the 20s and into the 30s, continuing the processes that had taken place in adolescence (Giedd et al., 1999; Sowell et al., 2003). These changes in the balance of gray matter and white matter are reflected in greater processing speed, timing, and efficiency of brain functioning during the emerging adult years (Fields & Stevens-Graham, 2002). After age 40, white matter declines rapidly, and performance on tasks that require rapid brain functioning declines accordingly (Taber-Thomas & Perez-Edgar, 2015).

Certain parts of the brain are especially active in their development during emerging adulthood. Notably, there are crucial new connections created between a part of the frontal lobe called the **prefrontal cortex** (shown in Figure 3.6) and parts of the lower brain that are involved in emotion and motivation. These new connections indicate growing emotional self-control during emerging adulthood. There are also new connections developed between different parts of the cortex, and these connections promote the ability to integrate multiple sources of information in support of reasoning, planning, and decision making. In sum, changes in brain development during emerging adulthood mostly seem to indicate the continued maturation of the brain, making possible the development of more advanced cognitive functioning.

However, neuroscientists have also begun to investigate the possibility that there are aspects of brain development that make emerging adults especially vulnerable to mental disorders. It is notable that the median ages of onset of a variety of psychological problems occur during

cerebellum
A structure in the lower brain, well beneath the cortex, long thought to be involved only in basic functions such as movement, now known to be important for many higher functions as well, such as mathematics, music, decision making, and social skills.

gray matter
The outermost layer of the brain, composed mainly of the bodies of neurons and unmyelinated axons.

white matter
The part of the brain that consists of myelinated axons.

prefrontal cortex
The foremost part of the frontal lobe, involved in distinctively human functions such as planning and reasoning.

the emerging adult years, including anxiety disorders, depression, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia (Arnett, Žukauskienė, & Sugimura, 2014). Could it be that changes in brain development make some emerging adults more susceptible during this time? Recent research has identified intriguing clues. For example, there is growing evidence that unusually rapid synaptic pruning of the gray matter during emerging adulthood is implicated in the development of schizophrenia, anxiety, and depression (Taber-Thomas & Perez-Edgar, 2015). Furthermore, there may an interaction with the environment, in the sense that too-rapid synaptic pruning may heighten sensitivity to stress and make the individual vulnerable to disorders (Rapoport, Giedd, & Gogtay, 2012). This will be an important area of research to watch in years to come because it holds the potential to identify early and perhaps prevent the development of these mental health disorders.

So what can we conclude about brain development in adolescence and emerging adulthood on the basis of this new research? First, it is clear that the brain grows a lot more, and a lot differently, than we had known in the past. Second, the new findings confirm in many ways what we had known from studies using other methods, that adolescents are different and more advanced in their thinking than children are, but their cognitive development is not yet mature. Their abilities in areas such as making decisions, anticipating the consequences of their actions, and solving complex problems are not as advanced as they will be once they have reached adulthood and their basic brain development is more or less complete. Third, there are both gains and losses in the course of brain development in adolescence and emerging adulthood. The same neurological changes that make thinking faster and more efficient also make it more rigid and less flexible. After adolescence it is easier for people to make mature judgments about complicated issues, but not as many neurological options remain open for learning new things. However, for the most part the neurological changes of adolescence and emerging adulthood increase cognitive abilities substantially.

THINKING CRITICALLY

What do you think are the implications of recent brain research for how adolescents and emerging adults should be educated?

Summing Up

3.1 Explain the principles of Piaget's theory of cognitive development, including mental structures, maturation, schemes, assimilation, and accommodation.

Piaget believed that cognitive development proceeds in distinct stages. Each stage involves a different way of thinking about the world. The idea of cognitive stages means that each person's cognitive abilities are organized into a coherent mental structure. The driving force behind development from one stage to the next is maturation. Piaget proposed that the active construction of reality takes place through the use of schemes, which are structures for organizing and interpreting information. The two processes involved in the use of schemes are assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation occurs when new information is altered to fit an existing scheme, whereas accommodation entails changing the scheme to adapt to the new information.

3.2 Outline Piaget's first three stages of cognitive development.

Piaget termed the first 2 years of life the sensorimotor stage. Cognitive development in this stage involves learning how to coordinate the activities of the senses with motor activities. From about age 2 to about age 7 is the preoperational stage. Here the child becomes capable of representing the world symbolically. Concrete operations is the next stage, lasting from about age 7 to about age 11. During this stage, children become more adept at using mental operations.

3.3 Explain how formal operations is different from concrete operations.

Piaget's stage of formal operations begins at about age 11 and reaches completion between ages 15 and 20. Children in concrete operations can perform simple tasks that require logical and systematic thinking, but formal operations allows adolescents to reason about complex tasks and problems involving multiple variables.

3.4 Describe how thinking in adolescence becomes more abstract and complex, using metacognition, metaphor, and sarcasm as examples.

The problems Piaget used to assess the attainment of formal operations were scientific ones. However, a number of other aspects of formal operations focus less on scientific thinking and more on logical or applied reasoning, including the development of capacities for abstract thinking and thinking about thinking (called metacognition), as well as the capacity for complex thinking. Metaphor and sarcasm require complex thinking because they involve multiple meanings that have to be interpreted.

3.5 Summarize the major critiques of Piaget's theory, and Piaget's response.

Research has shown that not all persons in all cultures reach formal operations, and most people do not use formal operations in all aspects of their lives. Although

he acknowledged some degree of individual differences, especially in the timing of transitions from one stage to the next, Piaget asserted that most people proceed through the same stages at about the same ages because they experience the same maturational processes.

3.6 Describe pragmatism and how it affects thinking from adolescence to adulthood.

Pragmatism involves adapting logical thinking to the practical constraints of real-life situations. According to Labouvie-Vief, cognitive development in emerging adulthood is distinguished from adolescent thinking by a greater recognition of practical limitations to logical thinking. Michael Basseches views cognitive development in emerging adulthood as involving a recognition that formal logic can rarely be applied to the problems most people face in their daily lives. Dialectical thought is Basseches's term for the kind of thinking that develops in emerging adulthood.

3.7 Describe reflective judgment and the difference between dualistic thinking and multiple thinking.

Reflective judgment is the capacity to evaluate the accuracy and logical coherence of evidence and arguments. Dualistic thinking refers to seeing situations and issues in polarized terms—an act is either right or wrong, with no in-between. In contrast, multiple thinking refers to thinking that there are two or more sides to every story. In this stage, people tend to value all points of view equally.

3.8 Identify how the information-processing approach differs from Piaget's cognitive-developmental approach.

The information-processing approach focuses on separating cognitive functioning into different components, including attention, various aspects of processing information, and various aspects of memory. Rather than viewing cognitive development as discontinuous, that is, as separated into distinct stages, the information-processing approach views cognitive change as continuous, meaning gradual and steady.

3.9 Compare and contrast selective attention and divided attention.

Selective attention refers to the ability to focus on relevant information while screening out information that is irrelevant. Adolescents tend to be better than preadolescent children at tasks that require selective attention, and emerging adults are generally better than adolescents. Adolescents are also more adept than preadolescents at tasks that require divided attention—reading a book and listening to music at the same time, for example—but even for adolescents, divided attention may result in less efficient learning than if attention were focused entirely on one thing.

3.10 Distinguish between short-term, long-term, and working memory, and explain how adolescents use mnemonic devices.

Short-term memory is memory for information that is currently the focus of your attention. It has a limited capacity and retains information for only about 30 seconds or less. Long-term memory is memory for information that is committed to longer-term storage, so that you can draw on it again after a period when your attention has not been focused on it. Working memory is a "mental workbench" where you keep information as you are working on it. Mnemonic devices are memory strategies, such as organizing information into coherent patterns, and adolescents use mnemonic devices more than younger children do.

3.11 Give an example of automaticity, and explain how executive functioning develops in adolescence.

Automaticity refers to the reduced effort required to process information for tasks that are highly familiar. Executive functioning refers to the ability to control and manage our cognitive processes. Improvements in executive functioning allow adolescents to perform many cognitive tasks that young children cannot.

3.12 Summarize critiques of the information-processing approach.

According to the critics, information-processing theorists and researchers are guilty of reductionism, breaking up a phenomenon into separate parts to such an extent that the meaning and coherence of the phenomenon as a whole become lost. In addition, according to some scholars, emotions must be taken into account when considering cognitive functioning.

3.13 Describe the features of critical thinking in adolescence and how it can best be promoted in schools.

Adolescents reach the potential for critical thinking, but teaching techniques in many secondary schools rarely bring out this potential; colleges and universities have more success with emerging adults. The promotion of critical thinking requires small classes and a classroom environment in which focused discourse between teachers and students is the norm.

3.14 Explain how decision-making abilities change in the course of adolescence, including with respect to judging risks.

From early adolescence through emerging adulthood, there is an increasing capacity to evaluate information and anticipate the possible consequences of a range of choices. In laboratory experiments, adolescents take more risks than adults do on "hot tasks" that provide

immediate feedback on rewards and losses. Studies indicate that adolescents' risk judgments are more influenced by emotions and the presence of friends than adults' judgments are.

3.15 Explain what social cognition is and what it means to say cognitive development functions as an "organizational core."

Social cognition is the term for the way we think about other people, social relationships, and social institutions. Cognitive development in adolescence functions as an organizational core that affects all areas of thinking, no matter what the topic.

3.16 Chart the stages of Selman's theory of perspective taking and explain how "theory of mind" is related to perspective taking.

As children grow into adolescence, they become better at perspective taking, the ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others. According to Selman, in early adolescence, about ages 10 to 12, children become capable for the first time of mutual perspective taking. After mutual perspective taking comes social and conventional system perspective taking, meaning that adolescents come to realize that their social perspectives and those of others are influenced not just by their interactions with each other but also by their roles in the larger society. Theory of mind is the ability to attribute mental states to one's self and others, including beliefs, thoughts, and feelings.

3.17 Describe how the imaginary audience and the personal fable reflect adolescents' cognitive development.

The imaginary audience results from adolescents' limited capacity to distinguish between their thinking about themselves and their thinking about the thoughts of others. The belief in an imaginary audience that is highly conscious of how you look and act leads to the belief that there must be something special, something unique, about you (the personal fable).

3.18 Describe the main way intelligence is assessed.

Attempting to understand human cognition by evaluating cognitive abilities with intelligence tests is known as the psychometric approach. The most widely used intelligence tests are the Wechsler scales, including the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-V) for children ages 6 to 16 and the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS-V) for people ages 16 and up. The Wechsler tests contain six Verbal subtests and five Performance subtests. The results of the Wechsler tests provide a Verbal IQ and a Performance IQ as well as an overall intelligence quotient (IQ).

3.19 Explain how adoption studies show the expression of genotype → environment effects from childhood through adolescence.

The correlation in IQ scores between adopted children and their adoptive parents is highest early in childhood, then declines with age, through adolescence. This finding indicates that adoptive parents (like other parents) have a strong influence in constructing their children's environment in the early years. However, with age, children and then adolescents increasingly seek out their own environmental influences—friends, media, leisure activities—based on their genotypic characteristics, an example of active genotype → environment effects.

3.20 Explain how the zone of proximal development is related to scaffolding, in Vygotsky's theory.

The zone of proximal development is the gap between what adolescents can accomplish alone and what they are capable of doing if guided by an adult or a more competent peer. Scaffolding refers to the degree of assistance provided to the adolescent in the zone of proximal development.

3.21 List the types of intelligence in the theory of multiple intelligence, and explain the limitations involved in measuring them.

Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences includes nine types of intelligence. In Gardner's view only two of them, linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences, are evaluated by intelligence tests. The other intelligences are spatial (the ability to think three-dimensionally); existentialist (sensitivity to questions about human existence); musical; bodily kinesthetic (the kind that athletes and dancers excel in); naturalist (ability for understanding natural phenomena); interpersonal (ability for understanding and interacting with others); and intrapersonal (self-understanding). Neither Gardner nor others have succeeded in measuring them well.

3.22 Describe the processes of overproduction (or exuberance) and synaptic pruning that take place in the brain during adolescence.

Recent research on brain development shows that a process of overproduction and synaptic pruning takes place in the course of adolescence, which leads to more efficient but less flexible cognitive functioning.

3.23 Explain how myelination and changes in the cerebellum enable new cognitive capacities in adolescence.

Along with synaptic pruning, myelination leads to better executive functioning over the course of adolescence. In addition, the cerebellum shows a surprising amount of growth in adolescence and emerging adulthood, leading to enhanced cognitive abilities in areas such as mathematics and social skills.

3.24 Summarize how gray and white matter change through emerging adulthood and beyond, and the neurological changes that make emerging adulthood a stage of high potential as well as high risk.

Studies analyzing brain content have found that gray matter decreases and white matter increases through the 20s and into the 30s, continuing the processes that had taken place in adolescence. These changes in the balance of gray matter and white matter are reflected in greater processing speed, timing, and efficiency of brain functioning. However, neuroscientists have also begun to investigate the possibility that there are aspects of brain development that make emerging adults especially vulnerable to mental disorders, such as overly rapid synaptic pruning.

Key Terms

cognitive development, p. 69
Jean Piaget, p. 69
cognitive stage, p. 69
mental structure, p. 69
cognitive-developmental approach, p. 70
maturation, p. 70
schemes, p. 70
assimilation, p. 70
accommodation, p. 70
sensorimotor stage, p. 70
preoperational stage, p. 71
mental operations, p. 71
concrete operations, p. 71
formal operations, p. 71
pendulum problem, p. 71
hypothetical-deductive reasoning, p. 72
abstract thinking, p. 72
metacognition, p. 72
complex thinking, p. 72
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postformal thinking, p. 77
pragmatism, p. 77
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frontal lobes, p. 99
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myelination, p. 99
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white matter, p. 100
prefrontal cortex, p. 100

Chapter 4

Cultural Beliefs

Learning Objectives

4.1 Define *cultural beliefs* and explain how they reflect a culture's symbolic inheritance.

4.2 Describe the process of socialization and the three main outcomes.

4.3 Define *individualism* and *collectivism* and explain how they foster independent and interdependent selves.

4.4 Distinguish between broad and narrow socialization and specify how they are related to individualism and collectivism.

4.5 Identify the eight sources of socialization and describe the broad and narrow forms each one takes.

4.6 Explain how the teaching of the Law to adolescent Aborigines represents socialization for cultural beliefs.

4.7 Summarize the change in values shown in the two Middletown studies.

4.8 Define *custom complex* and give your own example of how it operates in adolescence.

4.9 Describe the main variations in cultural beliefs among American immigrant groups.

4.10 Specify the features of American adolescents' religious beliefs and practices, including Moralistic Therapeutic Deism.

4.11 Summarize the similarities and differences between American adolescents and emerging adults in their religious beliefs and practices.

4.12 Describe Kohlberg's levels and stages of moral development and the evidence supporting the theory.

4.13 Identify the main points of the cultural critique of Kohlberg's theory of moral development.

4.14 Describe the worldviews theory of moral development, including the three ethics and the template model.

4.15 Describe Adelson's view of how cognitive changes from early to late adolescence result in changes in political beliefs.

4.16 Explain, from a developmental perspective, why emerging adults are so likely to become involved in political movements.

- Should young people accept their parents' authority without question? Or do parents have an obligation to treat their children as equals or near-equals by the time the children reach adolescence and emerging adulthood?
- When making decisions about the future, which should come first, young people's individual desires and ambitions or the well-being of their families?
- Is it best for young people to date a variety of people before marriage to become experienced at intimate relationships? Or is it better if they do not date before marriage and instead allow their parents to arrange a partner for them when it comes time for them to marry?
- Is it acceptable for young people to become sexually active before marriage? Is the acceptability of premarital sexual activity any different for girls than for boys?

MOST LIKELY, YOU HAVE OPINIONS ABOUT EACH OF these issues, and your particular view on these issues is probably typical of the people in your culture. However, whatever views your culture holds, it is certain that there are other cultures whose beliefs are considerably different. Cultures vary greatly in their beliefs about the proper standards of behavior for adolescents and emerging adults (Arnett, 1995a, 2006d, 2008).

Throughout this text, I emphasize the cultural approach to understanding development in adolescence and emerging adulthood. As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, even biological and cognitive development are shaped profoundly by cultural influences. Every chapter of this text emphasizes the cultural basis of development and presents a variety of examples of differences and similarities among adolescents and emerging adults in various cultures.

In this chapter we will focus on cultural beliefs. Why is it important to examine cultural beliefs as part of gaining a full understanding of development in adolescence and emerging adulthood? One reason is that cultural beliefs form the foundation for every aspect of socialization that takes place in a culture (Arnett, 1995a, 2006d). The kinds of rules and responsibilities parents have for adolescents, the materials schools teach and the way schools are run, the kinds of laws cultures make to restrict young people's behavior—all these practices and more—are founded on cultural beliefs about what is morally right and what is morally wrong, which behaviors should be rewarded and which punished, and what it means to be a good person (Shweder, 2007; Shweder et al., 2006).

A second reason for focusing on cultural beliefs is that in many cultures, adolescence and emerging adulthood are times when knowledge of these beliefs is communicated with special intensity (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). As we saw in the previous chapter, adolescence brings changes in cognitive development that allow people to grasp abstract ideas and concepts in a way they could not when they were younger. Cultural beliefs are abstract; they typically include ideas about good and evil, right and wrong, vice and virtue, and so on. The fact that cultures often choose adolescence as a time for teaching these beliefs reflects a widespread intuitive awareness that this period is ripe for learning and embracing cultural beliefs.

In this chapter, we will first discuss the role that cultural beliefs play in the socialization of adolescents. Following this we will consider specific aspects of cultural beliefs, including religious beliefs, moral beliefs, and political beliefs.

Cultural Beliefs and Socialization

Before proceeding further, let's be clear what is meant by the term *cultural beliefs*.

Defining Cultural Beliefs

4.1 Define *cultural beliefs* and explain how they reflect a culture's symbolic inheritance.

Cultural beliefs are the commonly held norms and moral standards of a culture, the standards of right and wrong that set expectations for behavior. These beliefs are usually

cultural beliefs

The predominant beliefs in a culture about right and wrong, what is most important in life, and how life should be lived. They may also include beliefs about where and how life originated and what happens after death.

rooted in the culture's **symbolic inheritance**, which is a set of "ideas and understandings, both implicit and explicit, about persons, society, nature and divinity" (Shweder et al., 2006, p. 868). So, cultural beliefs include both the beliefs that constitute a culture's symbolic inheritance and the norms and moral standards that arise from these beliefs.

Cultural belief systems include the **roles** that are appropriate for particular persons. All cultures have **gender roles**, that is, beliefs about the kinds of work, appearance, and other aspects of behavior that distinguish women from men. Cultures may also have age-related roles—a man may be expected to be a warrior in his youth, for example, but to give up that role by middle adulthood and become part of a council of elders. Cultures may also have roles related to social status or social class. For example, in England working-class young men have a distinctive kind of dress (lots of leather and denim), language (lots of slang and profanity), and behavior (lots of fighting and drinking) (Brake, 1985; Griffin, 2011). Young people everywhere become more aware of their culture's beliefs about such roles in the course of adolescence. This is partly because of increasing cognitive capacities for abstract thinking and self-reflection, and partly because reaching adolescence means that the threshold of adulthood is approaching and young people will soon be expected to adapt themselves to the role requirements for adults in their culture.

A culture's symbolic inheritance is the basis for its norms and standards (Shweder et al., 2006). The symbolic inheritance usually includes beliefs about the ultimate meaning of human life and the place of an individual's life in the vast scheme of things. Sometimes these beliefs are religious and include ideas about where the soul of the individual came from and where it goes after death. (The idea of the soul—an intangible, individual human identity that is distinct from our bodily natures—is nearly universal in cultures' religious beliefs.) Sometimes these beliefs are political, with ideas about how the individual is part of a great historical movement heading toward an inevitable conclusion. The communist beliefs that were so influential in the 20th century are an example of this. Sometimes these beliefs are familial and communal, with the significance of an individual life being derived from its place in a larger organization that existed before the individual was born and will continue to exist after the individual has passed on. Adolescence is a time of particular importance for cultures to communicate these beliefs about the ultimate meaning of things and to encourage young people to embrace them wholeheartedly.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of an object you own that reflects your culture's symbolic inheritance.

The Process and Outcomes of Socialization

4.2 Describe the process of socialization and the three main outcomes.

An important aspect of cultural beliefs is the set of beliefs that specifically concerns standards for raising children, adolescents, and emerging adults. Should young people be taught that individuals should be independent and self-sufficient, following their own desires rather than complying with the norms of the group; or should they be taught that the needs and requirements of the family and community should have higher priority than the needs and desires of the individual? Should young people be allowed and encouraged to express themselves, even when what they say or do may offend other people; or should each person be pressed—and, if necessary, forced—to conform to the accepted standards of the culture?

All cultures have answers to these questions as part of their cultural beliefs, and the kinds of answers cultures devise vary widely. At the heart of these answers are cultural beliefs about **socialization**, the process by which people acquire the behaviors and beliefs of the culture they live in (Grusec & Hastings, 2014). Three outcomes are central to this process (Arnett, 1995a, 2007c, 2015). **Self-regulation** is the capacity for exercising self-control to restrain one's impulses and comply with social norms. This includes the development of a conscience, which is the internal monitor of whether you are complying adequately with social

symbolic inheritance
The set of ideas and understandings, both implicit and explicit, about people, society, nature, and divinity that serve as a guide to life in a particular culture. It is expressed symbolically through stories, songs, rituals, sacred objects, and sacred places.

roles
Defined social positions in a culture, containing specifications of behavior, status, and relations with others. Examples include gender, age, and social class.

gender roles
Cultural beliefs about the kinds of work, appearance, and other aspects of behavior that distinguish women from men.

socialization
The process by which people acquire the behaviors and beliefs of the culture in which they live.

self-regulation
The capacity for exercising self-control to restrain one's impulses and comply with social norms.

(A)

(B)

(C)

The Three Goals of Socialization. (A) Self-regulation. (B) Role preparation. (C) Sources of meaning.

norms; when your conscience determines that you are not, you experience guilt. **Role preparation** is a second outcome of socialization. This includes preparation for occupational roles, gender roles, and roles in institutions such as marriage and parenthood. The third outcome of socialization is the cultivation of **sources of meaning**, which indicate what is important, what is to be valued, and what is to be lived for. Human beings are uniquely existential creatures. Unlike other animals, we are capable of reflecting on our mortality and on what our lives mean in light of the hard fact that we will all die some day (Becker, 1973). Sources of meaning provide consolation, guidance, and hope to people in confronting existential questions.

> "It is often the culture that tells the individual which broad context will provide meaning to his or her life, or in some cases the culture offers several options and the individual chooses among them. In any case, the individual depends on the culture to provide the possibilities for meaning."
>
> —BAUMEISTER, 1991, P. 361

These three outcomes of socialization are shared by all cultures. To survive and thrive and perpetuate themselves from one generation to the next, cultures must teach these things to their members. However, this does not mean that cultures express these goals explicitly, or that cultural members are even consciously aware of them as outcomes of socialization. Much of what cultures teach about what people should believe and value is learned implicitly, through the practices and behaviors young people are taught (Shweder et al., 2006). For example, requiring students to wear uniforms in schools teaches that conformity to group standards is more important than individual expression.

Adolescence and emerging adulthood are important periods of development with respect to each of these socialization outcomes. Self-regulation begins to be learned in infancy, but a new dimension is added to it in adolescence as regulation of sexual impulses rises in importance with puberty and the development of sexual maturity. Additionally, as puberty progresses and young people reach their full size and strength, it becomes more important for cultures to ensure that they have learned self-regulation so that they will not disrupt or endanger the lives of others. Role preparation also becomes more urgent in adolescence and emerging adulthood. These years are crucial for young people to prepare themselves for the occupational and social roles they will soon be expected to take on as adults. Adolescence and emerging adulthood are key times for the development of sources of meaning because adolescents are newly capable of grasping and understanding the abstract ideas about values and beliefs that are part of the meanings of life that cultures teach.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think that the beliefs of all cultures are equally good and true, or do you think that the beliefs of some cultures are better and truer than the beliefs of others? Give an example of an issue that illustrates your view. If you believe that some cultural beliefs are better and truer than others, on what standard do you base your evaluation, and why?

role preparation
An outcome of socialization that includes preparation for occupational roles, gender roles, and roles in institutions such as marriage and parenthood.

sources of meaning
The ideas and beliefs that people learn as part of socialization, indicating what is important, what is to be valued, what is to be lived for, and how to explain and offer consolation for the individual's mortality.

Cultural Focus

BAR AND BAT MITZVAHS

In Jewish tradition, an important event at age 13 signifies the adolescent's new responsibilities with respect to Jewish beliefs. The event is a ceremony called the **bar mitzvah**, and it has existed in some form for more than 2,000 years. The details have changed over the centuries, and today the ceremony differs in some respects from one synagogue to another. Until recently, for example, only boys participated in the bar mitzvah. However, today many girls participate as well (although it is still more common for boys). For girls, the ceremony is called the **bat mitzvah**. According to the National Survey of Youth and Religion (described later in this chapter), 73% of Jewish adolescents in the United States have participated in a bar or bat mitzvah (Smith & Denton, 2005).

Although they vary among synagogues, bar and bat mitzvahs share some common elements (Schoenfeld, 2010):

- Prayers are recited stating belief in the one and only God and promising allegiance to God's commandments. Further prayers praise God and reaffirm the sacredness of the Sabbath.
- The Torah is passed from one generation to the next, literally and figuratively. (The Torah consists of the first five books of the Hebrew Bible. These are also the first five books of what Christians call the "Old Testament.") The initiate and the parents and grandparents come to the front of the synagogue. The Torah is taken from the ark (where it is normally kept) and passed from the grandparents to the parents to the initiate.
- The initiate carries the Torah around the room so that people may touch it with their hands or with a prayer book or prayer shawl, which they then kiss. The congregation remains standing as it is taken around the room.
- The Torah is returned to the front and unwrapped. Often younger children perform the unwrapping.
- The initiate recites a portion of the Torah.
- The initiate receives the blessings of the parents and rabbi.
- The initiate gives a brief talk on some aspect of Jewish teachings. Often, the talk focuses on some of the implications that might be drawn from the portions of the Torah the initiate has just recited.
- The initiation is celebrated with a festive meal.

In Jewish tradition, completing a bar or bat mitzvah means that the young person can now participate fully in the religious activities of the community. After their bar or bat mitzvah, young people can be counted toward the minimum of 10 persons required for holding religious services. Also, they are now obliged to carry out the same religious rituals as adults, and their word is valid in sessions determining violations of Jewish law.

Furthermore, they are now "subject to the commandments." That is, they are now responsible for their own actions, as children are not. (Recall from Chapter 1 the importance of "responsibility for one's actions" in contemporary views of the transition to adulthood.) In fact, the bar mitzvah sometimes includes a part where the parents declare, "Blessed is He who has freed me from responsibility for this child's conduct." Perhaps this declaration reflects an intuitive awareness in Jewish tradition of the cognitive advances of adolescence, which make young people capable of a new level of self-reflection and decision making.

Notice how the ceremony works to inculcate cultural beliefs. The beliefs are passed, quite literally, from one generation to the next during the ceremony, as the grandparents and parents pass the Torah to the initiate. The initiate's new responsibility for carrying on those beliefs is signified by taking the Torah around the room to be blessed. The initiate also reads from the holy books, and this act—declaring aloud before the community a portion of their shared beliefs—is crucial to attaining full status as a member of the community.

Why do the bar mitzvah and bat mitzvah take place in adolescence?

bar mitzvah
Jewish religious ritual for boys at age 13 that signifies the adolescents' new responsibilities with respect to Jewish beliefs.

bat mitzvah
Jewish religious ritual for girls at age 13 that signifies the adolescents' new responsibilities with respect to Jewish beliefs.

Cultural Values: Individualism and Collectivism

4.3 Define *individualism* and *collectivism* and explain how they foster independent and interdependent selves.

Although all cultures share similar socialization outcomes, cultures differ widely in their socialization values. A central issue with respect to cultural values about socialization concerns whether cultures place more value on independence and self-expression or, alternatively, on obedience and conformity as the characteristics they wish to promote in their children. This issue is sometimes portrayed as a contrast between individualism and collectivism, with individualistic cultures giving priority to independence and self-expression and collectivist cultures placing a higher value on obedience and conformity (Triandis, 1995; Shavitt et al., 2011).

A great deal of research has taken place on individualism and collectivism in the past 30 years, especially focusing on cultural contrasts between the majority cultures of the West and Eastern cultures such as those in China, Japan, and Korea (Brewer & Chen, 2007; Owe et al., 2013; Oyserman & Lee, 2008). Scholars have examined differences in values and beliefs among people in a wide range of cultures and have consistently found people in Western cultures to be more individualistic and people in Eastern cultures to be more collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980; Marshall, 2008; Triandis, 1995). Scholars have also discussed the development of the self in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (DiMaggio & Markus, 2010; Markus & Kitiyama, 1991, 2003). Collectivistic cultures promote the development of an **interdependent self**, such that people place a strong value on cooperation, mutual support, harmonious social relations, and contributions to the group. In contrast, individualistic cultures promote the development of an **independent self**, such that people place a strong value on independence, individual freedoms, and individual achievements.

"The nail that stands out gets pounded down."

—JAPANESE PROVERB

Individualism and collectivism are useful concepts for understanding variations in cultural beliefs, but most cultures are not "pure types" of one or the other but a combination of the two in various proportions. Although the contrast between the individualistic West and the collectivistic East holds up quite well in research, some scholars have pointed out that most Western cultures, too, have elements of collectivism, and most Eastern cultures have elements of individualism (Killen & Wainryb, 2000; Matsumoto, 2002; Tamis-Lemonda et al., 2008). In Eastern cultures, this blend is increasingly complex because they are influenced by the West through globalization (Chang, 2008; Rao et al., 2013).

Watch GARY CULTURAL BELIEF SYSTEM

Broad and Narrow Socialization

4.4 Distinguish between broad and narrow socialization and specify how they are related to individualism and collectivism.

In this text, we will discuss the contrast in socialization patterns between individualistic and collectivistic cultures in terms of broad and narrow socialization (Arnett, 1995a, 2007c, 2015). Cultures characterized by **broad socialization** favor individualism. They encourage individual uniqueness, independence, and self-expression. Cultures characterized by **narrow socialization** favor collectivism. They hold

interdependent self
A conception of the self typically found in collectivistic cultures, in which the self is seen as defined by roles and relationships within the group.

independent self
A conception of the self typically found in individualistic cultures, in which the self is seen as existing independently of relations with others, with an emphasis on independence, individual freedoms, and individual achievements.

broad socialization
The process by which people in an individualistic culture come to learn individualism, including values of individual uniqueness, independence, and self-expression.

narrow socialization
The process by which people in a collectivistic culture come to learn collectivism, including values of obedience and conformity.

obedience and conformity to be the highest values and discourage deviation from cultural expectations. *Individualism* and *collectivism* describe the general differences in values and beliefs among cultures; *broad* and *narrow socialization* describe the process by which cultural members come to adopt the values and beliefs of an individualistic (broad) or collectivistic (narrow) culture.

The terms *broad* and *narrow* refer to the range of individual differences cultures allow or encourage—relatively broad in broad socialization, relatively narrow in narrow socialization. All socialization involves some degree of restrictiveness on individual preferences and inclinations. As Scarr (1993) noted, "cultures set a range of opportunities for development; they define the limits of what is desirable, 'normal' individual variation.... Cultures define the *range* and *focus* of personal variation that is acceptable and rewarded" (pp. 1335, 1337; emphasis in the original). Socialization inevitably means the establishment of limits, but cultures differ in the *degree* of restrictiveness they impose, and the degree of cultures' restrictiveness is the central contrast between broad and narrow socialization.

Because Western cultural beliefs emphasize individualism, Western cultures tend toward broad socialization. The West has a long history of emphasizing individualism in a variety of aspects of life (Bellah et al., 1985), and this includes cultural beliefs about socialization. In contrast, socialization in non-Western cultures tends to be narrower, with a greater emphasis on promoting the well-being of the family and community rather than the individual, and often including hierarchies of authority based on gender, age, and other characteristics (Rao et al., 2013; Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011; Whiting & Edwards, 1988).

Most cultures with narrow socialization are less economically developed than those in the West. Narrow socialization is emphasized in these cultures partly because young people's work is necessary for families' survival; conformity and obedience are demanded to ensure that young people will make their necessary contributions (Schlegel & Barry, 1991; Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). However, narrow socialization is also characteristic of some highly industrialized Asian cultures, such as Japan, although socialization in these societies may be becoming broader in response to globalization (Li, 2011; Noguchi, 2007; Rao et al., 2013).

Collectivism is especially strong in Asian cultures. Here, a Korean family.

If we say socialization in a particular culture is broad, that does not mean that everyone in the culture has the same beliefs about the desirability of individualism. It simply means that the culture as a whole can be described as tending toward broad socialization, although individuals within the culture may vary in their beliefs. Think of the concepts of broad and narrow socialization as a simple, shorthand way of referring to an essential contrast in socialization, not as absolute categories that every culture in the world fits into cleanly.

It is important, too, to state explicitly that the concepts of individualism–collectivism and broad–narrow socialization are not meant to imply moral evaluations. With each general type of socialization there are tradeoffs. Under broad socialization, because individualism is encouraged, there is likely to be more creativity and more innovation, but also a higher degree of loneliness, social problems, and disorder (Arnett, 2015; Bellah et al., 1985). Under narrow socialization, there may be a stronger sense of collective identity and greater social order, but at the cost of greater suppression of individual uniqueness (Arnett, 1995a, 2002a; Ho & Chiu, 1994). Each form of socialization has costs as well as benefits.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you agree or disagree with the view that there are pros and cons to both broad and narrow socialization? Explain your view.

Sources of Socialization

4.5 Identify the eight sources of socialization and describe the broad and narrow forms each one takes.

Socialization involves many aspects of a culture. You may think most readily of parents when you think of socialization, and parents usually are central to the socialization process (Bugental & Grusec, 2008). However, socialization involves other sources as well. The sources of socialization include family (*not just parents but siblings and extended family, too*), peers and friends, school, community, the workplace, media, the legal system, *and* the cultural belief system (Arnett, 1995a, 2007b, 2015). In general, the family's influence on socialization diminishes in adolescence, whereas the influences of peers/friends, school, community, media, and the legal system increase (Plomin et al., 2013; Scarr & McCartney, 1983).

Table 4.1 Broad and Narrow Socialization

Source	Broad Socialization	Narrow Socialization
Family	Few restrictions on adolescents' behavior; adolescents spend considerable time away from family in unsupervised leisure. Parents encourage independence and self-sufficiency in adolescents.	Duty and obligation to family are valued highly. Adult family members command respect and deference. Responsibility to family is considered more important than the individual's autonomy or achievements.
Peers/Friends	Adolescents are allowed to choose their own friends. Adolescents make friends of different ethnic groups and social classes, based on their similar interests and attractions as individuals.	Adults exercise control over adolescents' friendship choices, in part by disapproving of friendships between adolescents of different ethnic groups and social classes.
School	Teachers promote students' individuality and attempt to adapt the curriculum to each student's individual needs and preferences. Low emphasis is placed on order and obedience to teachers and school authorities. No uniforms or dress code are required.	Emphasis is on learning the standard curriculum rather than on independent or critical thinking. Firm discipline is used in the classroom. Uniforms or conformity to strict dress code may be required.
Community	Community members do not know each other well, and adult community members exercise little or no social control over adolescents. Independence and self-expression of the individual are valued more highly than conformity to the expectations and standards of the community.	Community members know each other well and share common cultural beliefs. Adherence to the standards and expectations of the community is highly valued. Nonconformity is viewed with suspicion and treated with ostracism.
Workplace	Young people are allowed to choose for themselves among a wide range of possible occupations. Workplaces generally reward creativity and individual achievement.	Young people's job choices are constrained by the decisions of adults (e.g., parents, governmental authorities). Workplaces promote conformity and discourage innovative thinking that might challenge the status quo.
Media	Media are diverse, and media content is mostly unregulated by governmental authorities. Media promote gratification of individual desires and impulses.	Media are tightly controlled by governmental authorities. Media content is generally restricted to socially acceptable themes that do not threaten common moral standards.
Legal System	Legal restrictions on behavior are minimal. The right of the individual to a wide range of self-expression is highly valued. Punishments for most offenses are light.	Legal restrictions are placed on a wide range of behavior, including sexuality and political expression, and are backed by swift and severe punishment.
Cultural Beliefs	Individualism, independence, self-expression.	Collectivism, obedience, conformity.

Family influence in Western majority cultures diminishes further in emerging adulthood, when most emerging adults move out of their family household (Aquilino, 2006; Arnett, 2015; Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015). Nevertheless, the family remains a powerful influence on socialization in adolescence and emerging adulthood, even if its influence is not as powerful as it was earlier in development.

In this text, a specific chapter will be devoted to several socialization sources, including family, peers and friends, school, the workplace, and media. Information on socialization in the community and the legal system will be presented in a variety of chapters. Table 4.1 provides a summary description of broad and narrow socialization.

Cultures can vary in their socialization from these different sources—a culture may be relatively broad in family socialization, for example, and relatively narrow in socialization through the school. However, usually a culture's sources are consistent in their socialization, because the cultural belief system is the foundation for the socialization that takes place through the other sources. Parents, teachers, community leaders, and other socialization agents in a culture carry out common socialization practices because of their shared beliefs about what is best for children and adolescents (Grusec & Hastings, 2014; Harkness & Super, 1995; Tamis-Lemonda et al., 2008).

An Example of Socialization for Cultural Beliefs

4.6 Explain how the teaching of the Law to adolescent Aborigines represents socialization for cultural beliefs.

So far, our discussion of cultural beliefs and the different forms of socialization has been abstract, describing the nature of cultural beliefs and distinguishing two general cultural approaches to socialization. Now let us look at a specific example of socialization for cultural beliefs, as an illustration of the ideas just introduced.

An ethnography on adolescence among the indigenous people of Australia, known as the Aborigines (a-bor-*ih*-jen-eez), was written by Victoria Burbank (1988, 1994). Until the early 20th century, the Aborigines were nomadic hunters and gatherers. They had no settled residence but moved their small communities from one place to another according to the seasons and the availability of food such as fish and sea turtles. They had few possessions; shelters and tools were manufactured easily from materials that were widely available.

A key part of traditional adolescent socialization among the Aborigines involves the ritual teaching of a set of cultural beliefs known as the Law. The Law includes an

explanation of how the world began and instructions for how various ritual ceremonies should be performed, such as the circumcision ritual that is one of the rites of passage initiating adolescent boys into manhood. The Law also includes moral precepts for how interpersonal relations should be conducted. For example, there are complex rules about who may have sex with whom and who may marry whom, depending on the family and clan to which people belong. Also, it is viewed as best if marriages are arranged by the parents rather than by the young people themselves.

The Law is presented in a series of three public ceremonies, with each ceremony representing a stage in the initiation of adolescent boys into manhood. (Although both boys and girls learn the Law, only boys participate in the rituals of initiation.) In the ceremonies, various aspects of the Law are taught. Songs, dances, and the painted bodies of the performers present stories that illustrate the Law. The whole community attends. Following the ceremonies, the adolescent boys experience an extended period of seclusion in which they are given little to eat and have almost no contact with others. After learning the Law and experiencing this period of seclusion, they have a new, higher status in the community.

In the traditional teaching of the Law, we can see illustrations of the principles of socialization and cultural beliefs we have discussed. The Law is at the center of the symbolic inheritance of the Aborigines; it contains ideas about relations between the individual, society, and divine forces. The Law stresses self-regulation, especially with regard to sexual desire, by specifying rules for sexual contact. Information about roles is taught as part of the Law; adolescent boys learn the expectations for behavior that they must follow in their role as adult men. The Law also provides a source of meaning by explaining the origin of the world and by providing adolescents with a clear and secure place in their communities.

The cultural beliefs expressed in the Law are collectivistic. Adolescents are taught that they have obligations to others as part of the Law and that they must allow others to make important decisions that affect them, such as whom they shall marry. Because their beliefs are collectivistic, socialization among the Aborigines is narrow; conformity and obedience to the Law and to elders are emphasized. Adolescent boys do not decide for themselves whether to take part in the ceremonies of the Law; they *must* take part, or be ostracized.

However, like so many of the practices of traditional cultures, the relationship between adolescents and the Law has been dramatically affected by globalization (Eickelkamp, 2013; Silburn et al., 2007). The ceremonies still exist, and adolescents still take part. But the period of boys' seclusion that follows, which used to last about 2 months, now lasts only a week. Furthermore, adolescents are showing increasing resistance to learning and practicing the beliefs and rules of the Law at all. To many of them, the Law seems irrelevant to the world they live in, which is no longer a world of nomadic hunting and gathering but of schools, a complex economy, and modern media. Adolescents now develop beliefs based not just on the Law but on their other experiences as well, and these experiences have made their beliefs more individualistic. Learning about the rest of the world through school and the media has led many of them to question their native cultural practices, such as arranged marriages.

In recent years, young Aborigines have also begun to display many of the modern problems of adolescence and emerging adulthood, such as unmarried pregnancy, cigarette smoking, and criminal behavior (Eickelkamp, 2013; Silburn et al., 2007). The power of the Law has diminished as a source of self-regulation, roles, and meaning, and for young Aborigines, their new problems signify that nothing has yet arisen to take its place.

Watch ABORIGINAL INITIATION CEREMONY

Socialization for Cultural Beliefs in the West

4.7 Summarize the change in values shown in the two Middletown studies.

Can you think of any experiences in your childhood or adolescence where you were taught cultural beliefs directly? If you grew up in the West, it may be difficult. The West has no formal, ritual teaching of individualism. In a way, that would be contrary to the whole spirit of individualism because ritual implies a standard way of doing things and individualism stresses independence from standard ways. You could find evidence of implicit teaching of individualism in adults' practices with regard to adolescence, such as the kinds of freedoms parents allow adolescents, or the range of choices adolescents are allowed for the courses they take at school. We will discuss these and other practices reflecting individualism in future chapters. But what about *beliefs*? What evidence do we have of cultural beliefs that reflect individualism?

One interesting piece of evidence comes from a famous study conducted by Helen and Robert Lynd in the 1920s (Lynd

Table 4.2 Child-Rearing Values of Women in Middletown, 1928 and 1978

	1928	1978
Loyalty to church	50	22
Strict obedience	45	17
Good manners	31	23
Independence	25	76
Tolerance	6	47

The table indicates the percentage of women in 1928 and 1978 who listed each of the indicated values as one of the three most important for their children to learn, out of a list of 15 values.

SOURCE: Alwin, 1988.

& Lynd, 1929), describing life in a typical American community they called "Middletown" (actually Muncie, Indiana). The Lynds studied many aspects of life in Middletown, including women's beliefs about the qualities they considered most important to promote in their children. Fifty years later, another group of researchers (Caplow et al., 2004) returned to Middletown and asked the residents many of the same questions, including the ones about child-rearing beliefs.

As you can see from Table 4.2, the results indicate that the child-rearing beliefs of the American majority culture changed dramatically over the 20th century (Alwin, 1988; Caplow et al., 2004). Narrow socialization values such as obedience and loyalty to church declined in importance, whereas broad socialization values such as independence and tolerance became central to parents' child-rearing beliefs. This change was reflected in behavioral differences in Middletown adolescents, particularly girls. In more recent times, adolescent girls had become substantially more independent from their parents, spending more of their time away from home and depending less on their parents for money and for information about sex. Other studies have confirmed this trend in the cultural beliefs of the American majority culture during the 20th century, away from obedience and conformity and toward individualism (Alwin, Xu, & Carson, 1994; Cohn, 1999; Twenge, 2006). Even though the United States has a long tradition of valuing individualism (Bellah et al., 1985), individualistic beliefs have evidently grown stronger during the past century, and adolescents in the American majority culture today are growing up at a time when individualism is more highly valued than in the past. This value on individualism has remained strong in the United States in the 21st century (Vargas & Kemmelmeier, 2013).

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Have you experienced any direct teaching of cultural beliefs, such as Boy or Girl Scouts, bar or bat mitzvah, Sunday School, or Confirmation? If so, did these experiences form the basis for your current beliefs? If not, how do you think you developed your current beliefs?

Cultural Beliefs in Adolescence

Cultural beliefs are sometimes displayed obviously, in rituals, but often they simply underlie the cultural habits of everyday life. For adolescents in immigrant families, developing cultural beliefs is more complicated and challenging because there are often disparities in beliefs between their immigrant culture and the society they now live in.

Cultural Beliefs and the Custom Complex

4.8 Define *custom complex* and give your own example of how it operates in adolescence.

In some cultures, there are events like the puberty rituals described in Chapter 2 that portray the cultural beliefs that adults hold explicitly and teach intentionally to their young people. However, cultural beliefs are also reflected in people's everyday practices, even when they are not conscious of it. Every aspect of development is influenced by the cultural context in which it takes place, and every pattern of behavior reflects something about cultural beliefs.

This means that every aspect of development and behavior in adolescence and emerging adulthood can be analyzed as a **custom complex** (Shweder et al., 2006). This term was coined over a half-century ago by John Whiting and Irvin Child, who stated that a custom complex "consists of a customary practice and of the beliefs, values, sanctions, rules, motives and satisfactions associated with it" (1953, p. 27). More recently, scholars have placed the custom complex at the center of the growing field of cultural psychology (Heine, 2015; Shweder, 1999; Shweder et al., 2006), which examines human development from a perspective that combines psychology and anthropology.

To put it simply, a custom complex consists of a typical practice in a culture and the cultural beliefs that provide the basis for that practice. I will use this term at various points in the text, but for illustration here let's briefly consider dating as an example of a custom complex.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Give an example of a custom complex you have experienced in your own culture. Describe how the customary behavior or practice reflects cultural beliefs.

custom complex

A customary practice and the beliefs, values, sanctions, rules, motives, and satisfactions associated with it; that is, a normative practice in a culture and the cultural beliefs that provide the basis for that practice.

How does dating represent a custom complex?

Dating is something you may be used to thinking about as something that is **ontogenetic**, part of "normal" development in all cultures; when adolescents reach the ages of 13, 14, or 15, it is "natural" for them to begin dating. However, analyzing dating as a custom complex shows that dating is not simply a natural part of development but a custom complex that reflects certain cultural beliefs. We can begin by noting that dating is by no means a universal practice. It is more common in the United States than in Europe, and it is discouraged in most non-Western cultures—although the practice is growing in non-Western cultures in response to globalization (Schlegel, 2000, 2010; Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). Furthermore, even in the United States it is a recent practice. Before the 20th century, young people in the United States typically engaged not in dating but in courtship, which was structured and monitored by adults (Bailey, 1989).

A custom complex involves both a typical practice and the cultural beliefs that underlie that practice. What cultural beliefs underlie the Western practice of dating? First, dating reflects a cultural belief that adolescents and emerging adults should be allowed to have a substantial degree of independent leisure time. This is in contrast to cultures that believe young people should spend their leisure time with their families. Second, dating reflects a cultural belief that young people should have a right to choose for themselves the persons with whom they wish to have intimate relationships. This is in contrast to cultures whose beliefs specify that young people should allow their parents to make those decisions for them. Third, dating reflects a cultural belief that some degree of sexual experience before marriage is acceptable and healthy for young people. This is in contrast to cultures that believe young people's sexual experiences should begin only after they are married.

All aspects of development in adolescence and emerging adulthood can be analyzed in this way. Family relationships, peer relations, school experiences, and more—all of them consist of a variety of custom complexes that reflect the beliefs of the cultures in which young people live. Thus, in the chapters to come I will use the idea of the custom complex as a way of revealing and exploring the cultural beliefs that underlie socialization.

ontogenetic

Something that occurs naturally in the course of development as part of normal maturation; that is, it is driven by innate processes rather than by environmental stimulation or a specific cultural practice.

Cultural Beliefs in Multicultural Societies

4.9 Describe the main variations in cultural beliefs among American immigrant groups.

In describing cultural beliefs, cultures should not be confused with countries. Many countries contain a variety of cultures with a variety of different cultural beliefs. For this reason, in this text I refer not to an "American" cultural belief system but to the cultural beliefs of the American majority culture, as well as the cultural beliefs of minority cultures within American society.

Many studies have shown that the cultural beliefs of American minority cultures tend to be less individualistic and more collectivistic than the cultural beliefs of the American majority culture. African American families emphasize collectivistic values such as obedience and respect for elders more than White families do (Richman & Mandara, 2013). Among Latinos, obedience to parents and obligations to family are strongly emphasized. Adolescents in Latino families generally accept the authority of the parents and express a strong sense of obligation and attachment to their families (Sánchez et al., 2010; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1996). Asian American adolescents are also more collectivistic and less individualistic than adolescents in the American majority culture. They spend more time carrying out family chores, and like Latino adolescents they express a strong sense of duty and obligation to their families (Russell et al., 2010). In their conceptions of what it means to be an adult, nearly all Asian American emerging adults believe that becoming capable of supporting their parents financially is essential (Arnett, 2015); this belief is one aspect of their collectivism.

Most other Western countries also have substantial minority populations whose cultural beliefs tend to be considerably more collectivistic and less individualistic than the Western majority culture. Canada has a substantial Inuit (or "First Nations") population; Australia has a Chinese immigrant population; New Zealand has a substantial number of Maoris. There is a Turkish minority culture in Germany, an Algerian minority culture in France, and a Pakistani minority culture in England—many other examples could be given. In every case, the cultural beliefs of the minority

Historical Focus

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL SCOUTS

One of the points discussed in this chapter is that, for the most part, Western cultures do little in the way of formal teaching of cultural beliefs. Many adolescents in the United States receive some formal instruction in religious beliefs, but in other Western cultures religion is much less a part of the lives of adolescents. Even in the United States, only about half of adolescents take part regularly in religious activities (Smith & Denton, 2005; Twenge et al., 2015).

The absence of formal moral training was discussed with particular intensity in public forums in the early 20th century in the United States as well as in Europe. Adults worried greatly that, with the decline of religion, young people would grow up without a moral orientation strong enough to guide them through an increasingly complex and dangerous world (Kett, 1977).

In Great Britain, a man named Robert Baden-Powell had an idea for how to address this perceived danger of moral decline among young people. In 1908, he started an organization called the Boy Scouts that would be dedicated to teaching moral precepts to adolescent boys ages 11 to 17 (Pryke, 2001). Boy Scouts would learn how to do woodcrafts, swim, set up a camp, cook outdoors, and perform various other outdoor survival skills. However, Baden-Powell made it clear that these activities were all intended to have a moral purpose: to socialize boys so that they would become good citizens with a high moral character (Rosenthal, 1986).

This purpose is reflected explicitly in two key parts of the Boy Scout program: the Scout Oath and the Scout Law, which all boys are required to learn (by memory) to become Scouts. The Scout Oath is as follows:

On my honor I will do my best
To do my duty to God and my country
And to obey the Scout Law:
To help other people at all times;
To keep myself physically strong,
Mentally awake, and morally straight.

The Scout Law is as follows:

A Scout is:
Trustworthy
Loyal
Helpful
Friendly
Courteous
Kind
Obedient
Cheerful
Thrifty
Brave
Clean
and Reverent.

Notice that these are mostly collectivistic rather than individualistic values. There is nothing here about self-esteem or individual achievement. Instead, values such as being trustworthy, loyal, helpful, courteous, kind, and obedient are all oriented toward consideration for and service to others. In a sense, the creation of the Boy Scouts can be seen as an attempt to create an organization that would maintain some

culture tend to be more collectivistic and less individualistic than those in the Western majority culture.

As noted earlier, because cultural beliefs typically provide the foundation for socialization from all other sources, usually there is a great deal of consistency of socialization across sources. But what happens when the socialization young people experience is not consistent across sources? What happens when young people are part of a minority culture whose beliefs differ from those of the majority culture? When this is the case, they may find themselves being exposed to a kind of socialization within the family that is different from the socialization they experience from sources such as school, the media, and the legal system, because the majority culture tends to control sources of socialization outside the family (Arnett, 1995a, 2007b).

Because the United States has been a multicultural society from its beginnings, many adolescents throughout American history have experienced this kind of contradictory socialization environment. In recent decades, a new surge of immigration has steeply increased the proportion of people from minority cultures living in the United States, especially Latinos and Asian Americans. Projections indicate that White Americans of European background will

Latino families tend to be more collectivistic than families in the American majority culture.

elements of collectivism in Western cultures that were becoming increasingly individualistic.

Baden-Powell's idea was instantly and phenomenally successful. Within a few years after the origin of the Boy Scouts in 1908, the organization had spread all over the world and involved millions of adolescent boys. In 1912, the Girl Scouts was created on the basis of similar principles and quickly spread around the world to include millions of adolescent girls. Parallel organizations were created for preadolescent boys (Cub Scouts) and preadolescent girls (Brownies/Junior Girl Scouts) as well as for older adolescents (Venturing for boys and girls, Senior Girl Scouts for girls only).

The Scouting movement continues to thrive today. Membership in the Boy Scouts has remained more or less steady for the past two decades at about 1 million adolescents (ages 11–17) in the United States and a total of over 40 million boys in virtually every country in the world (World Organization of the Scout Movement, 2016). The country with the largest number of Boy Scouts is Indonesia, which has nearly 10 million. Membership in the Girl Scouts is about half the size of enrollment in the Boy Scouts. Boy Scouts and Girls Scouts are the largest voluntary organizations of adolescent boys and girls in the world.

Of course, Scouting has changed considerably from its early days when, as one scholar described it, the organization stressed "glorification of discipline" and had an "obsession…with inculcating obedience" (Rosenthal, 1986, pp. 8, 112). The Scouting movement has adapted to the broadening of socialization in the 20th century in Western cultures by becoming less strict and focusing more on each Scout's individual development. The goals of the Girl Scout program now include helping each girl "develop to her full potential" in addition to more collectivistic values (Girl Scouts USA, 2008). Nevertheless, the focus of Scouting remains on relatively narrow socialization.

Scouting was begun with the explicit purpose of teaching values to young people.

Note that Scouting was created for young people reaching adolescence, the same period that many cultures choose for their own socialization rituals communicating cultural beliefs. As suggested earlier, this may be because people in many cultures have intuitively realized that the life stage of adolescence is when the time is ripe for such socialization, because the young person's cognitive capacities have matured to a point capable of grasping abstract ideas such as duty and loyalty. The initiation practices of many cultures seem to reflect a view that when young people reach adolescence, it is imperative to ensure that they have understood and embraced the beliefs of their culture before they take on the responsibilities of adult life.

cease to be a majority in American society by the year 2050 (Mather et al., 2011). In other Western countries as well, immigration from non-Western countries has increased in recent decades and is expected to increase further in the decades to come. Canada has been especially open to immigrants and has received many people from Asian nations in the past decade (Koslowski, 2014). All over the West, the status and well-being of people in minority cultures is likely to be an important issue of the 21st century.

To explore how the beliefs of young people in minority cultures may be influenced by their own culture as well as the majority culture, next we examine in detail a study of Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong, the United States, and Australia.

WHEN EAST MEETS WEST: CHINESE ADOLESCENTS IN AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES

"I've really had a bad experience with having friends that are not Chinese or not Asian, just in terms of them not understanding how I think of my family and how important they are to me, and my family obligations…. If I wanted to go somewhere and my parents said no, and I would not go, they would say, 'Well, just go. Why do you have to listen to them?' And I'm trying to explain this to them, and they don't understand. But if I said that to one of my friends who was Chinese, she'd be like, 'Oh, okay. You can't go.'"

—LIN, 22-YEAR-OLD ASIAN AMERICAN
(ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

The contrast between Eastern and Western cultural beliefs makes for an especially interesting and complex socialization environment when adolescents are exposed to both. Shirley Feldman and her colleagues studied this situation among Chinese adolescents whose families had immigrated to Australia or the United States (Feldman et al., 1992). The sample included adolescents from both **first-generation families** (the adolescents and their parents

first-generation families
The status of persons who were born in one country and then immigrated to another.

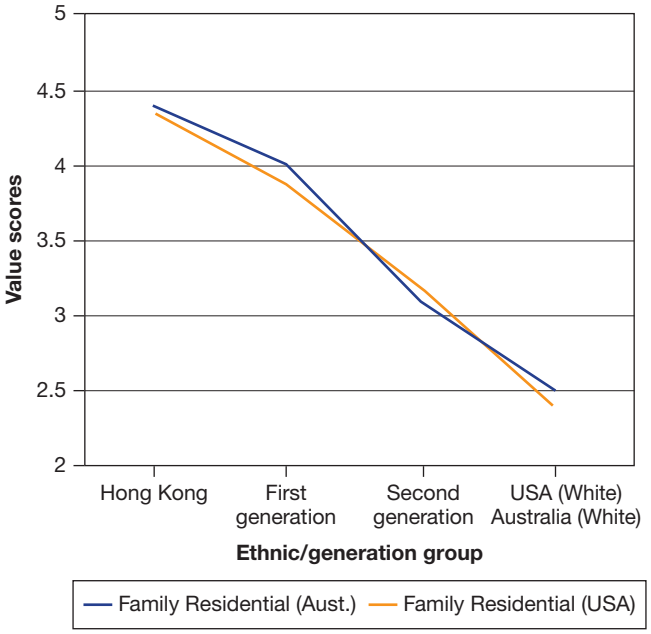
were born in China before immigrating) and **second-generation families** (the adolescents were born in the West, but their parents and grandparents were born in China). For comparison, Feldman and her colleagues also included White adolescents in Australia and the United States and Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong. The adolescents were ages 15 to 18, in the 10th and 11th grades. They completed questionnaires on various aspects of their values and beliefs, including a questionnaire on individualism–collectivism.

The results indicated that even for first-generation Chinese adolescents in the United States and Australia, their values and beliefs were closer to those of White Western adolescents than to those of Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong. In a number of respects, Chinese adolescents in the West were more individualistic and less collectivistic. First-generation Chinese adolescents living in the West differed from Hong Kong Chinese adolescents in that they placed less value on tradition (e.g., taking part in traditional rituals) and more value on outward success (e.g., attaining wealth and social recognition). There were few differences between first- and second-generation Chinese adolescents, and few differences between either of these groups and the White Western adolescents.

The one collectivistic value that endured for Chinese adolescents living in Western countries concerned the variable Feldman and her colleagues called "family as residential unit," which included the beliefs that aging parents should live with their adult children and that children should live with their parents until they marry. Chinese adolescents were more likely than White adolescents to hold these beliefs, not only Chinese adolescents in Hong Kong but also first- and second-generation Chinese adolescents in Australia and the United States. However, as you can see in Figure 4.1, the strength of this value steadily declined with acculturation into the majority culture in both the United States and Australia. Hong Kong Chinese adolescents were more likely to subscribe to these beliefs than first- or second-generation Chinese adolescents. Furthermore, first-generation Chinese adolescents were more likely to hold these beliefs than second-generation Chinese adolescents. Nevertheless, even second-generation Chinese adolescents were more likely to hold these beliefs than White Western adolescents were.

Figure 4.1 Cultural differences in valuing family as a residential unit.

SOURCE: Feldman, Mont-Reynaud, & Rosenthal (1992).



Overall, the results of this study show that many first- and second-generation Chinese immigrant adolescents embrace the individualistic beliefs of the Western culture they live in rather than the culture from which they and their families have come. Other studies also demonstrate this and show that the differences in beliefs between immigrant parents and their adolescent children can be a source of parent–adolescent conflict, when adolescents resist their parents' beliefs and parents feel frustrated and threatened when their adolescents adopt beliefs different from their own (Kapadia, 2008; Kim et al., 2009; Schmitt-Rodermund & Silbereisen, 2009). More generally, these studies provide good examples of the importance of conceptualizing socialization as a cultural process that has a variety of sources—not only the family but also peers, school, community, and media—with all of these sources ultimately rooted in cultural beliefs. Even though Chinese adolescents continue to live with their families in their new country, their beliefs and values change because they are exposed daily to contrary socialization influences outside the family.

THINKING CRITICALLY

It was stated in this section that in Chinese culture, aging parents often live with their adult children. How is this an example of a custom complex?

second-generation families

The status of persons who were born in the country they currently reside in but whose parents were born in a different country.

Religious Beliefs

"God's a father. Like, I learned, even though you may not have a dad, he's still a father, he disciplines like a father, he's a good friend, he's a provider, he cares. It's kind of, you know he's there, you know he's watching over you, it's great but you also know that there are going to be hard times and that he's still there then."

—KRISTEN, AGE 16 (FROM SMITH & DENTON, 2005, P. 19)

"I don't think going to Mass really does anything. Sometimes I agree with what they're saying in church, but other times I'm like, 'What time is it? I wanna go home.' It doesn't really feel interesting."

—HEATHER, AGE 15 (FROM SMITH & DENTON, 2005, P. 197)

"My parents put me through Sunday School, and I was baptized and stuff. But I like the theory that all these religions, Mohammed and Buddha and Jesus, all the patterns there are very similar. And I believe that there's a spirit, an energy. Not necessarily a guy or something like that, but maybe just a power force. Like in Star Wars—the Force. The thing that makes it possible to live."

—JARED, AGE 24 (FROM ARNETT, 2015, P. 217)

In most cultures throughout human history, cultural beliefs have mainly taken the form of religious beliefs. Although the content of religious beliefs is extremely diverse, virtually all cultures have religious beliefs of some kind. These beliefs typically include explanations for how the world began and what happens to us when we die.

Religious belief systems also typically contain prescriptions for socialization related to the three main outcomes: self-regulation, role preparation, and sources of meaning. Religions typically specify a code for behavior, and these codes usually contain various rules for self-regulation. For example, the Ten Commandments that are part of the Jewish and Christian religions state explicit rules for self-regulation—thou shalt not kill, steal, covet thy neighbor's wife, and so on. For role preparation, gender roles in particular are emphasized in religious belief systems. Most religious belief systems contain ideas about distinct roles for males and females. For example, the Roman Catholic Church allows men but not women to become priests. Finally, with respect to sources of meaning, religious belief systems contain ideas about the significance of each individual's life in relation to an eternal supernatural world containing gods, supernatural forces, or the souls of one's ancestors. In this section we look first at aspects of religiosity in adolescence, then at how religious beliefs and involvement decline from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

Religiosity in Adolescence

4.10 Specify the features of American adolescents' religious beliefs and practices, including Moralistic Therapeutic Deism.

In general, adolescents and emerging adults in developed countries are less religious than their counterparts in traditional cultures. Developed countries such as Japan and the countries of Europe tend to be highly **secular**; that is, they are based on nonreligious beliefs and values. In every developed country, the influence of religion has gradually faded over the past two centuries. Adherence to religious beliefs and practices is especially low among adolescents in Europe. For example, a recent survey of adolescents in Germany, England, and the Netherlands found that they rarely attended religious services and religious beliefs played little role in their lives—except for adolescents in immigrant families, who were far more religious (De Hoon & Van Tubergen, 2014).

Americans are more religious than people in virtually any other developed country, and this is reflected in the lives of American adolescents and emerging adults. Recently, the largest and most extensive study ever conducted on American adolescents' religious beliefs was completed (Smith & Denton, 2005; Smith & Snell, 2010). This study, called the National Survey of Youth and Religion (NSYR), involved over 3,000 adolescents ages 13 to 17 in every part of the United States, from all major ethnic groups, and included qualitative interviews with 267 of the adolescents. The results of the NSYR show that for a substantial proportion of American adolescents, religion plays an important part in their lives.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think Americans generally are more religious than people in other developed countries?

According to the NSYR, 84% of American adolescents ages 13 to 17 believe in God (or a universal spirit), 65% pray at least once a week, and 51% say religious faith is important in shaping their daily lives. Seventy-one percent feel at least somewhat close to God, 63% believe in the existence of angels, and 71% believe in a Judgment Day when God will reward some people and punish others.

The proportion of American adolescents who take part in religious practices is lower than the proportion who report religious beliefs, but a substantial percentage do report regular religious practices. Fifty-two percent report attending religious services at least twice a month. Fifty-one percent say they attend Sunday school at least once a month, and 38% report being involved with a church youth group. Even if their actual participation may not be quite as high as the participation they report (see the Research Focus box), these figures indicate a strikingly positive view of religion among American adolescents.

Although religion clearly is important to many American adolescents, the directors of the NSYR concluded that it has a lower priority for most of them than

secular

Based on nonreligious beliefs and values.

many other parts of their lives, including school, friendships, media, and work. As sociologists Christian Smith and Melinda Denton (2005) put it, "For most U.S. teenagers, [religion has] quite a small place at the end of the table for a short period of time each week (if that)" (p. 161). Furthermore, the religious beliefs of American adolescents do not tend to follow traditional doctrines, and they often know little about the doctrine of the religion they claim to follow. Instead, they tend to embrace a general set of beliefs that Smith and Denton (2005) call "Moralistic Therapeutic Deism," with the following features:

1. A God exists who created and orders the world and watches over human life on earth.
2. God wants people to be good, nice, and fair to each other, as taught in the Bible and by most world religions.
3. The central goal of life is to be happy and to feel good about oneself.
4. God does not need to be particularly involved in one's life except when needed to resolve a problem.
5. Good people go to heaven when they die.

Thus, for most American adolescents today, religion is not so much about traditional ideas of sin, grace, and redemption as it is about how to be a good person and feel happy.

Many American adolescents are religious, but many others are not. What explains differences among adolescents in their religiosity? The NSYR and other studies provide consistent information on this question. Family characteristics are one important influence (Smith & Denton, 2005). Adolescents are more likely to embrace religion when their parents talk about religious issues and participate in religious activities. Adolescents are less likely to be religious when their parents disagree with each other about religious beliefs and when their parents are divorced (Copen & Silverstein, 2007). Ethnicity is another factor. In American society, religious faith and religious practices tend to be stronger among African Americans than among Whites (Holt et al., 2014; Le, Tov, & Taylor, 2007). Overall, religion has become less important in the lives of American adolescents in the past few decades, except for African American adolescents (Twenge et al., 2015).

Why is religious faith especially strong among African American adolescents?

The relatively high rate of religiosity among African American adolescents helps explain why they have such low rates of alcohol and drug use (Berg et al., 2009). However, it is not only among minority groups that religiosity is associated with favorable adolescent outcomes. Across American cultures, adolescents who are more religious report less depression and lower rates of premarital sex, drug use, and delinquent behavior (Cotton et al., 2006; Rasic et al., 2011; Salas-Wright et al., 2014). The protective value of religious involvement is especially strong for adolescents living in the worst neighborhoods (Bridges & Moore, 2002). Religious adolescents tend to have better relationships with their parents, both with mothers and fathers (Smith & Denton, 2005; Wilcox, 2008). Also, adolescents who value religion are more likely than other adolescents to perform volunteer service to their community (Flanagan et al., 2015; Hardie, Pearce, & Denton, 2014; Youniss et al., 1999). In other cultures, too, religious involvement has been found to be related to a variety of positive outcomes, for example, among Indonesian Muslim adolescents (French et al., 2008).

In American research, religious development is often portrayed as an individualistic process, in which adolescents and emerging adults decide what their beliefs will be from a range of options. However, worldwide, religious development is something that involves the whole community. One contrast to the individualistic process of religious development in the American majority culture can be found in cultures where Islam is the dominant religion. In Islam, the most important change that occurs at adolescence involves the holy month that Muslims call **Ramadan** (Al-Mateen & Afzal, 2004; Toda & Morimoto, 2004). Ramadan commemorates the revelation of the Muslim holy book, the **Koran**,

Ramadan

A month in the Muslim year that commemorates the revelation of the Koran from God to the prophet Muhammad, requiring fasting from sunrise to sunset each day and refraining from all sensual indulgences.

Koran

The holy book of the religion of Islam, believed by Muslims to have been communicated to Muhammad from God through the angel Gabriel.

When they reach adolescence, Muslims are expected to participate in the month-long fast of Ramadan.

from God to the prophet Muhammad. During this month each year, Muslims are forbidden from taking part in any indulgences, and they are required to fast (that is, refrain from eating, drinking, and sexual activity) from sunrise to sunset every day. The final day of Ramadan is celebrated with a great feast. There are a billion Muslims in the world's population, and Muslims all over the world observe Ramadan. (Most of the world's Islamic population is not in the Middle East but in Asia—Indonesia has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world, with India and Pakistan second and third.)

Before puberty, young Muslims have no obligation to participate in fasting. Girls are supposed to fast for the first time after they reach menarche. The judgment of whether a boy is old enough to be expected to fast is based on signs such as beard growth and changes in body shape (Etengoff & Daiute, 2013). Preadolescent children sometimes fast for a day or a few days, especially around the time they are nearing puberty. They are commended for doing so by older children and adults, but they are not obligated. However, once they have reached puberty, young people are expected to fast during Ramadan (Jacobson, 1998). In fact, it is considered shameful for a person who has clearly reached physical maturity not to fast. Thus, in adolescence, religious practices among Muslims become less open to individual choice and more guided by social pressures. Socialization for their religious behavior becomes narrower; less individual variability is tolerated in whether they observe the fast.

In some urban areas, there have been recent reports that some adolescents are rebelling by refusing to observe the fast, but in the smaller rural communities the narrow socialization pressures of family and community can be intense, and few adolescents resist (Erol et al., 2009). Or, more accurately, because they have been raised in a culture that values fasting at Ramadan, by the time young people reach adolescence nearly all of them eagerly take part in the fast. They have accepted the beliefs of their culture as their own beliefs, and they usually do not have to be coerced or pressured into participating.

The Decline of Religiosity in Emerging Adulthood

4.11 Summarize the similarities and differences between American adolescents and emerging adults in their religious beliefs and practices.

In American studies, religiosity generally declines from adolescence through emerging adulthood. Both religious participation and religious beliefs decline throughout the teens and are lower in the late teens and early twenties than at any other period of the life span (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2008). This pattern may reflect the individualism of American society. Emerging adults often feel they need to make a break with their parents' religious beliefs and practices to establish that they have reached a point where they are making their own decisions about their beliefs and values (Arnett, 2015; Arnett & Jensen, 2002).

The National Study on Youth and Religion (NYSR) is longitudinal, and it has now followed the 13- to 17-year-olds in the original study at ages 18–23 (Smith & Snell, 2010). Overall, there was a decline in religiosity from adolescence to emerging adulthood, both in behavior and in beliefs. Only about 30% of emerging adults attended religious services at least once a month; over half attended only a few times a year or less. Beliefs were stronger than behavior; 44% reported that religious faith is "very" or "extremely" important in their lives, and 75% reported believing in God. Nevertheless, these percentages were lower than they had been in adolescence. One-fourth said they had no beliefs in or interest in religion, compared to less than 10% in adolescence.

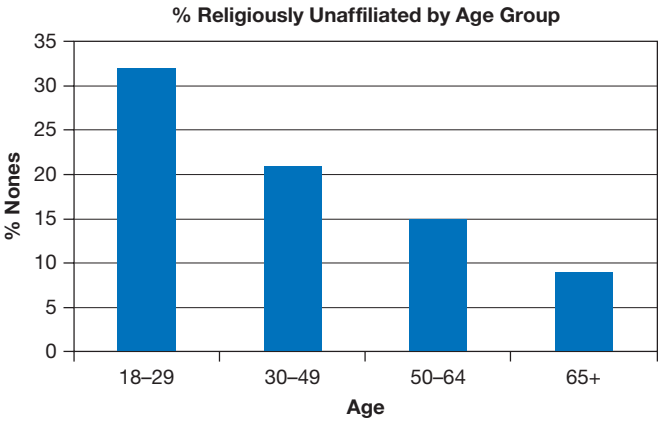
Just as in adolescence, in emerging adulthood religious beliefs were highly individualized. Few accepted a standard religious doctrine; instead, they adopted a buffet approach to their religious beliefs, constructed partly from what they had learned from their parents but also from many other sources. Consequently, religious denomination did not hold much meaning for most of them. They could state they were "Catholic" or "Presbyterian" or "Jewish" without actually believing much of what is stated in the traditional doctrine of the faith and without participating in it. In fact, 38% of "Protestants" and 35% of "Catholics" reported that they *never* attend religious services. This individualized approach to religion led to great religious diversity in emerging adulthood, which fell into four categories (see Table 4.3).

Although emerging adults' religious beliefs and practices are diverse, the majority of them have beliefs that reflect the same Moralistic Therapeutic Deism they held as

Table 4.3 Religiosity of Emerging Adults in the NSYR

Committed Traditionalists (15%): These are emerging adults who hold to a traditional, conservative faith.
Selective Adherents (30%): When it comes to religion, these emerging adults take what they want and ignore the rest. That is, they believe only the parts of their denominational faith that appeal to them.
Spiritually Open (15%): Emerging adults in this category believe that there is "something out there," a God or spiritual force of some kind, but beyond this they are not sure what to believe.
Religiously Indifferent/Hostile (40%): Agnostics and atheists fall into this category, along with emerging adults who say they have no opinion on religion or do not think about it. Some are strongly antireligious, but to most young people in this category religion is simply irrelevant to their lives.

Figure 4.2 The Rise of the Nones.



adolescents (Smith & Snell, 2010). Like adolescents, emerging adults tend to believe that what is most important about religion is the belief in God and the encouragement to try to be a good person. Consequently, few of them view the differences between religions as important. They are tolerant of other religious beliefs and do not believe there is any way to determine if one religion is more true than another. Determining this is pointless anyway, in their view, because all religions emphasize believing in God and striving to be a good person.

Just as in adolescence, religious faith in emerging adulthood tends to be associated with a variety of other positive characteristics (Barry & Abo-Zena, 2015). The NSYR found religious belief and participation among emerging adults to be related to higher well-being and lower rates of participation in a variety of types of risk behavior (Smith & Snell, 2010). Another study, comparing African American and European American emerging adults, reported that African Americans were more likely to cope with stress by relying on their religious beliefs, and in turn they experienced less anxiety symptoms than European American emerging adults (Chapman & Steger, 2010). This is consistent with studies of adolescence and other age periods showing that African Americans tend to be more religious than Whites are (Dilworth-Anderson et al., 2007).

Today's emerging adults' skeptical views of religious institutions are reflected in recent studies that compare American generations in religious beliefs. All show the same unmistakable pattern: that younger people are less religious than older people in every way, and that religiosity has declined with each successive generation (Arnett, 2015; Twenge et al., 2015).

The Pew Research Center conducts frequent surveys on religion as part of the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (Pew Research Center, 2012). One of its most striking findings is the high proportion of 18- to 29-year-olds who are classified as "unaffiliated," meaning that they do not consider themselves to be a member of any religious denomination or organization. People in this category are also known to researchers on religion as "the Nones" because, when asked what religion they are, they respond with some version of "none"—atheist, agnostic, spiritual but not religious, or just not religious. As Figure 4.2 shows, one-third (32%) of the 18- to 29-year-olds in the Pew survey are Nones, a far higher proportion than among their parents or grandparents.

Although the Nones may be on the rise in the United States, in emerging adulthood as in adolescence, Europeans tend to be considerably less religious than Americans are. In a recent interview study I conducted on emerging adults in Denmark, only 24% indicated that they held religious or spiritual beliefs. The rest described themselves as either agnostic, atheist, or as having no religious beliefs (Arnett & Jensen, 2015).

Nevertheless, 62% of the Danish emerging adults believed in some form of afterlife. They were vague about what form it might take. To some, it seemed illogical that death should be the end of existence ("I find it difficult to accept that it's just over and done"). For others, it was emotionally unpalatable to believe that there is no life after death ("I can't tolerate the idea that if someone in your family dies, there's nothing more"). Still others stated a belief in a soul that goes on in some form ("Our soul can't just disappear. It lives on, in one place or another, but I don't know how").

In my research on American emerging adults (Arnett, 2015), afterlife beliefs were diverse, but 68% believed in an afterlife of some kind, strikingly close to the proportion in the Danish study. Beliefs among that 68% were diverse, from those who believed in traditional views of heaven and hell to those who believed in reincarnation to those who simply believed that "the soul lives on" somehow.

Oddly, few other studies of adolescents' and emerging adults' religious beliefs have included questions

Research Focus

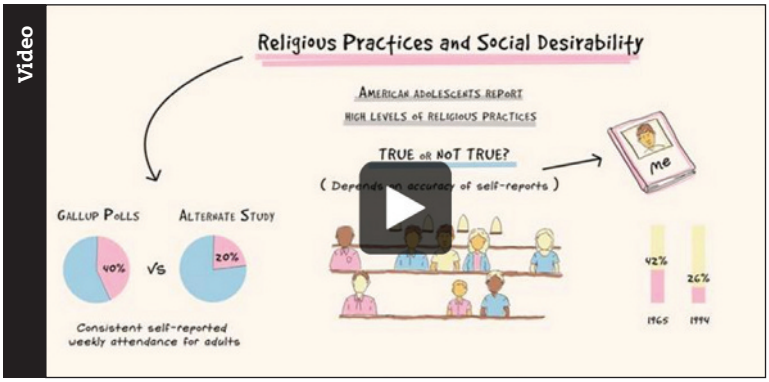
RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND SOCIAL DESIRABILITY

According to the surveys presented in this chapter, a substantial proportion of American adolescents are actively involved in religious practices. The numbers are strikingly high, if valid. But are they valid? There is a debate among scholars on religion over the accuracy of people's self-reported religious behavior. Some studies indicate that people tend to report higher attendance at religious services than is actually the case (Hardaway, Marler, & Chaves, 1993; Pressler & Stinson, 1998).

Why would people report their behavior inaccurately? Because they respond to what scholars call **social desirability** (Uziel, 2010). Socially desirable behavior is behavior that you believe others would approve. Adolescents and adults may exaggerate the extent to which they attend religious services because they believe that other people would approve of them if they did attend religious services. As the sociologist Mark Chaves observes, "Most people believe going to church is a good thing to do and, when surveyed, often say they did go to church even when they didn't" (Woodward, 1993).

Social desirability is a research issue not just for religious practices but for many other types of behavior we will examine in this text. Drug use is generally stigmatized; for this reason, young people may not always report the full extent of their involvement in it. Having numerous sexual partners tends to be more socially desirable for boys than for girls; perhaps for this reason, boys often report more sexual partners than girls in surveys of young people's sexual behavior. Each time you read about a study, ask yourself: Is there any reason why the young people in this study may have reported their behavior inaccurately to make it appear more socially desirable?

Watch RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND SOCIAL DESIRABILITY



about afterlife beliefs, even though afterlife beliefs are a central part of most religious doctrines (Bellah, 2011). The results of the studies just described suggest that further investigation of afterlife beliefs in adolescence and emerging adulthood could yield compelling and surprising results.

Cultural Beliefs and Moral Development

Religious beliefs are often the basis of a culture's moral system, but moral beliefs may have other sources as well. Early research emphasized cognitive development as the basis of morality, but more recent research has emphasized cultural variability in moral development. We will consider Kohlberg's cognitive theory first, then the cultural approach.

Kohlberg's Theory

4.12 Describe Kohlberg's levels and stages of moral development and the evidence supporting the theory.

Lawrence Kohlberg (1958) viewed moral development as based on cognitive development, such that moral thinking changes in predictable ways as cognitive abilities develop, regardless of culture. In research, he presented people with hypothetical moral situations and had them indicate what behavior they believed was right or wrong in those situations, and why.

Kohlberg began his research by studying the moral judgments of 72 boys ages 10, 13, and 16 from middle-class

social desirability
The tendency for people participating in social science studies to report their behavior as they believe it would be approved by others rather than as it actually occurred.

Table 4.4 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development

Level 1: **Preconventional reasoning**. Moral reasoning is based on perceptions of the likelihood of external rewards and punishments.	• Stage 1: *Punishment and obedience orientation.* Rules should be obeyed to avoid punishment from those in authority. • Stage 2: *Individualism and purpose orientation.* What is right is what satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others, and what leads to rewards for oneself.
Level 2: **Conventional reasoning**. Moral reasoning is less egocentric and emphasizes conforming to the moral expectations of others, including rules established by tradition and by authorities.	• Stage 3: *Interpersonal concordance orientation.* Care of and loyalty to others is emphasized in this stage, and it is seen as good to conform to what others expect in a certain role, such as being a "good husband" or a "good girl." • Stage 4: *Social systems orientation.* Moral judgments are explained by reference to concepts such as social order, law, and justice.
Level 3: **Postconventional reasoning**. Moral reasoning at this level is based on the individual's own independent judgments rather than on what others view as wrong or right. What is right is derived from the individual's perception of objective, universal principles rather than the subjective perception of either the individual (as in Level 1) or the group (as in Level 2).	• Stage 5: *Community rights and individual rights orientation.* Society's laws and rules can be questioned and changed if they become obstacles to ideals such as freedom and justice. • Stage 6: *Universal ethical principles orientation.* Basis of moral reasoning is an independent moral code based on universal principles. When laws or social conventions conflict with these principles, it is seen as better to violate the laws or conventions than the universal principles.

and working-class families in the Chicago area (Kohlberg, 1958). He presented the boys with a series of fictional dilemmas, each of which was constructed to elicit their moral reasoning. Here is one of the dilemmas:

> During [World War II], a city was often being bombed by the enemy. So each man was given a post he was to go to right after the bombing, to help put out the fires the bombs started and to rescue people in the burning buildings. A man named Diesing was made the chief in charge of one fire engine post. The post was near where he worked so he could get there quickly during the day, but it was a long way from his home. One day there was a very heavy bombing, and Diesing left the shelter in the place he worked and went toward his fire station. But when he saw how much of the city was burning, he got worried about his family. So he decided he had to go home first to see if his family was safe, even though his home was a long way off and the station was nearby, and there was somebody assigned to protect the area where his family was. Was it right or wrong for him to leave his station to protect his family? Why? (Kohlberg, 1958, pp. 372–373)

In each interview, the participant would be asked to respond to three stories such as this one. To Kohlberg, what was crucial for understanding the level of people's moral development was not whether they concluded that the actions of the persons in the dilemma were right or wrong but how they explained their conclusions. Kohlberg (1976) developed a system for classifying their explanations into three levels of moral development, with each level containing two stages, as shown in Table 4.4.

Kohlberg followed his initial group of adolescent boys over the next 20 years (Colby et al., 1983), interviewing them every 3 or 4 years, and he and his colleagues also conducted numerous other studies on moral reasoning in adolescence and adulthood. The results verified Kohlberg's theory of moral development in a number of important ways:

- Stage of moral reasoning tended to increase with age. At age 10, most of the participants were in Stage 2 or in transition between Stage 1 and Stage 2; at age 13, the majority were in transition from Stage 2 to Stage 3; by ages 16 to 18, the majority were in Stage 3 or in transition to Stage 4; and by ages 20 to 22, 90% of the participants were in Stage 3, in transition to Stage 4, or in Stage 4. However, even after 20 years, when all of the original participants were in their 30s, few of them had proceeded to Stage 5, and none had reached Stage 6 (Colby et al., 1983). Kohlberg eventually dropped Stage 6 from his coding system (Kohlberg, 1986).
- Moral development proceeded in the predicted way, in the sense that the participants did not skip stages but proceeded from one stage to the next highest.

preconventional reasoning
In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the level in which moral reasoning is based on perceptions of the likelihood of external rewards and punishments.

conventional reasoning
In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the level of moral reasoning in which the person advocates the value of conforming to the moral expectations of others. What is right is whatever agrees with the rules established by tradition and by authorities.

postconventional reasoning
In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the level in which moral reasoning is based on the individual's own independent judgments rather than on egocentric considerations or considerations of what others view as wrong or right.

- Moral development was found to be cumulative, in the sense that the participants were rarely found to slip to a lower stage over time. With few exceptions, they either remained in the same stage or proceeded to the next highest stage.

The research of Kohlberg and his colleagues also indicated that moral development was correlated with socioeconomic status (SES), intelligence, and educational level. Middle-class boys tended to be in higher stages than working-class boys of the same age, boys with higher IQs tended to be in higher stages than boys with lower IQs, and boys who received a college education tended to reach higher stages than boys who did not (Mason & Gibbs, 1993; Weinreich, 1974).

Kohlberg's original research sample included only males, and this limitation inspired a former student of his, Carol Gilligan, to develop a critique that claimed his theory was biased toward males, undervaluing the perspective of females. Gilligan (1982) claimed that girls have a different moral "voice" than boys do and follow an ethic of "care" that puts relationships first, rather than the abstract "justice" ethic favored by boys. However, evidence does not support Gilligan's claim that Kohlberg's system was biased in favor of males. In the most comprehensive test of this claim, Lawrence Walker (1984, 1989) analyzed the results from 108 studies that had used Kohlberg's system to rate stages of moral development. Walker combined the results from the various studies statistically to see whether any overall differences existed in how males and females were rated. The results indicated that no significant differences existed between males and females as rated by Kohlberg's system.

Research based on Kohlberg's theory has also included cross-cultural studies in countries all over the world such as Turkey, Japan, Taiwan, Kenya, Israel, and India (Gibbs et al., 2007; Snarey, 1985). Many of these studies have focused on moral development in adolescence and emerging adulthood. In general, the studies confirm Kohlberg's hypothesis that moral development (as classified by his coding system) progresses with age. Also, as in the American studies, participants in longitudinal studies in other cultures have rarely been found to regress to an earlier stage or to skip a stage of moral reasoning. However, Stage 5 postconventional thinking has been found to be even rarer in non-Western cultures than in the United States (De Mey et al., 1999; Kohlberg, 1981; Snarey, 1985).

Does this mean that people in non-Western cultures tend to engage in lower levels of moral reasoning than people in the West, perhaps because of lower educational levels (Kohlberg, 1986)? Or does the absence of Stage 5 reasoning in non-Western cultures reflect a cultural bias built into Kohlberg's classification system, a bias in favor of Western secularism and individualism (Shweder, Mahapatra, & Miller, 1990)? These questions have been the source of some controversy, as we will see in more detail in the next section.

The Cultural Critique of Kohlberg

4.13 Identify the main points of the cultural critique of Kohlberg's theory of moral development.

Although Kohlberg did not deny that culture has some influence on moral development, in his view the influence of culture is limited to how well cultures provide opportunities for individuals to reach the highest level of moral development (Jensen, 2003; Miller, 2001). To Kohlberg, cognitive development is the basis for moral development. Just as cognitive development proceeds on only one path (given adequate environmental conditions), so moral development has only one natural path of maturation (Kohlberg, 1976, 1986). As development proceeds and individuals' thinking becomes progressively more developed, they rise inevitably along that one and only path. Thus, the highest level of moral reasoning is also the most rational. With an adequate education that allows for the development of formal operations, the individual will realize the inadequacies and irrationality of the lower levels of moral reasoning and embrace the highest, most rational way of thinking about moral issues. By becoming able to take the perspective of each party involved in a moral situation, a person can learn to make postconventional moral judgments that are objectively and universally valid.

However, these assumptions have been called into question by scholars taking a cultural approach to moral development. The most extensive and penetrating critique has been presented by cultural psychologist Richard Shweder (2003, 2015; Shweder et al., 1990, 2006). According to Shweder, the postconventional level of moral reasoning described by Kohlberg is not the only rational moral code and is not higher or more developed than other kinds of moral thinking. In Shweder's view, Kohlberg's system is biased in favor of the individualistic thinking of "Western elites" of the highest social classes and highest levels of Western education. Like Gilligan, Shweder objects to Kohlberg's classification of detached, abstract individualism as the highest form of moral reasoning.

Shweder notes that in research using Kohlberg's system, few people are classified as postconventional thinkers. As we saw earlier, in studies examining moral thinking across cultures veryfew people outside the West are classified as reaching the postconventional level, and even in the West postconventional thinking is rare. However, in Shweder's view this is not because most people in the world have not fully developed their capacities for rational thinking. On the contrary, the fault is in

Kohlberg's system and in what the system classifies as the highest level of rational moral thought.

Although Kohlberg claimed that postconventional thinking is supposed to rely on objective, universal moral principles that form the basis of right and wrong regardless of the perspectives of either individuals or groups, in fact only a particular kind of objective principles is classified as postconventional under Kohlberg's system: those that reflect a secular, individualistic, Western way of thinking about moral issues. Shweder argues that people in many cultures in fact routinely make reference to objective, universal principles in their moral reasoning. However, because they view these principles as being established by tradition or religion, Kohlberg's system classifies their reasoning as conventional. Shweder sees this as a secular bias in the system.

This bias makes it difficult for people in most cultures to be classified as reaching the highest level of moral development, Level 3, because people in most cultures outside the West invoke principles of tradition or a religious authority. However, Shweder argues, it is no less rational to believe in objective principles established by a religiously based divine authority and handed down through tradition than to believe in objective principles that have a secular, individualistic basis. To argue otherwise would be to assume that all rational thinkers must be atheists or that it is irrational to accept an account of truth from beings (gods or God) believed to have superior powers of moral understanding, and to Shweder neither of these assertions is defensible.

Shweder supported his argument with data from a study comparing American children, adolescents, and adults with persons of similar ages in India (Shweder et al., 1990). Here, I will focus on the results specific to adolescents (ages 11 to 13), but the results were similar across age groups. Shweder and his colleagues took a different approach to the study of moral reasoning from the one taken by Kohlberg. Rather than asking people about hypothetical situations, they asked people about specific real-life practices known to be typical in one or both countries (a sample of these practices is shown in Table 4.5). Because they believed Kohlberg was wrong to assume that it is only *how* a person explains a moral judgment that matters in moral reasoning, they recorded whether the participants viewed each practice as right or wrong. Because they believed that Kohlberg's system erred by classifying any reference to tradition or divine authority as conventional, they classified responses as postconventional if the participant made reference to universal moral principles, even if those principles were based on tradition or religious beliefs.

As you can see from Table 4.5, Indian and American adolescents often disagreed about the kinds of behavior that are right or wrong. Similar patterns were found for younger children and adults. To Shweder, these sharp divergences call into question Kohlberg's notion that moral development proceeds through similar age-related stages in all cultures. On the contrary, children learn the moral beliefs specific to their culture by an early age, and these beliefs are well ingrained by adolescence and remain stable through adulthood. Within each culture, beliefs about right and wrong were highly correlated regardless of age, but across cultures there was little agreement between Indians and Americans in any age group.

Although the Indians and Americans often disagreed about whether various practices were right or wrong, there were strong similarities between them in the kinds of moral reasoning they used. However, contrary to findings using Kohlberg's system that postconventional reasoning is rare in any culture, Shweder and his colleagues found postconventional reasoning to be characteristic of the majority of moral reasoning statements of children, adolescents, and adults in both countries. This is because Shweder classified moral reasoning as postconventional when people based their reasoning on any type of universal moral obligation, including those based on tradition or religious beliefs. Kohlberg's system would have classified most of those statements as conventional or left them uncoded. Shweder concluded that Kohlberg's coding system is biased toward Western values. Moral reasoning, according to Shweder, is not simply a reflection of a person's level of cognitive development but is invariably rooted in cultural beliefs.

Table 4.5 View of Moral Issues by American and Indian Adolescents

Disagreement: Indians view it as right, Americans as wrong
A father's inheritance goes more to his son than to his daughter.
A husband beats his wife for disobeying his commands.
A father beats his son for skipping school.
Disagreement: Indians view it as wrong, Americans as right
A woman sleeps in the same bed as her husband during her menstrual period.
A 25-year-old son addresses his father using his father's first name.
A person eats beef regularly.
Agreement: Indians and Americans think it is wrong
Incest between brother and sister.
A man kicks a dog sleeping on the side of the road.
A father asks his son to steal flowers from a neighbor's garden, and the boy does it.

SOURCE: Schweder et al. (1990).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Having read about Kohlberg's theory and Shweder's cultural critique, which do you find more persuasive, and why?

The Worldviews Approach to Moral Development

4.14 Describe the worldviews theory of moral development, including the three ethics and the template model.

In addition to critiquing Kohlberg, Shweder and his colleagues presented an alternative to Kohlberg's theory of moral development (Shweder et al., 1997). The new theory has been developed mostly by one of Shweder's former students, Lene Jensen (1997a, 1997b, 2003, 2008, 2011, 2015). According to Jensen, the ultimate basis of morality is a person's **worldview**. A worldview is a set of cultural beliefs that explain what it means to be human, how human relations should be conducted, and how human problems should be addressed. Worldviews provide the basis for *moral reasoning* (explanations for *why* a behavior is right or wrong). The outcome of moral reasoning is *moral evaluations* (judgments as to *whether* a behavior is right or wrong), which in turn prescribe *moral behaviors*. Moral behaviors reinforce worldviews. An illustration of the worldviews theory is shown in Figure 4.3.

In her research, Jensen codes people's responses to moral issues according to three types of "ethics" based on different worldviews:

> The *Ethic of Autonomy* defines the individual as the primary moral authority. Individuals are viewed as having the right to do as they wish as long as their behavior does no direct harm to others.
>
> The *Ethic of Community* defines individuals as members of social groups to which they have commitments and obligations. In this ethic, the responsibilities of roles in the family, community, and other groups are the basis of one's moral judgments.
>
> The *Ethic of Divinity* defines the individual as a spiritual entity, subject to the prescriptions of a divine authority. This ethic includes moral views based on traditional religious authorities and religious texts (e.g., the Bible, the Koran).

Several recent studies using the three ethics have focused on adolescents. For example, a study in India found that adolescents used more Autonomy than their parents did, whereas the parents used Community more; use of Divinity was rare in both groups (Kapadia & Bhangaokar, 2015). An American study compared children, adolescents, and adults and found that adolescents as well as adults used less Autonomy and more Community than children did (Jensen, 2015). A study in Finland found that most adolescents used a combination of Autonomy and Community in their moral reasoning, but for conservatively religious adolescents, Divinity was used most often (Vainio, 2015). Research using the three ethics has only begun, and it remains to be seen how their use changes in different cultures throughout the life span (Jensen, 2011).

These findings show the role of culture in uses of the three ethics across and within countries. But what about development? The cultural-developmental approach charts developmental trajectories for each of the three ethics from childhood through adulthood (Jensen, 2008a, 2015). As shown in Figure 4.4, the proposal is that Ethic of Autonomy reasoning emerges early in childhood and stays relatively stable across adolescence and into adulthood. Ethic of Community reasoning is expected to rise across the life course. For the Ethic of Divinity, the expectation is that its use will often be low among children but rise in adolescence and become similar to adult use. These

Figure 4.3 The Worldviews Theory of Moral Development.

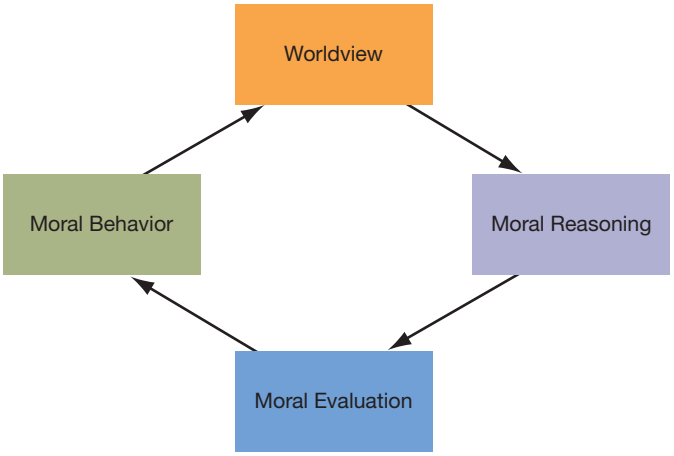
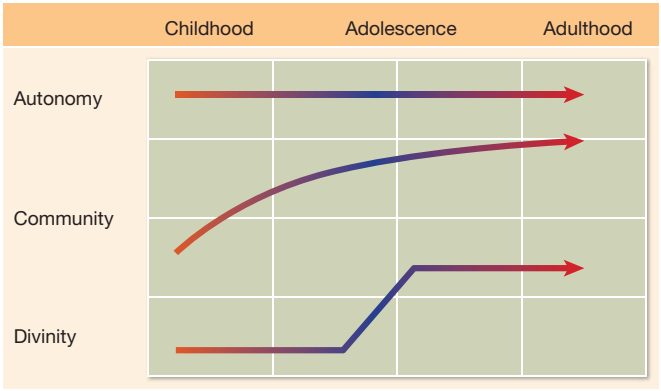


Figure 4.4 The Cultural-Developmental Template of the Three Ethics of Moral Reasoning.



worldview

A set of cultural beliefs that explain what it means to be human, how human relations should be conducted, and how human problems should be addressed.

trajectories are based on research with the three ethics, and on a large set of findings from other lines of research in psychology and anthropology.

Unlike Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development, however, the trajectories for the three ethics are not one-size-fits-all. Instead, they are proposed as **templates**. What this means is that they describe general patterns of development that are bound to be shaped by culture. For example, in collectivistic cultures in which social harmony is highly valued, Ethic of Community reasoning is likely to emerge particularly early in childhood and rise along an especially steep slope in adolescence and emerging adulthood to reach a high level in adulthood. In contrast, in a more individualistic culture, Ethic of Community reasoning may be less common by adolescence, a reflection of learning that the rights of the individual are more important than the interests of the group.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of a recent moral dilemma from your own life. What did you decide, and why did you decide it that way? How would your moral reasoning on that dilemma be scored according to Kohlberg's system? How would it be classified according to Jensen's three ethics?

Political Beliefs

Cultural beliefs include political beliefs about desirable and undesirable features of political institutions, about what kind of political arrangements are fair or unfair, and about the extent to which human rights such as free speech and freedom of the press should be allowed. Because political thinking often involves a consideration of abstract ideas such as justice, human rights, and the distribution of wealth, it seems reasonable to expect that political thinking develops in adolescence toward greater abstraction and complexity, in a manner similar to religious thinking and moral thinking. Research on the development of political thinking seems to support this expectation. However, research in this area is limited, and it provides few insights into the cultural basis of political thinking. In this section we look first at cognitively based research on adolescents' political views, then at the distinctive aspects of political beliefs and behavior in emerging adulthood.

templates

The basic human pattern of moral development for the three ethics, subject to variation depending on the beliefs and values of a specific culture

Cognitive Changes and Political Beliefs

4.15 Describe Adelson's view of how cognitive changes from early to late adolescence result in changes in political beliefs.

One scholar who did extensive work on political development in adolescence was Joseph Adelson (1971, 1991). Adelson's research was in the tradition of Kohlberg. He used hypothetical situations to elicit adolescents' thinking about political arrangements and ideas, and he explained political development in terms of the cognitive changes of adolescence.

Adelson's main hypothetical situation was as follows: "Imagine that a thousand men and women, dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country, decide to purchase and move to an island in the Pacific where they must devise laws and modes of government." Based on this hypothetical situation, the researchers asked adolescents numerous questions about their political views. Each adolescent was asked about the merits of different possible forms of government for the island (democracy, monarchy, etc.), and about the purpose and enforcement of laws. Adolescents were asked to consider what should be done if the government wanted to build a road across the island and a person who owned part of the land where the road was to be built refused to sell; if a law was passed to forbid smoking and people continued to smoke; and what to do about the rights of minority citizens on the island.

Adelson and his colleagues examined political development in relation to age, gender, social class, and IQ, but the only variable found to be related to political thinking was age. Studying adolescents ages 11 to 18, they found a profound shift in political thinking beginning at ages 12 to 13 and completed by ages 15 to 16. The shift involved three key changes: a change in what Adelson called "cognitive mode," a sharp decline in support for authoritarian political systems, and the development of the capacity for ideology.

The change in cognitive mode included several changes related to the development of formal operations, such as increased use of abstract ideas and increased tendency to see laws as human constructions rather than as absolute and unchangeable. Older adolescents were more likely than younger adolescents to use abstract ideas instead of concrete examples. For example, when asked about the purpose of laws, a typical older adolescent responded, "to ensure safety and enforce the government," whereas a typical younger adolescent said laws are necessary "so people don't steal or kill."

Changes in cognitive mode also led to changes in adolescents' views of laws. The youngest adolescents viewed

laws as eternal and unchangeable. However, by about age 15, adolescents were more likely to see laws as social constructions that could be changed if the people governed by them wished to change them. In Adelson's view, this reflected the development of formal operations and a growing tendency to see laws less as concrete objects and more as social arrangements subject to change. This is similar to what Kohlberg described in moral development as the progression from Level 1 thinking, emphasizing a fixed moral code, to Level 2 thinking, emphasizing the changeable, socially created quality of moral and legal rules. Kohlberg and Adelson found a similar change at a similar time, from ages 10 to 15.

The second key change observed by Adelson and his colleagues between early and late adolescence was a sharp decline in authoritarian political views. Younger adolescents tended to be remarkably authoritarian. For example, to enforce a law prohibiting cigarette smoking, they approved of procedures such as hiring police informers and hiding spies in the closets of people's homes! "To a large and various set of questions on crime and punishment," noted Adelson, "they consistently propose one form of solution: punish, and if that does not suffice, punish harder" (Adelson, 1971, p. 1023). Older adolescents' thinking was, again, more complex. They tried to balance the goal of the law with considerations such as individual rights and long-term versus short-term costs and benefits. On an index of authoritarianism used in the study, 85% of the youngest participants were rated in the highest category, compared with only 17% of the 17- and 18-year-olds.

The third key change involved the capacity to develop an ideology. This means that the older adolescents had constructed a set of beliefs that served as the basis for their political attitudes. In addressing Adelson's questions, they spoke of principles reflecting a belief in some combination of individual and community rights, rather than being limited to a focus on immediate and concrete solutions as the younger adolescents were.

More recent studies of the development of political thinking in adolescence have confirmed many of Adelson's findings (Flanagan, 2013). For example, Judith Torney-Purta (1990, 1992, 2004; Voight & Torney-Purta, 2013) has described how political thinking becomes increasingly abstract and complex during adolescence, progressing from the concrete, simple views of preadolescence to the more coherent, abstract ideology of late adolescence. Several scholars have confirmed Adelson's finding that authoritarianism declines in adolescence (Flanagan & Botcheva, 1999). For example, tolerance of opposing or offensive political views increases from childhood to adolescence and peaks in late adolescence. Recent studies on political development have also touted the promise of the Internet as a source of international knowledge, which, under a teacher's guidance, could promote tolerance and perspective taking in adolescents' political views (Buckingham & Willett, 2013; Lupia & Philpot, 2005; Quintelier & Vissers, 2008).

THINKING CRITICALLY

How do you think political thinking might differ (if at all) between adolescents and emerging adults? State a hypothesis and explain how you would test it.

Like Kohlberg, Adelson was seeking to establish a path of development through stages that would apply to young people everywhere. However, neither Adelson nor others have attempted to apply his ideas to diverse cultures. Adelson and his colleagues studied adolescents in three different countries, but they were similar countries—the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, countries with similar laws and political institutions. What would they find if they asked similar questions of adolescents in China, or Saudi Arabia, or among the Australian Aborigines? It seems likely that the political ideas of adolescents in those cultures would reflect the dominant political ideas of their societies and would differ accordingly from those of American adolescents. Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher, was one of the most brilliant persons who ever lived, yet he believed that dictatorship was superior to democracy, that some men were born to be slaves, and that women were inferior to men in virtually every respect. Was he less developed or less logical than the typical 16-year-old of our time? Not likely. What is more likely is that he, like us, reflected the cultural beliefs of his time and place.

Emerging Adults' Political Involvement

4.16 Explain, from a developmental perspective, why emerging adults are so likely to become involved in political movements.

Little research has been done on political thinking in emerging adulthood, but in Europe as well as in Canada and the United States, the political participation of emerging adults is strikingly low by conventional measures such as voting rates and involvement in political parties (Núñez & Flanagan, 2015). Emerging adults tend to have lower conventional political participation in comparison not only to adults but to previous generations of young people. They tend to be skeptical of the motivations of politicians and to see the activities of political parties as irrelevant to their lives. One study of young people in eight European countries found that low levels of trust in political authorities and political systems were consistent

from adolescence through emerging adulthood (Hooghe & Wilkenfeld, 2008).

However, the rejection of conventional politics should not be construed as a lack of interest in improving the state of their communities, their societies, and the world. On the contrary, emerging adults in the West are more likely than older adults to be involved in organizations devoted to particular issues, such as environmental protection and efforts against war and racism (Goossens & Luyckx, 2007; Meeus, 2006). In one nationwide survey of college freshmen in the United States, only 24% said they were interested in politics, but 84% had done volunteer work in the past year and 50% had participated in a political demonstration (Higher Education Research Institute, 2011). Often frustrated by and alienated from conventional political processes, emerging adults choose instead to direct their energies toward specific areas of importance to them, where they believe they are more likely to see genuine progress.

Furthermore, emerging adults have often been involved in movements at the political extremes, including protests, revolutionary movements, and terrorism. The leaders of politically extreme groups are usually middle aged or older, but many of their most zealous followers are often emerging adults. There are many recent historical examples. The "Cultural Revolution" that took place in China from 1966 to 1975 and involved massive destruction and violence toward anyone deemed to be a threat to the "purity" of Chinese communism was instigated by Chairman Mao and his wife Jiang Ching but carried out almost entirely by fervent Chinese emerging adults (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). Terrorist attacks by Muslim extremists against Western (especially American) targets—most notably the attacks of September 11, 2001—have been planned by older men but executed almost entirely by young men in the 18- to 29-age range (Sen & Samad, 2007).

Emerging adults are more likely than older adults to participate in political demonstrations.

These examples involve destruction and violence, but emerging adults have been prominent in peaceful political movements as well. For example, when the collapse of communism began in Eastern Europe in 1989, it was initiated by emerging adults (Garza, 2006). The "Velvet Revolution" in Czechoslovakia began with a massive but nonviolent student-led strike and demonstration (Macek, 2012). When some of the students were beaten, shot, and killed, the rest of Czechoslovakian society rose up in outrage. The communist government soon resigned in the face of the massive protests, and from there the dominoes fell all across Eastern Europe as communist governments resigned or were thrown out. Young people played a prominent role in the revolutions that led to the fall of communism in many of these countries (Flanagan & Botcheva, 1999). In Hungary, young people organized demonstrations agitating for independence, and the first new political party after the fall of communism was an explicitly youth-centered party with membership restricted to persons under age 35. In Bulgaria, young people were active in the strikes and demonstrations that led to the fall of the communist government, and representatives of student movements took a prominent role in the new parliament (Botcheva et al., 2007).

Why are emerging adults especially likely to be involved in extreme political movements? One reason is that they have fewer social ties and obligations than people in other age groups (Arnett, 2015). Children and adolescents can be restrained from involvement by their parents. Young, middle, and older adults can be deterred from involvement by their commitments to others who depend on them, especially a spouse and children. However, emerging adulthood is a time when social commitments are at their low point. Emerging adults have more freedom than people at other age periods, and this freedom allows some of them to become involved in extreme political movements.

Another possibility is that their involvement is identity related. Recall that one of the key developmental features of emerging adulthood is that it is a time of identity explorations. One aspect of identity explorations is ideology or worldview (Erikson, 1968; Arnett, 2015). Emerging adulthood is a time when people are looking for an ideological framework for explaining the world, and some emerging adults may be attracted to the definite answers provided by extreme political movements. Embracing an extreme political ideology may relieve the discomfort that can accompany the uncertainty and doubt of ideological explorations. Still, these explanations beg the question: Because only a small minority of emerging adults are involved in these extreme movements, why them and not the others?

Summing Up

4.1 Define *cultural beliefs* and explain how they reflect a culture's symbolic inheritance.

Cultural beliefs are the commonly held norms and moral standards of a culture, the standards of right and wrong that set expectations for behavior. These beliefs are usually rooted in the culture's symbolic inheritance, which is a set of learned assumptions about persons, society, and natural and supernatural forces.

4.2 Describe the process of socialization and the three main outcomes.

Socialization is the process by which people acquire the behaviors and beliefs of the culture they live in. Three outcomes central to this process are self-regulation, role preparation, and the cultivation of sources of meaning.

4.3 Define *individualism* and *collectivism* and explain how they foster independent and interdependent selves.

Cultural beliefs usually tend toward either individualism or collectivism, with individualistic cultures giving priority to independence and self-expression and collectivist cultures placing a higher value on obedience and conformity. Collectivistic cultures promote the development of an interdependent self, such that people place a strong value on cooperation, mutual support, harmonious social relations, and contributions to the group. In contrast, individualistic cultures promote the development of an independent self, such that people place a strong value on independence, individual freedoms, and individual achievements.

4.4 Distinguish between broad and narrow socialization and specify how they are related to individualism and collectivism.

Broad socialization and *narrow socialization* are the terms for the process by which cultural members come to adopt the values and beliefs of an individualistic or a collectivistic culture. Cultures characterized by broad socialization favor individualism. They encourage individual uniqueness, independence, and self-expression. Cultures characterized by narrow socialization favor collectivism. They hold obedience and conformity to be the highest values and discourage deviation from cultural expectations.

4.5 Identify the eight sources of socialization and describe the broad and narrow forms each one takes.

Sources of socialization include family, peers and friends, school, community, media, the workplace, the legal system, and cultural beliefs. Each has a characteristic "broad" or "narrow" form, with the broad forms emphasizing choice and allowing for diversity, based on values of independence and self-expression, and the narrow forms specifying a limited range of options controlled by authorities, based on values of obedience and conformity.

4.6 Explain how the teaching of the Law to adolescent Aborigines represents socialization for cultural beliefs.

The Law is a symbolic inheritance, in that it contains ideas about social relations, divine forces, and the proper behavior of individuals. It promotes self-regulation of sexual desire, and specifies the role responsibilities boys will have as adult men. In addition, it provides sources of meaning by explaining the origin of the world and gives boys a clear vision of their place within it.

4.7 Summarize the change in values shown in the two Middletown studies.

In the 50 years from 1928 to 1978, the importance of childrearing values such as "loyalty to church" and "strict obedience" fell, whereas the importance of independence and tolerance rose.

4.8 Define *custom complex* and give your own example of how it operates in adolescence.

A custom complex consists of a distinctive cultural practice and the cultural beliefs that are the basis for that practice. Many aspects of development and behavior in adolescence and emerging adulthood can be understood as custom complexes.

4.9 Describe the main variations in cultural beliefs among American immigrant groups.

Many studies have shown that the cultural beliefs of American minority cultures tend to be less individualistic and more collectivistic than the cultural beliefs of the American majority culture. African American families especially emphasize obedience and respect for elders, whereas Latinos and Asian Americans emphasize family obligations.

4.10 Specify the features of American adolescents' religious beliefs and practices, including Moralistic Therapeutic Deism.

American adolescents are more religious than adolescents in other developed countries, in their beliefs and practices,

with most stating a belief in God and at least occasional involvement in religious practices. Most embrace what researchers call "Moralistic Therapeutic Deism," which includes the belief that God wants us to be good people and to feel good about ourselves, as well as a general "deistic" belief in God rather than embracing a strict doctrine of any particular denomination.

4.11 Summarize the similarities and differences between American adolescents and emerging adults in their religious beliefs and practices.

Ideas about religious faith tend to become more abstract and less concrete in adolescence, compared with preadolescence. In American studies, religiosity generally declines from adolescence through emerging adulthood. Both religious participation and religious beliefs decline throughout the teens and are lower in the late teens and early twenties than at any other period of the life span.

4.12 Describe Kohlberg's levels and stages of moral development and the evidence supporting the theory.

Kohlberg's theory of moral development proposed that moral development occurs in a universal sequence regardless of culture. Kohlberg developed a system for classifying their explanations into three levels of moral development (preconventional, conventional, and postconventional), with each level containing two stages. Research generally shows that people progress through Stages 1 through 4 from adolescence through young adulthood, but few people have been found to reach the highest stages.

4.13 Identify the main points of the cultural critique of Kohlberg's theory of moral development.

Although Kohlberg did not deny that culture has some influence on moral development, in his view the influence of culture is limited to how well cultures provide opportunities for individuals to reach the highest level of moral development. However, these assumptions have been called into question by scholars taking a cultural approach to moral development. The most extensive and penetrating critique has been presented by cultural psychologist Richard Shweder, who has disputed Kohlberg's theory in research comparing Indian and American adolescents.

4.14 Describe the worldviews theory of moral development, including the three ethics and the template model.

According to Lene Jensen, the ultimate basis of morality is a person's worldview—a set of cultural beliefs that explain what it means to be human, how human relations should be conducted, and how human problems should be addressed. Worldviews provide the basis for *moral reasoning*. The outcome of moral reasoning is *moral evaluations*, which in turn prescribe *moral behaviors*. Moral behaviors reinforce worldviews. The three ethics are Autonomy, Community, and Divinity. In the template model, there is a universal template for the development of the three ethics, but it is influenced by cultural context.

4.15 Describe Adelson's view of how cognitive changes from early to late adolescence result in changes in political beliefs.

Adelson described a change in "cognitive mode" from early to late adolescence, which included more use of abstract ideas and a greater tendency to see laws and political systems as human creations rather than as absolute and unchangeable. Late adolescents were less authoritarian than early adolescents and more likely to be able to articulate a political ideology as the basis of their views.

4.16 Explain, from a developmental perspective, why emerging adults are so likely to become involved in political movements.

Like religious and moral beliefs, political beliefs become more abstract and complex in the course of adolescence. Emerging adults are often disengaged from conventional politics, but many of them are involved in organizations working toward change in a specific area. Some are attracted to extreme political movements, in part as a way of resolving their struggles to form an identity and in part because they have fewer restrictions than adolescents and fewer obligations than adults.

Key Terms

cultural beliefs, p. 106
symbolic inheritance, p. 107
roles, p. 107
gender roles, p. 107
socialization, p. 107
self-regulation, p. 107
role preparation, p. 108
sources of meaning, p. 108
bar mitzvah, p. 109
bat mitzvah, p. 109
interdependent self, p. 110
independent self, p. 110
broad socialization, p. 110
narrow socialization, p. 110
custom complex, p. 114
ontogenetic, p. 115
first-generation families, p. 117
second-generation families, p. 118
secular, p. 119
Ramadan, p. 120
Koran, p. 120
social desirability, p. 123
preconventional reasoning, p. 124
conventional reasoning, p. 124
postconventional reasoning, p. 124
worldview, p. 127
templates, p. 128

Chapter 5
Gender

Learning Objectives

5.1 Distinguish between *gender* and *sex*.

5.2 Summarize the gender roles of adolescent girls in traditional cultures, including how gender expectations change from middle childhood to adolescence.

5.3 List the three requirements of manhood for adolescent boys in traditional cultures, and explain the key factor that makes reaching manhood for adolescent boys different than reaching womanhood is for adolescent girls.

5.4 Explain how economic changes in developing countries are changing their gender roles.

5.5 Explain how gender expectations for adolescent girls through American history both supported and restricted them more than adolescent girls today.

5.6 Describe how views of the values of self-control and self-expression in men changed in the course of American history.

5.7 Summarize the changes in beliefs about gender in American society since the 1970s.

5.8 Describe how gender socialization changes from middle childhood to adolescence.

5.9 Describe the evidence for differential gender socialization in the family, with peers, and in school.

5.10 Summarize how adolescent girls respond to gender socialization in social media.

5.11 Contrast adolescent boys and girls in the major problem that results from their gender socialization.

5.12 Explain how gender schemas guide expectations for how males and females should behave.

5.13 Connect the concept of expressive and instrumental traits to research on adolescents' views of the ideal man or woman.

5.14 Describe the challenges facing transgender youth and how they respond.

5.15 Explain how the gender roles of African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans are rooted in their distinctive cultural histories.

5.16 Explain why gender stereotypes persist despite limited evidence for their validity.

Terry undresses, feeling nervous and apprehensive, and then feels silly. After all, the photographer is a professional and has probably seen a thousand naked bodies, so what is one more. All that work in the weight room, the aerobics—why not show off, after all the work it took to get such an attractive body? "I should be proud," Terry thinks, slipping into the robe thoughtfully provided by the photographer. Once exposed to the lights of the studio, Terry gets another pang of doubt but dismisses it and drops the robe. The photographer suggests a seated pose, and Terry sits down, but he drops his hands to cover his genitals. "Move your hands to your knees, please," the photographer says gently. After all, she is a professional and knows how to put her models at ease (adapted from Carroll & Wolpe, 1996, p. 162).

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STORY, AS YOU HAVE probably guessed, is to show how readily our minds slip into assumptions about male and female roles and how surprised we are when our gender stereotypes turn out to be wrong. Thinking about the world in terms of gender comes so easily to most of us that we do not even realize how deeply our assumptions about gender shape our perceptions. The first thing most people ask when they hear someone they know has had a baby is, "Is it a boy or a girl?" From birth onward—and these days, with prenatal testing, even before birth—gender organizes the way we think about people's traits and abilities and how people behave. At adolescence, when sexual maturity arrives, consciousness of gender and socialization pressures related to gender become especially acute.

In every chapter of this text, gender is an important topic. From family relationships to school performance to sexuality, gender similarities and differences merit our attention. Because gender is so important for so many aspects of development, we also focus in this chapter directly on gender as one of the foundations of development during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Many issues need to be addressed: What sorts of gender-specific requirements do different cultures have for young people when they reach adolescence? In what ways does gender become especially important to socialization in adolescence, and how is gender socialization expressed in the family and other settings? What are the consequences for adolescents of conforming or refusing to conform to cultural expectations for gender role behavior? These are the sorts of questions we address in this chapter.

Because information on gender is relevant to all the chapters of this text, in this chapter I present especially extensive sections on cultural and historical patterns of gender socialization in adolescence, as a foundation for the chapters to come. These sections will be followed by an examination of gender socialization in modern Western societies. Then we will consider gender stereotypes in emerging adulthood and reasons for the persistence of gender stereotypes even when the evidence supporting them is weak. Finally, we will consider the ways globalization is changing gender expectations for adolescents and emerging adults in traditional cultures.

Adolescents and Gender in Traditional Cultures

For adolescents in traditional cultures, gender roles and expectations infuse virtually every aspect of life, even more so than in the West. Adolescent boys and girls in traditional cultures often have very different lives and spend little time in each other's presence. The expectations for their behavior as adolescents and for the kinds of work they will do as adults are sharply divided, and as a result their daily lives do not often overlap (Arnett, 2016; Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). Furthermore, for both males and females the gender requirements tend to intensify at adolescence and to allow for little deviation from the norm. In cultures where socialization is narrow, it tends to be narrowest of all with regard to gender expectations.

Let's look first at the gender expectations for girls in traditional cultures, then at the gender expectations for boys. Before we proceed, however, let's clarify the difference between gender and sex.

Gender vs. Sex

5.1 Distinguish between *gender* and *sex*.

In general, social scientists use the term **sex** to refer to the *biological status of being male or female*. **Gender**, in contrast, refers to the *social categories of male and female* (Leaper, 2015). Use of the term *sex* implies that the characteristics of males and females have a biological basis. Use of the term *gender* implies that characteristics of males and females may be due to cultural and social beliefs, influences, and perceptions. For example, the fact that males grow more muscular at puberty and females develop breasts is a sex difference. However, the fact that girls tend to have a more negative body image than males in adolescence is a gender difference. In this chapter, our focus will be on gender.

All cultures have beliefs about what entails the proper appearance, roles, and behavior of males and females. The process through which cultures communicate gender expectations to children and adolescents is called **gender socialization**. Gender socialization may be communicated through a variety of sources, including families, friends and peers, schools, and the media. We will address all of these sources of gender socialization in the course of this chapter.

From Girl to Woman

5.2 Summarize the gender roles of adolescent girls in traditional cultures, including how gender expectations change from middle childhood to adolescence.

Girls in traditional cultures typically work alongside their mothers from an early age. Usually by age 6 or 7, they help take care of younger siblings and cousins (Arnett, 2016; DeLoache & Gottlieb, 2000; LeVine & New, 2008; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). By 6 or 7 or even earlier, they also help their mothers obtain food, cook, make clothes, gather firewood, and perform all of the other activities that are part of running a household. By adolescence, girls typically work alongside their mothers as near-equal partners. The authority of mothers over their daughters is clear, but by adolescence daughters have learned the skills involved in child care and running a household so well that they can contribute an amount of work that is more or less equal to their mothers' work.

One important gender difference that occurs at adolescence in traditional cultures is that boys typically have less contact with their families and considerably more contact with their peers than they did before adolescence, whereas girls typically maintain a close relationship with their mothers and spend a great deal of time with them on a daily basis (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). This difference exists partly because girls are more likely to work alongside their mothers than boys are to work alongside their fathers, but even when adolescent boys work with their fathers, they have less contact and intimacy with them than adolescent girls typically have with their mothers. This interdependence between mothers and daughters does not imply that girls remain suppressed in a dependent, childlike way. For example, Schlegel (1973) described how among the Hopi, a Native American tribe, mother–daughter relationships are extremely close throughout life, yet adolescent girls are exceptionally confident and assertive.

Nevertheless, in traditional cultures socialization becomes broader for boys in adolescence and stays narrow or becomes even narrower for girls. In the words of one team of scholars, "During adolescence, the world expands for boys and contracts for girls. Boys enjoy new privileges reserved for men; girls endure new restrictions observed for women" (Mensch et al., 1998, p. 2). In the company of their mothers and often with other adult women as well, adolescent girls' daily lives remain within a hierarchy of authority. Girls are subject to the authority of all adult women because of the women's status as adults and because of their older age.

Another reason for the narrower socialization of girls at adolescence is that the budding sexuality of girls is more likely to be tightly restricted than is the budding sexuality of boys (Larson et al., 2010; Mensch et al., 1998; Regan et al., 2004). Typically, adolescent boys in traditional cultures are allowed and even expected to gain some sexual experience before marriage. Sometimes this is true of girls as well, but for girls more variability exists across cultures, from cultures that allow or encourage them to become sexually active before marriage to cultures that punish girls' loss of virginity before marriage with death, and every variation in between. When adolescent girls are expected to be virgins and adolescent boys are expected not to be, boys sometimes gain their first sexual experience with prostitutes or with older women who are known to be friendly to the sexual interests of adolescent boys. However, this double standard also sets up a great deal of sexual and personal tension between adolescent girls and boys, with boys pressing for girls to relax their sexual resistance and girls fearful of the shame and disgrace that will fall on them (and not on the boy) if they should give in.

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sex
The biological status of being male or female.

gender
The social categories of male and female, established according to cultural beliefs and practices rather than being the result of biology.

gender socialization
The process through which cultures communicate gender expectations to children and adolescents.

By adolescence, girls in traditional cultures often work alongside their mothers as near equals. Here, a mother and daughter in an Indian village make bread.

An excellent example of gender-specific expectations for adolescent girls in traditional cultures comes from the work of Chinas (1991), who studied adolescent girls and women in a Mexican village. As Chinas describes it, socialization becomes narrower for girls once they reach puberty. Before puberty, girls are often sent to the town plaza to shop for food at the outdoor market. In the course of performing this task they become shrewd shoppers, adept at making change and performing mental addition and subtraction. However, in Mexican culture virginity is demanded for girls before marriage. Consequently, once they reach puberty girls are no longer allowed to go to the town plaza alone and are generally kept under close surveillance to reduce the likelihood of premarital sexual adventures.

During adolescence, girls' activities in the village mainly involve learning how to run a household. Middle childhood is a time of learning how to care for children (usually the girls' younger siblings), but by adolescence other girls in middle childhood take over some of the child care, and adolescent girls spend their time learning household skills such as making and cooking tortillas, sewing, and embroidery. School is not a part of the adolescent girl's experience. If she has had the opportunity to go to school at all, it would have been only for a year or so at age 6 or 7, just long enough to become literate. Boys, in contrast, are much more likely to be allowed to attend school until age 12 or older.

From about age 10 to about age 16 girls are provided few opportunities to interact with boys. Talking to boys at these ages is strongly discouraged, and in small villages a girl's behavior can be monitored almost constantly, if not by her parents or her brothers then by other adults who know her. However, around age 16 girls are considered to be reaching marriageable age, and they are allowed to attend public fiestas under the watchful eye of an older female relative—mother, aunt, or grandmother. A girl of this age will also be allowed to attend the Sunday evening *paseo*, in which the people of the village gather in the public square and stroll around the plaza, those on the outer edge in one direction and those on the inner edge in the other direction. This provides a rare chance for young people to look each other over and maybe even exchange a few words.

If a boy is interested in a girl, he will begin to wait outside her home on Sunday evenings in the hopes of being allowed to escort her to the *paseo*. This is a critical point, and although the boy is always the initiator of the courtship, here the girl has the power to make or break it. If she discourages him, he is obliged to give up the courtship. If she allows him to escort her, they are considered more or less engaged. Thereafter, he will spend most of his free evenings waiting concealed outside her home in hopes that she will emerge on some errand and he will be able to talk to her briefly. After several months, representatives of the boy approach the girl's parents on his behalf and request their consent for him to marry her. Although the girl is not asked about her own feelings, she has already indicated her consent indirectly by allowing the boy to court her.

Chinas's description of the girls in this Mexican village illustrates several themes often found in the socialization of adolescent girls in traditional cultures: early work responsibilities, close relationships with monitoring female adults, and a focus in adolescence on preparing for marriage and gender-specific adult work. The gender socialization of boys in traditional cultures is similar in some ways and different in others, as we will see in the next section.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Compare the gender expectations for adolescent girls in the Mexican village described by Chinas with the gender expectations for adolescent girls in your own culture. What are the similarities and differences?

From Boy to Man

5.3 List the three requirements of manhood for adolescent boys in traditional cultures, and explain the key factor that makes reaching manhood for adolescent boys different than reaching womanhood is for adolescent girls.

One striking difference between gender expectations for girls and gender expectations for boys in traditional cultures is that for boys, manhood is something that has to be *achieved*, whereas girls reach womanhood inevitably, mainly through their biological changes (Herdt, 2014). It is true that girls are required to demonstrate various skills and character qualities before they can be said to have reached womanhood. However, in most traditional cultures womanhood is seen as something that girls attain

In traditional cultures, adolescent boys must learn to provide, protect, and procreate. Here, Mbuti boys in central Africa learn to hunt.

naturally during adolescence, and their readiness for womanhood is viewed as indisputably marked when they reach menarche. Adolescent boys have no comparable biological marker of readiness for manhood. For them, the attainment of manhood is often fraught with peril and carries a definite and formidable possibility of failure.

It is striking to observe how many cultures have a term for a male who is a failed man. In Spanish, for example, a failed man is termed *flojo* (a word that also means flabby, lazy, useless). Similar words exist in a wide variety of other languages (Gilmore, 1990). (You can probably think of more than one example in your own language.) In contrast, although there are certainly many derogatory terms applied to women, none of them have connotations of *failure at being a woman* the way *flojo* and other terms mean *failure at being a man*.

So, what must an adolescent boy in traditional cultures do to achieve manhood and escape the stigma of being viewed as a failed man? The anthropologist David Gilmore (1990) analyzed this question across traditional cultures around the world in his book *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. He concludes that in most cultures an adolescent boy must demonstrate three capacities before he can be considered a man: *provide, protect*, and *procreate*. He must **provide** in the sense that he must demonstrate that he has developed skills that are economically useful and that will enable him to support the wife and children he is likely to have as an adult man. For example, if adult men mainly fish, the adolescent boy must demonstrate that he has learned the skills involved in fishing adequately enough to provide for a family.

Second, the adolescent boy must **protect**, in the sense that he must show that he can contribute to the protection of his family, kinship group, tribe, and other groups to which he belongs, from attacks by human enemies or animal predators. He learns this by acquiring the skills of warfare and the capacity to use weapons. Conflict between human groups has been a fact of life for most cultures throughout human history, so this is a pervasive requirement.

Finally, he must learn to **procreate**, in the sense that he must gain some degree of sexual experience before marriage. He gains this experience not to demonstrate his sexual attractiveness but so that he can prove that in marriage he will be able to perform well enough sexually to produce children.

Manhood requirements in traditional cultures typically involve not just the acquisition of specific skills in these three areas but also the development of certain *character qualities* that must accompany these skills to make them useful and effective (Arnett, 1998). Learning to provide involves developing not just economic skills but also the character qualities of diligence and stamina. Learning to protect involves not just learning the skills of warfare and weapons but also cultivating the character qualities of courage and fortitude. Learning to procreate involves not just sexual performance but also the character qualities of confidence and boldness that lead to sexual opportunities.

Gilmore (1990) gives many fine examples of the manhood requirements of different cultures in his book. For example, the *Mehinaku* live in the remotest part of the world's

provide

In the manhood requirements of traditional cultures, the requirement of being able to provide economically for one's self as well as a wife and children.

protect

In the manhood requirements of traditional cultures, the requirement of being able to assist in protecting one's family and community from human and animal attackers.

procreate

In the manhood requirements of traditional cultures, the requirement of being able to function sexually well enough to produce children.

Cultural Focus

MALE AND FEMALE CIRCUMCISION IN ADOLESCENCE

Circumcision, which involves cutting some portion of the genitals so that they are permanently altered, is an ancient practice. We know that male circumcision goes back at least 2,500 years among the ancient Jews and other cultures in what is now known as the Middle East (Henerey, 2004). For many Jews then and now, circumcision has had great religious and communal significance, serving as a visible sign of the covenant between God and the Jewish people and as a permanent marker of a male's membership in the Jewish community. Among Jews, circumcision takes place in infancy, eight days after birth.

In most of the West today, circumcision may be performed shortly after birth for hygienic reasons, as a way of preventing certain diseases that are more likely to develop in uncircumcised males (Isaacs, 2011). However, in several parts of the world, circumcision takes place not in infancy but in adolescence, and not just among boys but among girls as well. Cultures with adolescent circumcision exist in the Middle East and Asia but are most prevalent in Africa (Hatfield & Rapson, 2006). In most cultures that have circumcision in adolescence, it takes place for both boys and girls. However, the nature of it and the consequences of it are quite different for males and females.

Male circumcision in adolescence typically involves cutting away the foreskin of the penis. This procedure is intensely painful, and no anesthetic of any kind is used. Boys are supposed to demonstrate their courage and fortitude by enduring the circumcision without resisting, crying, or flinching (Gilmore, 1990; Mbito & Malia, 2009). There is a great deal of social pressure to be stoic. Circumcision usually occurs as a public ritual, observed by the community, and if a boy displays resistance or emotion he will be disgraced permanently before his community, and his family will be disgraced as well.

Although male circumcision is painful and traumatic, and the emotional and social effects of failure can be great, the physical effects of male circumcision are not harmful in the long run. Once the cut heals, the boy will be capable of experiencing the same pleasurable sensations in his penis as he did before the circumcision. Also, if a boy endures the circumcision without visible emotion, his status in the community will rise because he will now be considered to have left childhood and entered adolescence.

For adolescent girls, the procedure and consequences of circumcision are considerably different. Female circumcision takes a variety of forms, but it nearly always involves the clitoris, where female sexual sensations are concentrated (Odeku et al., 2009). In some cultures the hood of the clitoris is cut off, in some the entire clitoris is cut off, and in yet others the clitoris is cut off along with parts of the labia minora and the labia majora (UNICEF, 2015). **Figure 5.1** shows the rates of female circumcision in various African countries.

Although the circumcision of adolescent girls is not performed publicly as it usually is for boys, and although girls are not expected to remain silent and stoic during the procedure, the physical consequences of circumcision are much more severe for them (Sedgh et al., 2005). Typically, a great deal of bleeding occurs, and the possibility of infection is high. Afterward many girls have chronic pain whenever they menstruate or urinate, and their risks of urinary infections and childbirth complications are heightened. Furthermore, the operation makes sexual intercourse less pleasurable.

largest rain forest in central Brazil. Their location is so remote that they are one of the few remaining cultures that have been little affected by globalization. Other than the occasional visit from a missionary or an anthropologist, they have been (so far) left alone.

For an adolescent male among the Mehinaku, learning to provide means learning to fish and hunt, which are the two main male economic activities (the females tend the vegetable garden, care for children, and run the household). Depending on the local food supply, fishing and hunting might involve going on long expeditions to promising territory, sometimes for days or weeks at a time. Thus, learning to provide means not only learning the skills involved in fishing and hunting but also developing the character qualities of diligence, stamina, and courage (because the expeditions are sometimes dangerous). Adolescent boys who fail to accompany their fathers on these trips out of laziness or weakness or fear are ridiculed as "little girls" and told that women will find them undesirable.

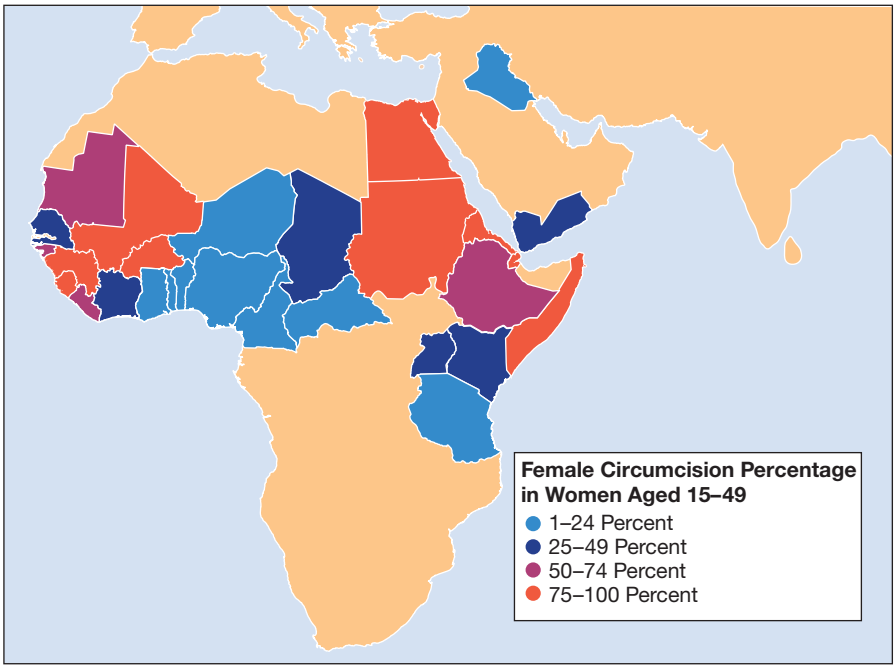
THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think the manhood requirements common in traditional cultures—provide, protect, and procreate—also exist in a modified form for adolescent boys in your society? Are there other qualities that are part of the requirements for manhood—not just adulthood, but manhood specifically—in your society?

Learning to protect means learning to fight and wield weapons against men of neighboring tribes. The Mehinaku themselves prefer peace and are not aggressive toward their neighbors, but their neighbors attack them on a regular basis and the men are required to defend themselves and their women and children. The men must also learn to defend themselves on their food-finding trips, which often require traveling through the territory of more aggressive tribes.

As part of their preparation for protecting, Mehinaku boys and men engage in almost daily wrestling matches. These matches are fiercely competitive, and each time a

Figure 5.1 Rate of female circumcision in various countries.



Why would cultures sustain a tradition like this? One reason lies in the inertia surrounding cultural practices. In general, people grow up believing that the practices and beliefs of their culture are good and right and do not often question the ultimate ethical foundation for them. Another motivation for males may be that if it lowers females' enjoyment of sex, their wives may be less likely to have sex with other men (Skaine, 2005). Female circumcision is one way for men to exercise control over women's sexuality (Ellsberg et al., 2015; Kalev, 2004).

Why would women submit to circumcision? One reason is that they have no choice. If they do not submit willingly, they may be held or tied down (Skaine, 2005). Another reason is that girls in these cultures grow up knowing that a man will not marry a girl who is uncircumcised, and they also know that they must marry to have an accepted social place in their culture (Hayford, 2005). So, the girls usually submit voluntarily, and many even value the practice as a way of gaining higher status in their community and becoming acceptable to men as a potential marriage partner (Shweder, 2002).

In recent years, female circumcision has become an extremely controversial issue of global concern. Critics have termed it *female genital mutilation (FGM)* and have waged an international campaign against it (Ellsberg et al., 2015; Sedgh et al., 2005). International organizations such as the United Nations have issued reports condemning it (UNICEF, 2015). Some defenders have argued that the evidence of physical and sexual consequences is exaggerated and that the West should not impose its values on the cultures that practice female circumcision (Shweder, 2002). The critics respond that respect for cultural differences can go only so far and that practices that cause suffering to large numbers of people should be condemned and abolished in whatever culture they take place (Odeku et al., 2009). Nevertheless, as of this writing, female circumcision continues to be the norm for adolescent girls in many African cultures.

male wins he elevates his status in the community, whereas repeatedly losing is deeply humiliating and a threat to his manhood status. This puts considerable pressure on adolescent boys, because boys who cannot compete well at these matches find their progress toward legitimate manhood called into question, and they find themselves considerably less attractive to adolescent girls as potential husbands.

"When we see guys acting in certain guy ways, we must not judge them too harshly. We must view them the same way we view any other creatures of nature, such as snakes. They do things that seem inappropriate in a civilized world, but they are only following behavioral patterns that were embedded eons ago. If we are patient and understanding with them, if we seek to understand what 'makes them tick,' we can succeed in modifying their behavior and bringing them more 'in tune' with modern society. I'm talking about snakes here. Guys are hopeless."

—DAVE BARRY (1995), P. 41

With regard to learning to procreate, sex is the most popular topic of conversation among Mehinaku adolescent boys and men. They joke and brag about it, but they are also deeply concerned about potential failures because in their small community any failures to "perform" quickly become public knowledge. Because impotence is so formidable, they use numerous magical rituals to prevent or cure it, such as rubbing the penis with various animal or plant products. As with providing and protecting, adolescent boys are under considerable pressure to show they can perform sexually, and they are ridiculed and ostracized if they cannot.

One other aspect of Mehinaku manhood bears mentioning, because it is quite common in other cultures as well. Men and adolescent boys are supposed to spend their leisure time with each other, not at home with their mothers or wives and children. Adolescent boys and men gather daily in the public plaza to talk, wrestle, and make

collective decisions, whereas girls and women are generally supposed to keep out of this central public place. A male who prefers the company of women, even his wife, is ridiculed as a "trash yard man"—a man who is not truly a man. (This is a good example of a term for a failed man, as described previously.) Again, the pressure on adolescent boys to conform to this norm is intense. Whatever their own inclinations may be, this narrow socialization for the male role demands their conformity.

The themes of providing, protecting, and procreating can be seen clearly in adolescent boys' gender socialization among the Mehinaku. This example also illustrates the intense gender socialization pressure that often exists for adolescent boys in traditional cultures and the dire social consequences for boys who fail to measure up to culturally prescribed norms for manhood. For both boys and girls in traditional cultures, adolescence is a time when gender roles are clarified and emphasized. As we will see in the next section, increased emphasis on gender roles in adolescence has long been practiced in American society as well.

Gender and Globalization

5.4 Explain how economic changes in developing countries are changing their gender roles.

Life in places such as rural Mexico and the Brazilian rain forests of the Mehinaku has changed dramatically in recent decades due to globalization, and gender socialization for adolescents has begun to change accordingly. Nevertheless, it remains true that in developing countries, for the most part adolescent girls have much less in the way of educational and occupational opportunities, not only compared with boys in their own countries but compared with girls in the West. In many developing countries, adolescent girls are considerably less likely than adolescent boys to go to secondary school (UNDP, 2016) because adolescents' education requires families to sacrifice the labor of an otherwise potentially productive adolescent (and sometimes families must also pay for the schooling). Families tend to be less willing to make this sacrifice for adolescent girls than for adolescent boys, in part because girls tend to leave the household after marriage, whereas boys often remain within the household or nearby as part of a close extended family.

In traditional cultures, boys are more likely than girls to be able to attend secondary school. Here is a school in Pakistan.

However, discrimination against girls may change as globalization proceeds and traditional cultures become increasingly industrialized and connected to the global economy. Traditional gender roles are often rooted partly in biological differences that determine the kind of work that men and women can perform in a preindustrial economy. Men's greater size and strength give them advantages in work such as hunting and fishing. Women's biological capacity for childbearing restricts their roles mainly to childbearing and childrearing. When they are unable to control their reproductive lives through contraception, they spend most of their late teens, 20s, and 30s either pregnant or nursing a baby.

As economies become more developed and complex, brain matters more than brawn, and men's physical advantage does not apply to work that involves analyzing and processing information. Economic development also usually includes increased access to contraception; in turn, access to contraception makes women's adult roles less focused on childbearing and childrearing alone. Because traditional cultures are likely to continue to move further in the direction of economic development, their gender roles are likely to become more egalitarian as well. There is some evidence that this change is taking place internationally, although it is happening slowly (United Nations, 2016). And there is evidence that adolescents may lead the way, in studies that find adolescents in developing countries have less conservative perceptions of gender roles than adults do (United Nations, 2009).

In developed countries, adolescent girls today have opportunities that were unknown to women in previous eras of Western history. Formal prohibitions no longer exist to women becoming doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers, accountants, athletes, or anything else they wish. However, as we will see in more detail later in this chapter, it is not quite that simple. Direct and indirect gender role socialization often steers adolescent girls away from math- and science-oriented careers. Nevertheless, statistics show definite signs of change. The proportion of females in fields such as medicine, business, and law is considerably higher than 20 years ago and is remarkable compared with 50 or 100 years ago. Whether similar changes will occur in male-dominated fields such as engineering and architecture is difficult to predict. However, women tend to earn less money than men even when they are doing similar work, which shows that gender equality has a ways to go.

Adolescents and Gender in American History

In the same way that looking at adolescence in traditional cultures reveals sharp disparities in the socialization of males and females, looking at adolescence in American history reveals a similar pattern. As in traditional cultures, in the history of American society what it means to grow from girl to woman has been very different from what it means to grow from boy to man.

From Girl to Woman

5.5 Explain how gender expectations for adolescent girls through American history both supported and restricted them more than adolescent girls today.

I'm so tired of being fat! I'm going back to school weighing 119 pounds—I swear it. Three months in which to lose thirty pounds—but I'll do it, or die in the attempt.

—EXCERPT FROM THE DIARY OF A 15-YEAR-OLD AMERICAN GIRL IN 1926 (IN BRUMBERG, 1997, PP. 102–103)

Adolescent girls growing up in the American middle class in the 18th and 19th centuries faced expectations that both constricted and supported them more than American adolescent girls experience today. They were narrowly constricted in terms of the occupational roles they were allowed to study or enter. Few professions other than teacher, nurse, or seamstress were considered appropriate for a woman. In fact, no profession at all was considered best, so that a young woman could focus on her future roles of wife and mother.

Adolescent girls were also constricted by cultural perceptions of females, especially young females, as fragile and innocent. One key reason they were discouraged from pursuing a profession was that intellectual work was considered "unhealthy" for women. This view was connected to beliefs about menstruation, specifically the belief that intellectual work would draw a woman's energy toward her brain and away from her ovaries, thus disrupting her menstrual cycle and endangering her health (Brumberg, 1997). This is a good example of something that was claimed to be a sex difference—women were viewed as biologically less capable of intellectual work—but that turned out to be a gender difference instead (rooted in cultural beliefs). Girls were also viewed as too weak to do any important physical work.

The view of adolescent females as incapable of strenuous work is in sharp contrast to the expectations we have seen in traditional cultures, where adolescent girls work alongside their mothers with near-adult responsibilities. However, this exclusion from work applied mainly to American adolescent girls in the growing middle class. Until the mid-19th century the majority of American families were small-scale farmers (Hernandez, 1994), and in those families the lives of adolescent girls were very much like the lives of their counterparts in traditional cultures, working alongside their mothers doing useful and necessary work every day. Also, throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries many American adolescent girls worked in the factories that were springing up in the course of industrialization (Kett, 1977).

Sexuality is a third area where the lives of middle-class girls were narrowly constricted historically in American society. In American history until about the 1920s, virginity until marriage was considered essential for adolescent girls. The word **hymen** was rarely used, but adolescent girls were taught that they possessed a "jewel" or "treasure" that they should surrender only on the night of their wedding (Brumberg, 1997). Until marriage, young women were kept as innocent as possible in body and in mind.

The goal of keeping girls innocent was taken so far that many adolescent girls were not even told about menarche. Historians estimate that before the 20th century more than half of American adolescent girls were entirely unprepared for menarche (Brumberg, 1997)—and we have seen, in Chapter 2, how shocking it can be to girls who do not know it is coming. Mothers believed that by saying nothing about it they were shielding their girls for as long as possible from the dark mysteries of sex. It was only in the 1920s, sometimes called the decade of the first American sexual revolution, that virginity began to lose its near-sacred status. And it was only in the late 1940s that a majority of American girls learned about menstruation from school, their mothers, or other sources before menarche actually arrived (Brumberg, 1997).

A fourth area of constriction for adolescent females historically was physical appearance. We discussed in Chapter 2 how the current slim ideal of female appearance can be difficult for girls when their bodies reach puberty, but irrational ideals of female appearance are not new. Until the early 20th century, most middle-class adolescent girls and women in the West wore some version of the corset, which was designed to support the breasts and pinch the waist tightly to make it look as small as possible. By the 1920s, corsets were rarely used, replaced by bras, but the 1920s also witnessed new requirements for female appearance—shaving the legs and underarms became the convention for American

hymen
The thin membrane inside a girl's vagina that is usually broken during her first experience of sexual intercourse. Tested in some cultures before marriage to verify the girl's virginity.

Until the 1920s, middle-class American girls wore corsets once they reached puberty.

women, and dieting became a common practice in an effort to attain a slim, boyish figure.

By the 1950s, boyishness was out, and big breasts were in. Adolescent girls' diaries from the 1950s show a preoccupation with bras and breasts and a variety of dubious techniques for increasing breast size, from exercise programs to creams to exposing them to moonlight (Brumberg, 1997). In each era, adolescent girls have striven for the female ideal they have been socialized to desire and have often experienced the normal course of their biological development during puberty as a great source of frustration.

Yet developing from girl to woman also had some advantages historically as compared to the present, according to Joan Jacobs Brumberg (1997), a historian and the author of a thoughtful book called *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. Brumberg acknowledges, and describes in detail, how girls in the 18th and 19th centuries in American society were constricted and sheltered and left largely ignorant of the workings of their own bodies. However, she argues that girls of those times also benefited from the existence of a wide range of voluntary organizations, such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Girl Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls, in which adult women provided a "protective umbrella" for the nurturing of adolescent girls. In these organizations, the focus was not on girls' physical appearance but on service projects in the community, building relationships between adolescent girls and adult women, and developing character qualities, including self-control, service to others, and belief in God. Brumberg (1997) observes:

> Whether Christian or Jew, Black or White, volunteer or professional, most women in this era shared the ethic that older women had a special responsibility to the young of their sex. This kind of mentoring was based on the need to protect all girls, not just one's own daughters, from premature sexuality and manipulation at the hands of men. Although the ethic generated all kinds of censorious directives about sexual behavior and its consequences…it also gave a cooperative and expansive tone to American community life. In towns and cities across the United States, middle-class matrons and young adult women performed countless mundane acts of guidance and supervision, such as showing girls how to sew, embroider, or arrange flowers, or helping them to organize collections of food and clothing for impoverished families. In all of these settings, there were chattering girls along with concerned adults, bound together by both gender and common projects. (pp. 19–20)

Today, in Brumberg's view, adolescent girls are less constricted but also more vulnerable and less integrated into the lives of adult women outside their families.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Would it be possible today to reconstruct the "protective umbrella" provided for adolescent girls by adult women in previous times, or would today's adolescent girls find such protection patronizing and overly restrictive?

From Boy to Man

5.6 Describe how views of the values of self-control and self-expression in men changed in the course of American history.

Like gender expectations for adolescent girls, gender expectations for adolescent boys have changed markedly in the past two centuries but have also retained some consistent features. In his book *American Manhood*, historian Anthony Rotundo (1993) describes the transformations that have taken place between the American Revolution and the present in how Americans view the passage from boyhood to manhood.

In Rotundo's account, the 17th and 18th centuries in colonial America were characterized by communities that were small, tightly knit, and strongly based in religion. In this phase of what Rotundo terms **communal manhood**, the focus of gender expectations for adolescent boys was on preparing to assume adult role responsibilities in work

communal manhood

Anthony Rotundo's term for the norm of manhood in 17th- and 18th-century colonial America, in which the focus of gender expectations for adolescent boys was on preparing to assume adult male role responsibilities in work and marriage.

and marriage. Rotundo calls this "communal manhood" because preparing for community and family responsibilities was considered more important than striving for individual achievement and economic success. Preparing to become "head of the household" was seen as especially important for adolescent boys because as adult men they would be expected to act as provider and protector of wife and children. Note the striking resemblance to the requirements of manhood in traditional cultures, with the common emphasis on learning to provide and protect.

During the 19th century, as American society became more urbanized, young men became more likely to leave home in their late teens for the growing American cities to make it on their own without much in the way of family ties. Rotundo calls the 19th century the era of **self-made manhood**. This was a time in American history when individualism was growing in strength, and males were increasingly expected to become independent from their families in adolescence and emerging adulthood as part of becoming a man, rather than remaining closely interdependent with other family members. Although becoming a provider and protector remained important, an explicit emphasis also developed on the importance of developing the individualistic character qualities necessary for becoming a man. *Decision of character* became a popular term to describe a young man's passage from high-spirited but undisciplined youth to a manhood characterized by self-control and a strong will for carrying out independent decisions (Kett, 1977).

One interesting historical similarity between gender expectations for young males and females was the creation during the 19th century of a wide range of voluntary organizations that brought young people of the same sex together. The organizations for girls were described previously. For males, the organizations included literary societies (where young men would meet to discuss books they had read), debating societies, religious groups, informal military companies, fraternal lodges, and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Like the organizations for girls, the boys' organizations stressed the importance of developing self-control, service to others, and belief in God. However, the male organizations were less likely to be run by adults and more likely to be run by the adolescents and emerging adults themselves. Perhaps for this reason, the male organizations tended to involve not just sober camaraderie but occasional boisterous play, rowdy competition, and (in some organizations) fighting and drinking alcohol, despite the professed commitment to self-control (Kett, 1977).

For both boys and girls, voluntary organizations were popular in the 19th century. Shown here are young men at a YMCA.

Organizations for young males also emphasized strenuous physical activity. Populations in the big cities were growing rapidly, but many men voiced concerns that growing up in a city made boys soft and weak. They advocated activities such as military training, competitive sports, and nature trips for young males because they believed that becoming a man meant becoming tough and strong. As discussed in Chapter 4, the creation of the Boy Scouts arose from this belief.

Rotundo calls the 20th century the era of **passionate manhood**, during which individualism increased still further. Although individualism grew more important in 19th-century American society, adolescent boys were nevertheless expected to learn self-control and self-denial as part of becoming a man, so that they would maintain control over their impulses. In contrast, during the 20th century passionate emotions such as anger and sexual desire became regarded more favorably as part of the manhood ideal. Self-expression and self-enjoyment replaced self-control and self-denial as the paramount virtues young males should learn in the course of becoming a man.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Now that you know something about the history of gender expectations for adolescents, how do you think they are likely to change (if at all) in the course of the 21st century, and why?

self-made manhood

Anthony Rotundo's term for the norm of manhood in 19th-century America, in which males were increasingly expected to become independent from their families in adolescence and emerging adulthood as part of becoming a man.

passionate manhood

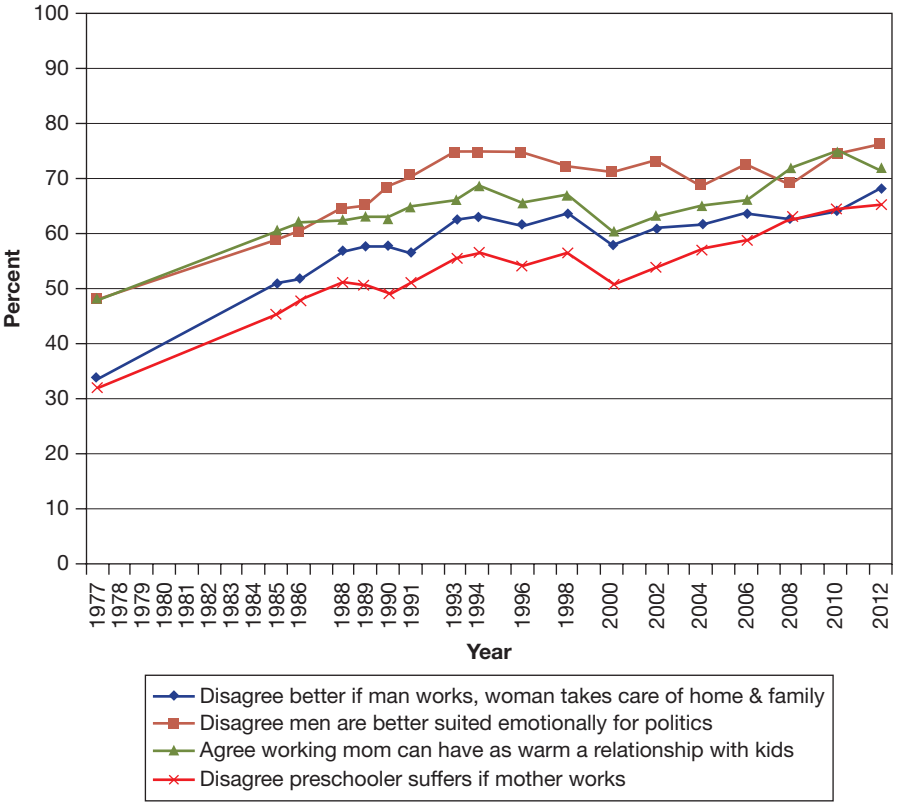
Anthony Rotundo's term for the norm of manhood in the 20th-century United States, in which self-expression and self-enjoyment replaced self-control and self-denial as the paramount virtues young males should learn in the course of becoming a man.

Recent Trends in American Cultural Beliefs About Gender

5.7 Summarize the changes in beliefs about gender in American society since the 1970s.

What sort of cultural beliefs about gender exist for adolescents and emerging adults currently growing up in American society? The results of the General Social Survey (GSS), an annual national survey of American adults, show a clear trend toward more egalitarian gender attitudes in recent decades, as **Figure 5.2** shows (Cotter, Hermsen & Vanneman, 2011; Vagianos, 2014). Compared to 1977, American adults today are less likely to believe men are better politicians, less likely to see women as the ones who should take care of the home, more likely to believe working mothers can have warm relationships with their children, and less likely to believe preschoolers would suffer if mothers work.

Figure 5.2 Changes in American gender attitudes, 1977–2012.



However, the results of the GSS also show that a considerable proportion of Americans—from about one fourth to over one third, depending on the question—continue to harbor beliefs about gender roles not unlike those we have seen in traditional cultures: Men should hold the power and be out in the world doing things, and women should focus on caring for children and running the household. The persistence of traditional gender role beliefs in American society is also indicated in studies of gender socialization and gender stereotypes, as we shall see in the following sections.

Socialization and Gender in the West

So far we have looked at gender socialization in traditional cultures and in American history. What about today's American majority culture and similar cultures in the West? What sort of socialization for gender goes on in these cultures during adolescence? We address this question by looking first at how gender socialization changes from childhood to adolescence. Then we examine American cultural beliefs about gender and gender socialization with respect to family, peers, school, and the media.

The Gender Intensification Hypothesis

5.8 Describe how gender socialization changes from middle childhood to adolescence.

Psychologists John Hill and Mary Ellen Lynch (1983; Lynch 1991) proposed that adolescence is a particularly important time in gender socialization, especially for girls. According to their **gender intensification hypothesis**, psychological and behavioral differences between males and females become more pronounced in the transition from childhood to adolescence because of intensified socialization pressures to conform to culturally prescribed gender roles. Hill and Lynch (1983) believe that it is this intensified socialization pressure, rather than the biological changes of puberty, that results in increased differences between males and females as adolescence progresses. Furthermore, they argue that the intensity of gender socialization in adolescence is greater for females than for males and that this is reflected in a variety of ways in adolescent girls' development.

gender intensification hypothesis

Hypothesis that psychological and behavioral differences between males and females become more pronounced at adolescence because of intensified socialization pressures to conform to culturally prescribed gender roles.

In support of their hypothesis, Hill and Lynch (1983) offered several arguments and sources of evidence. During adolescence, girls become notably more self-conscious than boys about their physical appearance because looking physically attractive becomes an especially important part of the female gender role. Girls also become more interested and adept than boys in forming intimate friendships. To Hill and Lynch this is because adolescents have been socialized to believe that having intimate friendships is part of the female gender role but is inconsistent with the male gender role.

Since Hill and Lynch (1983) proposed this hypothesis, several supporting studies have been presented (Priess & Lindberg, 2011; Signorella & Frieze, 2008). In one study, adolescent boys and girls both embraced gender stereotypes more than younger children did (Rowley et al., 2007). Gender intensification may be especially pronounced for issues of physical appearance. A national American longitudinal study found that adolescent boys and girls responded differently to weight gain during adolescence, with girls expressing more body dissatisfaction than boys who gained a comparable amount (Calzo et al., 2012). In this study, girls' dissatisfaction increased over the course of adolescence, and by late adolescence many of them were dissatisfied even if their weight gain was normal.

Watch BODY IMAGE IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS

Gender Socialization: Family, Peers, and School

5.9 Describe the evidence for differential gender socialization in the family, with peers, and in school.

The previous chapter described cultural differences in socialization. However, differences in socialization also occur within cultures, especially in the socialization of boys and girls. **Differential gender socialization** is the term for socializing males and females according to different expectations about the attitudes and behavior appropriate to each gender (Burn, 1996; Bussey, 2011; Thompson & O'Sullivan, 2012). We have seen in this chapter how intense differential socialization can be in traditional cultures and how intense it has been in American history. It also continues to exist in the West in more subtle but nevertheless effective forms. We will consider differential gender socialization with respect to family, peers, and school in detail in future chapters, but this section will serve as an introduction.

Differential gender socialization begins early, in virtually every culture. Parents dress their boys and girls differently, give them different toys, and decorate their bedrooms differently. One study found that 90% of the infants observed at an American shopping mall were wearing clothing that was gender-specific in color and/or style (Shakin, Shakin, & Sternglanz, 1985). In a classic experimental study (Sidorowicz & Lunney, 1980), adults were asked to play with a 10-month-old infant they did not know. All adults played with the same infant, but some were told it was a girl, some were told it was a boy, and some were given no information about its gender. There were three toys to play with: a rubber football, a doll, and a teething ring. When the adults thought the child was male, 50% of the men and 80% of the women played with the child using the football. When they thought the child was female, 89% of the men and 73% of the women used the doll in play.

In the course of growing up, children get encouragement from parents, peers, and teachers to conform to gender roles. Numerous studies attest that parents encourage gender-specific activities in their children and discourage activities they see as inconsistent with their child's gender (Bronstein et al., 2006; Bussey, 2011). In early childhood, most children play almost exclusively with same-sex peers (Kapadia & Gala, 2015). Children (especially boys) who deviate from gender norms in play suffer peer ridicule and are less popular than children who conform to gender roles.

During middle childhood, gender roles often become temporarily more flexible (Basow & Rubin, 1999). However, with the gender intensification of adolescence, differential socialization becomes more pronounced. Parents tend to monitor and restrict adolescent girls more tightly than adolescent boys with respect to where they are allowed to go and with whom (McHale et al., 2003). Peers

differential gender socialization
The term for socializing males and females according to different expectations about what attitudes and behavior are appropriate to each gender.

Why do pressures to conform to traditional gender roles intensify in adolescence?

punish with ridicule and unpopularity the adolescents who deviate from gender role expectations (Eder, 1995; Pascoe, 2007)—the boy who decides to take up the flute, the girl who wears unstylish clothes and no makeup.

With regard to school, research has found that teachers—both males and females—generally reinforce the traditional cultural messages regarding gender (Riegle-Crumb & Humprhies, 2012). Specifically, teachers often assume that boys and girls are inherently different, with different interests and abilities and that boys are more aggressive and dominant and that girls are more silent and compliant. Girls have made remarkable gains in academic achievement in recent decades and now exceed boys in nearly every area of school performance (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2016). However, the educational and occupational interests and choices of adolescent and emerging adult males and females remain different in some gender-specific ways, with girls more likely to go into traditionally female professions such as nursing and child care and boys more likely to pursue traditionally male professions such as engineering and scientific research (Wang & Degol, 2013).

These differences are at least partly a result of gender socialization in the school, beginning in primary school and continuing through college and graduate school (Dasgupta & Stout, 2014). For example, research indicates that in college courses, male faculty are more likely than female faculty to hold an "implicit bias" against female students in a word-association test (e.g., associating the term "female scientist" with an unpleasant response) and also more likely to agree with explicit stereotypes (such as "Women are worse at math than men") (Jackson, Hillard, & Schneider, 2014). Girls also tend to have less peer support for their science interests than boys do (Robnett, 2013), which may partly explain why girls are less likely to pursue science education in high school and college. We will discuss school and gender in more detail in Chapter 10.

The findings about differential socialization at home and at school do not mean that parents and teachers consciously and intentionally treat adolescent girls and boys differently. Sometimes they do, but often differential socialization simply results from the different expectations that parents and teachers have for males and females as a consequence of their own gender socialization (Bornstein, 2006; Leaper, 2015). In their differential gender socialization of adolescent girls and boys, parents and teachers reflect their culture's beliefs about gender, often without even thinking consciously about what they are doing.

At this point, we know relatively little about how young people themselves perceive the gender socialization process. Future studies may investigate this question. It may be especially interesting to investigate this question with emerging adults. We have discussed emerging adulthood as a period when explorations of worldviews are common and when critical-thinking skills are more developed than in adolescence. Does this mean that some emerging adults may begin to question the gender expectations of their culture? Do emerging adults feel less constricted by gender roles and more comfortable with androgyny? Or is this true of only some emerging adults, in some peer groups, in some cultures?

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Based on your experience, give examples of differential gender socialization in childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood.

Media and Gender

5.10 Summarize how adolescent girls respond to gender socialization in social media.

In today's world, especially in developed countries, gender socialization takes place not just through parents, peers, friends, and schools, but through the media. The television shows, movies, and music most popular with adolescents promote many stereotypes about gender, as we will see in

Chapter 12 on media. However, in recent years social media have become more widely used among adolescents and emerging adults than any other media form (Coyne, 2015; Rideout, 2013). Research has raised concerns about the gender socialization conveyed through social media, particularly regarding physical appearance and body image.

Many studies have shown a relation between consumption of "traditional media," such as television and magazines, and body image, especially among adolescent girls (Grabe, Ward, & Hyde, 2008). Several analyses of the content of girls' magazines have reported that the magazines relentlessly focus on physical appearance (Ballentine & Ogle, 2005; Currie, 1999; Durham, 1998; Evans et al., 1991; Massoni, 2004). In the articles, fashion is the most common topic, followed by beauty (e.g., how to wear eye shadow), and most of the articles on "health" are about weight reduction and control. Altogether, about half the content of the magazines focuses directly on physical appearance. This percentage actually understates the focus on physical appearance because it does not include the advertisements. Nearly half the space in magazines for adolescent girls is devoted to advertisements (Olson, 2007), and the ads are almost exclusively for clothes, cosmetics, and weight-loss programs.

Researchers have concluded that exposure to unrealistic ideals in traditional media has negative effects on girls' body image. One summary of 47 studies found that the more girls were exposed to appearance magazines, the more they were dissatisfied with their own appearance (Murnen & Levine, 2007). But would social media use also promote insecurity in adolescent girls with respect to their body image and physical attractiveness? Magazines present unrealistic ideals, in that the people displayed in them tend to be models who are "airbrushed" with photography techniques to eliminate any imperfections. But the appearance content of social media is mostly just photos that people post of themselves and their family and friends, warts and all. Perhaps, then, one might expect that use of social media would not have comparable negative effects on body image and self-evaluation of physical appearance.

However, research so far has been quite consistent in showing negative effects (de Vries, de Graaf, & Nikken, 2016; Manago et al., 2015). The research has been consistent across studies in Australia, the Netherlands, and the United States, and for adolescents as well as emerging adults. The studies indicate a relation between time per day using Facebook—the most widely used social networking website—and appearance concerns. The more girls and young women use Facebook, the more likely they are to report dissatisfaction with their appearance and a "drive for thinness" (Tiggemann & Slater, 2017). It appears to be exposure to photographs on Facebook, in particular, that promotes dissatisfaction with appearance (Meier & Gray, 2014). When they view photos of their "friends" on Facebook, adolescent girls and young women often make appearance comparisons and draw negative conclusions about themselves (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015).

Most of the focus of this research has been on females, because physical appearance tends to be a more prominent part of gender socialization for females than it is for males. Also, girls and young women have much higher rates of eating disorders, and there is a concern that media may promote a concern with body image that could heighten the risks of these disorders (Meier & Gray, 2014). However, a recent study of adolescent boys in the Netherlands found a similar link between Facebook use and negative self-evaluations of physical appearance (de Vries et al., 2016). Facebook is now facing competition from new media such as Snapchat, so it will be important to investigate whether the same old gender themes continue to be prevalent in the new media.

Gender Socialization as a Source of Problems

5.11 Contrast adolescent boys and girls in the major problem that results from their gender socialization.

For both girls and boys, the intensified gender socialization they experience in adolescence can be a source of problems. For girls, the focus on physical appearance that is the heart of the female gender role can produce many kinds of distress. Girls are more likely than boys to develop a negative body image in adolescence (Calzo et al., 2012; Jones & Newman, 2009). The emphasis on thinness that is part of the female ideal of physical appearance leads the majority of American girls to diet in adolescence (Schutz & Paxton, 2007), and at the extreme, some girls develop serious eating disorders that threaten their health and even their lives (Mintz et al., 2008). Adolescent girls who are overweight or regarded by their peers as physically unattractive suffer merciless ridicule (Taylor, 2011). This ridicule comes not only from boys but also from other girls. Even long after adolescence, close to half of adult women are dissatisfied with their physical appearance (Grabe et al., 2008).

For boys, the problem at the core of their gender role in adolescence is aggressiveness. Boys are more aggressive than girls from infancy onward, partly for biological reasons but also because of their gender socialization (Hyde, 2014; Maccoby, 2002). During adolescence, boys are expected by their peers to be verbally aggressive, directing half-joking insults at other boys on a regular basis (Eder, 1995; Pascoe, 2007). Often these insults involve manhood itself; adolescent boys commonly use insults such as "wimp," "weenie," "pussy," and "faggot," calling the manhood of other boys into question. From this we can see that it is not just in traditional cultures that adolescent

Why does aggressiveness become more of a problem for boys in adolescence?

boys face the intimidating prospect of being regarded as a failed man (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). They defend themselves by using verbal aggressiveness in return and by being physically aggressive when necessary. Boys who demonstrate physical aggressiveness successfully in sports frequently have the highest status among their peers (Chalabaev et al., 2013).

A variety of problems stem from this emphasis on aggressiveness in the male role. Aggressiveness is used as a way of establishing social hierarchies among adolescent boys, and low-status boys suffer frequent insults and humiliations from other boys (Eder, 1995; Pascoe, 2007). Furthermore, aggressiveness contributes to problem behaviors in adolescence and emerging adulthood such as vandalism, risky driving, fighting, and crime (Klimstra et al., 2010). Joseph Pleck (1983; Pleck, Sonnenstein, & Ku, 1998) showed that adolescents who value aggressiveness as part of the male gender role are especially likely to engage in problem behavior. In Pleck's analysis of data from a national American study of 15- to 19-year-old boys (Pleck et al., 1998), boys who agreed with statements such as "A young man should be tough, even if he is not big" were more likely than other boys to report school difficulties, alcohol and drug use, and risky sexual behavior. Similar results were found in a study of Chinese adolescents (Ma, 2005).

You might wonder, given the negatives associated with gender socialization in adolescence and emerging adulthood, and given the limitations that gender roles place on the development of young people's potentials, why gender socialization is so highly emphasized and why conformity to gender roles is so highly valued across virtually all cultures and across history as well. Perhaps the answer lies in the ways that gender roles provide us with schemas, with frameworks for understanding how the world works. Because they are just reaching sexual maturity, adolescents and emerging adults are especially eager for information about what their potential mates may find attractive. Gender schemas and gender roles provide them with that information.

Cognition and Gender

5.12 Explain how gender schemas guide expectations for how males and females should behave.

Socialization interacts with cognitive development to produce adolescents' ideas about gender (Bussey, 2011). Lawrence Kohlberg, whose ideas about moral development were discussed in Chapter 4, also proposed an influential theory of gender development known as the **cognitive-developmental theory of gender**. Kohlberg (1966) based this theory on Piaget's ideas about cognitive development, applied specifically to gender. According to Kohlberg's theory, gender is a fundamental way of organizing ideas about the world.

By the time children are about 3 years old, they understand **gender identity**; that is, they understand themselves as being either male or female (Leaper, 2015). Once children possess gender identity, they use gender as a way of organizing information obtained from the world around them. Certain toys become "toys that girls play with," whereas others are "toys that boys play with." Certain clothes become "clothes that boys wear" and others become "clothes that girls wear." By age 4 or 5, children identify a wide range of things as appropriate for either males or females, including toys, clothing, activities, objects, and occupations (Hyde, 2014).

Furthermore, according to cognitive-developmental theory, children seek to maintain consistency between their categories and their behavior. Kohlberg (1966)

cognitive-developmental theory of gender
Kohlberg's theory, based on Piaget's ideas about cognitive development, asserting that gender is a fundamental way of organizing ideas about the world and that children develop through a predictable series of stages in their understanding of gender.

gender identity
Children's understanding of themselves as being either male or female, reached at about age 3.

Children at young ages identify a wide range of things as appropriate for either males or females, although during middle childhood, these perceptions become more flexible.

called this process **self-socialization**. Boys become quite insistent about doing things they regard as boy things and avoiding things that girls do; girls become equally intent on avoiding boy things and doing things they regard as appropriate for girls (Bussey, 2011). Expectations become even more rigid in early adolescence, as part of the gender intensification process (Priess & Lindberg, 2011).

How can cognitive-developmental theory explain gender intensification? The hallmark of cognitive development in adolescence is formal operations, which includes the development of self-reflection and idealization. As a consequence, reaching adolescence leads to asking oneself questions about what it means to be a woman or a man, and to making judgments about how one measures up to cultural gender expectations. As adolescents become more capable of reflecting on these issues, they become more concerned with compliance to gender norms, for themselves and others. Also contributing to greater gender role rigidity in adolescence is the development of sexual maturity, which makes adolescents more conscious of the gender of themselves and others in social interactions. Furthermore, parents and peers exert increased pressure to conform to gender norms (Leaper, 2015).

Another cognitive theory of gender that uses Piaget's ideas is **gender schema theory** (Endendjik et al., 2013; Martin & Ruble, 2004). Like Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental theory, gender schema theory views gender as one of the fundamental ways that people organize information about the world. (Recall from Chapter 3 that *scheme* is Piaget's term for a structure for organizing and processing information. *Scheme* and **schema** are used interchangeably.)

According to gender schema theory, gender is one of our most important schemas from early childhood onward. By the time we reach adolescence, on the basis of our socialization we have learned to categorize an enormous range of activities, objects, and personality characteristics as "female" or "male." This includes not just the obvious—vaginas are female, penises are male—but many things that have no inherent "femaleness" or "maleness" and are nevertheless taught as possessing gender—the moon as "female" and the sun as "male" in traditional Chinese culture, or long hair as "female" and short hair as "male" in many cultures, for example.

Gender schemas influence how we interpret the behavior of others and what we expect from them. This well-known story provides an example: "A little boy and his father were in a terrible automobile accident. The father died, but the boy was rushed to the hospital. As the boy was rushed into surgery, the doctor looked down at him and said, 'I cannot operate on this boy—he is my son!'"

How could the boy be the doctor's son, if the father died in the accident? The answer, of course, is that the doctor is the boy's *mother.* But people reading this story are often puzzled by it because their gender schemas led them to assume the doctor was male. (This story is less effective than it used to be because so many women today are physicians. Try it on someone.) The story that began this chapter is another example. People typically assume the model is female and the photographer is male because their gender schemas lead them to this assumption; then they are surprised when they are wrong. We tend to notice information that fits within our gender schemas and ignore or dismiss information that is inconsistent with them.

Sandra Bem (1981, 1993), one of the foremost proponents of gender schema theory, proposed that people apply gender schemas not just to the world around them but also to themselves. Once they have learned gender schemas from their culture, they monitor their own behavior and attitudes and shape them so that they conform to cultural definitions of what it means to be male or female. In this way, according to Bem, "cultural myths become

self-socialization

In gender socialization, the way that children seek to maintain consistency between the norms they have learned about gender and their behavior.

gender schema theory

Theory in which gender is viewed as one of the fundamental ways that people organize information about the world.

schema

A mental structure for organizing and interpreting information. Synonymous with scheme.

self-fulfilling prophecies" (1981, p. 355). Thus, Bem, like Kohlberg, sees gender development as taking place in part through self-socialization, as people strive to conform to the gender expectations they perceive in the culture around them.

Although beliefs about gender may be useful in some ways for making sense of the world, they can also be misleading because they oversimplify the complexity of real life. Remember that any statement about gender differences involves comparing three-and-a-half billion of the world's people to the other three-and-a-half billion. Although overall differences exist between males and females, there is also a tremendous amount of variability within each group on nearly every characteristic. As you think about gender issues in your own life, as you read social science research, and as you read this text, any time you find broad statements about gender characteristics—males are more [fill in the blank] than females, females are more [fill in the blank] than males—it would be wise to keep this in mind and approach such statements with a critical eye.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Give an example of a custom complex for gender—a cultural practice that reflects cultural beliefs related to gender roles in your culture.

Masculinity, Femininity, and Androgyny

5.13 Connect the concept of expressive and instrumental traits to research on adolescents' views of the ideal man or woman.

Girls should be what they want to be. Like in the past, girls couldn't play sports. But now they can play sports and if you play sports, you can be strong. If boys bully you, you can beat them up.

–10-year-old Chinese girl (Chan et al. 2011, p. 73).

[Boys are] not supposed to be scared or you're not supposed to be worried about something. That I believe is kind of dumb because emotions are normal. But yeah, one of the things they would say about being a man is to always pretend as if nothing bothers you.

–18-year-old American boy (Way et al. 2013, p. 245).

The gender intensification of adolescence means that adolescents increasingly think of themselves and others in terms of what is masculine and what is feminine. But what sort of characteristics and behavior do adolescent boys and girls see as being feminine or masculine? And how is their evaluation of their own femininity and masculinity related to their overall sense of self?

Traits regarded by most members of the American majority culture as masculine or feminine are shown in **Table 5.1**. These traits are taken from the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974), the most widely used measure of gender role perceptions. The BSRI was originally developed on the basis of college students' ratings of the traits most desirable for an American man or woman (Lips, 1993), but since it was developed, similar responses have been obtained in studies of other age groups, including adolescents. A cross-national study of young people in 30 countries found similar gender role perceptions across the countries, with remarkable consistency (Williams & Best, 1990).

The items in the scale show a clear pattern. In general terms, femininity is associated with being nurturing (sympathetic, compassionate, gentle, etc.) and compliant (yielding, soft-spoken, childlike, etc.). In contrast, masculinity is associated with being independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient, individualistic, etc.) and aggressive (assertive, forceful, dominant, etc.). The difference in traits associated with each gender role has been described by scholars as a contrast between the **expressive traits**

Table 5.1 Masculine and Feminine Traits (From the Bem Sex Role Inventory)

Masculine	Feminine
Self-reliant	Yielding
Defends own beliefs	Cheerful
Independent	Shy
Athletic	Affectionate
Assertive	Flatterable
Strong personality	Loyal
Forceful	Feminine
Analytical	Sympathetic
Has leadership abilities	Sensitive to others
Willing to take risks	Understanding
Makes decisions easily	Compassionate
Self-sufficient	Eager to soothe hurt feelings
Dominant	Soft-spoken
Masculine	Warm
Willing to take a stand	Tender
Aggressive	Gullible
Acts as a leader	Childlike
Individualistic	Does not use harsh language
Competitive	Loves children
Ambitious	Gentle

SOURCE: Bem (1974).

expressive traits

Personality characteristics such as gentle and yielding, more often ascribed to females, emphasizing emotions and relationships.

ascribed to females and the **instrumental traits** ascribed to males (Lindsey, 2015).

What adolescents view as masculine or feminine is also reflected in their gender ideals, that is, their views of what their ideal man or woman would be like. Psychologist Judith Gibbons conducted cross-cultural studies of adolescents' gender ideals, and concluded that adolescents in many different parts of the world have similar views. Gibbons and her colleagues surveyed more than 12,000 adolescents ages 11 to 19 in 20 countries around the world, including countries in Europe, Central America, Asia, and Africa (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004; Stiles, Gibbons, & Schnellman, 1990). In their survey, adolescents rated the importance of 10 qualities as characteristics of the ideal man or woman.

In nearly all the countries, the most important and least important qualities for the ideal man and the ideal woman were not gender specific after all. The most important quality was being "kind and honest." In contrast, having a lot of money and being popular were rated low as ideal qualities, for both the ideal man and the ideal woman. However, some differences were seen in male and female gender ideals. In all countries it was considered more important for the ideal man to have a good job than for the ideal woman to have one. Also, in nearly all countries being good-looking was viewed as more important for the ideal woman than for the ideal man.

Generally, adolescent boys and girls had similar views of the ideal man and the ideal woman, but there were some differences. Girls were more likely than boys to think it was important for the ideal man to like children. Girls were also more likely to think it was important for the ideal woman to have a good job. In contrast, boys were more likely than girls to think it was important for the ideal woman to be good-looking. Both the similarities and differences in adolescent girls' and boys' views of gender ideals are paralleled in cross-cultural findings of adults' gender ideals (Buss, 1989, 1995, 2001).

But must we think of people as being either masculine or feminine? If an adolescent girl possesses "feminine" traits, does that mean that she must be low on "masculine" traits, and vice versa for boys? Some scholars have argued that the healthiest human personalities contain both masculine and feminine traits. **Androgyny** is the term for the combination of masculine and feminine traits in one person.

The idea of androgyny first became popular in the 1970s (e.g., Bem, 1977; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). The **women's movement** of the 1960s (see Historical Focus box on page 152) had led many people in the West to reconsider ideas about male and female roles, and one outcome of this thinking was that it might be best to transcend the traditional opposition of masculine and feminine traits and instead promote the development of the best of each. In this view, there is no reason why a man could not be both independent ("masculine") and nurturing ("feminine"), or why a woman could not be both compassionate ("feminine") and ambitious ("masculine"). Androgynous people would rate themselves highly on traits from both the "feminine" column and the "masculine" column in Table 5.1.

Advocates of androgyny have argued that being androgynous is better than being either masculine or feminine because androgynous persons have a greater repertoire of traits to draw on in their daily lives (Bem, 1977; Leszczynski & Strough, 2008). In a given situation, it might be better on some occasions to be gentle ("feminine") and on other occasions to be assertive ("masculine"). More generally, it might be best to be ambitious ("masculine") at work and affectionate ("feminine") at home.

But what about adolescents? Is androgyny best for them? Here the answer is more complex. In general, research evidence indicates that in adolescence, androgyny is more likely to be related to a positive self-image for girls than for boys. Androgynous girls generally have a more favorable self-image than girls who are either highly feminine or highly masculine, but highly masculine boys have more favorable self-images than boys who are feminine or androgynous (Mehta & Strough, 2010).

Why would this be the case? Probably because adolescents' views of themselves are a reflection of how they measure up to cultural expectations. Due in large part to the women's movement, people in the West have become more favorable toward females who are androgynous. It is regarded more favorably now than it was 50 years ago for females to be ambitious, independent, and athletic, and to possess other "masculine" traits (Lindsey, 2015). However, males are still expected to avoid being soft-spoken and tender, or to exhibit other "feminine" traits. Adolescents view themselves, and others, in terms of how they fit these cultural gender expectations. It is revealing that not only self-image but also peer acceptance is highest in adolescence among androgynous girls and masculine boys (Leszczynski & Strough, 2008). Among emerging

instrumental traits

Personality characteristics such as self-reliant and forceful, more often ascribed to males, emphasizing action and accomplishment.

androgyny

A combination of "masculine" and "feminine" personality traits.

women's movement

Organized effort in the 20th century to obtain greater rights and opportunities for women.

adults, too, androgynous females and masculine males are viewed favorably by peers, whereas males who violate gender norms are viewed negatively (Sirin, McCreary, & Mahalik, 2004). For both adolescents and emerging adults, their evaluations of gender-related behavior reflect the expectations and values of their culture.

These patterns also indicate that for American boys, as for their counterparts in traditional cultures, manhood is a status that is more insecure and fraught with potential failure than womanhood is for girls, so that any mixing of masculine and feminine traits in their personalities is viewed as undesirable and threatening, by themselves and others. Some scholars have also argued that, despite the changes inspired by the women's movement, males continue to have higher status in American society than females. Consequently, for a girl to act more "like a boy" means that her self-image and status among peers improves because she associates herself with the higher-status group—males—whereas for a boy to act more "like a girl" means that his self-image and peer status decline because he is associating himself with the lower-status group—females (Brown, 2007).

Historical Focus

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT OF THE 1960s

The women's movement, seeking equality of rights and opportunities for women, has a long history in the United States, dating back more than a century to the time when women first organized in an effort to gain the right to vote. One especially important period in the history of the women's movement was the 1960s. The 1960s were a time of dramatic social changes in many ways—the civil rights movement, the War on Poverty, and the sexual revolution are examples—and the women's movement was one of these changes. The greatly expanded range of opportunities in education and employment that exist for adolescent girls and emerging adult women today in American society are rooted in the changes in gender role attitudes that were inspired by the women's movement in the 1960s.

Here are some of the key events of the women's movement during this period (Linden-Ward & Green, 1993; Weatherford, 1997):

- 1963: After more than 300 years in existence, Harvard University grants its first degrees to women.
- 1964: The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act includes a provision banning discrimination on the basis of sex. First inserted by the bill's opponents in the hopes it would kill the entire legislation, this provision becomes the basis of substantial gains in women's legal rights over the following decades.
- 1966: The National Organization for Women (NOW) is founded. NOW remains the leading organization in the women's movement to this day.
- 1968: Feminists picket the Miss America contest in Atlantic City, New Jersey, carrying signs such as "Cattle Parades Are Degrading to Human Beings." Outside the auditorium, women dump symbols of their treatment as sexual objects into a "freedom trash can"—bras, high-heeled shoes, curlers, makeup, and magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Playboy*. As the winner is crowned, feminists in the balcony unfurl a large banner declaring "Women's Liberation." Because the contest was televised, the protests received enormous attention and greatly expanded public attention—positive and negative—to the women's movement.
- 1970: To commemorate the 50th anniversary of the ratification of the 19th Amendment, which allowed women to vote, NOW sponsors a nationwide strike for women's rights. Thousands of women in cities across the country march for equal rights for women.

Why were emerging adults at the forefront of the women's movement of the 1960s?

Issues related to women in emerging adulthood were part of the women's movement in the 1960s, as the example of the protest at the Miss America contest indicates. Also, many of the movement's most energetic and prominent members were young women. One of the most important books of the period was *Sexual Politics*, by Kate Millett (1970/2000), who was a graduate student at the time she wrote it. A critique of the sexism of American society, the book became a widely discussed best-seller and an inspiration to an entire generation of feminists.

However, the importance of the women's movement of the 1960s for adolescence and emerging adulthood is not only that young people played a part in it but that young women growing up today have far more opportunities and are far less restricted by gender roles than any generation of Americans before them, due substantially to the changes that began during the 1960s. Sexism is still strong in many ways in American society, but young women growing up today have many opportunities in education, occupations, and leisure that their predecessors could only imagine.

Gender Nonconformity and Transgender Adolescents

5.14 Describe the challenges facing transgender youth and how they respond.

Today, some scholars who study gender argue that we need to move beyond the simple binary division of females and males. Alternatives are multiplying, and psychological research increasingly addresses gender in ways that go beyond the binary.

As described previously, *gender identity* refers to a person's self-categorization as female or male. Psychological research is expanding on adolescents and emerging adults whose gender behaviors and self-identifications fall outside these two broad categories. **Gender nonconforming** is a term that refers to people who typically identify as either female or male but whose behaviors are androgynous to a degree that falls outside conventional norms (Diamond et al., 2015). As we saw, some degree of androgyny has become increasingly acceptable and common, especially in girls. Scholars, however, are calling for more research on gender nonconforming youth because they are at risk for harassment and social ostracism. Also, researchers point out that there is a cultural association between gender nonconformity and homosexuality but that studies are needed of gender-nonconforming youth who are heterosexual (Diamond et al., 2015).

Transgender people are those whose self-identification does not match their biological sex. Historically, most research has been on **transsexuals**, who experience a fundamental mismatch between their gender and their sex, and who may address this misalignment through physical transformations ranging from adopting clothes characteristic of the other sex to sex reassignment surgery. The term *transgender*, however, has been created to encompass people whose experiences are more ambiguous. For example, some transgender youth do not wish to self-identity with either gender.

There is limited research on how, why, and when a transgender identity develops. Most research has focused instead on the problems and risks that often accompany the experience of being transgender. We have seen, so far in this chapter, that in all cultures, gender is a fundamental way of organizing and making sense of the social world. Perhaps for this reason, many people feel threatened by people who do not conform to traditional gender categories. Consequently, transgender adolescents and emerging adults are at notable risk for verbal and physical aggression (Diamond et al., 2015). In one large-scale survey of more than 150,000 American college students, 24% of students who self-identified as transgender, genderqueer, nonconforming, or questioning reported experiencing sexual assault since entering college (Association of American Universities, 2015). Transgender youth are also at risk for dating violence (Dank et al., 2014). They are more likely than other adolescents to be homeless, as some parents reject them and do not want them in their household (Keuroghlian et al., 2014). Their risk for suicide is also higher than it is for other adolescents (Mustanski & Liu, 2013).

Although most research on transgender youth focuses on the problems they face, two recent studies focused on their resilience. In one study, transgender youth reported frequently being targeted aggressively by peers, with two-thirds reporting verbal abuse and one third reporting physical abuse (Grossman, d'Augelli & Frank, 2011). However, most of them exhibited resilience in response to the attacks, in areas including self-esteem and personal mastery. Another study focused on transgender youth of color (Singh, 2013), with a focus on the question, "What are the daily lived experiences of resilience transgender youth of color describe as they negotiate intersections of transprejudice and racism?" Although all of the participants reported incidents of discrimination, they also reported resilience in the face of these incidents. Important to their resilience was finding a community of other gender-nonconforming youth, and using social media to affirm their identity as transgender youth of color.

Gender Roles in American Minority Groups

5.15 Explain how the gender roles of African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans are rooted in their distinctive cultural histories.

> In terms of the guys, one of the hardest things I see is they need to become tough. You have to save face, you have to argue it out. The lack of tolerance is much more pronounced [than among girls]. The readiness to fight has a lot to do with the environment of our schools and cities.
>
> —TEACHER, PREDOMINANTLY AFRICAN AMERICAN AND LATINO HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON (SUAREZ-OROZCO & QIN-HILLIARD, 2004)

gender nonconforming
People who typically identify as either female or male but whose behaviors are androgynous to a degree that falls outside conventional norms.

transgender
People whose self-identification does not match their biological sex.

transsexuals
People who experience a fundamental mismatch between their gender and their sex, and who may address this misalignment through physical transformations ranging from adopting clothes characteristic of the other sex to sex reassignment surgery.

Gender roles in American minority cultures differ in important ways from gender roles in the majority culture. What kinds of gender role socialization take place for young people in these cultures?

AFRICAN AMERICANS For African Americans, some scholars have argued that the female role contains a variety of characteristics that reflect the difficult challenges that Black women have faced historically, from the era of slavery to the present. These characteristics include self-reliance, assertiveness, and perseverance (Hooks, 1982; Terrelonge, 1989). Similar strengths are found in Black adolescent girls, who tend to have higher self-esteem and less concern with physical appearance than White girls do (Basow & Rubin, 1999; Mitola et al., 2007).

The gender role of Black men also reflects African American history, but in a different way. Over the centuries, Black men in America have been frequently subjected to insults to their manhood, from their status as property during slavery to their denigration as "boys" (no matter what their age) in some parts of the United States, until recently. Even today, low educational attainment and high rates of unemployment make it difficult for Black men to fill the male's traditional "provider" role (Brody et al., 2014).

As a consequence of these humiliations, according to some scholars, many young Black men adopt extreme characteristics of the male role to declare their masculinity despite the discrimination they experience (Wade & Rochlen, 2013). These characteristics include physical toughness, risk taking, and aggressiveness. Richard Majors (1989; Majors & Billson, 1992) described the "Cool Pose" common to young Black men in urban areas of the United States. The "Cool Pose" is a set of language and behavior intended to display strength, toughness, and detachment. This style is demonstrated in creative, sometimes flamboyant performances in a variety of settings, from the street to the basketball court to the classroom. These performances are meant to convey pride and confidence. According to Majors (1989), although this aggressive assertion of masculinity helps young Black men guard their self-esteem and their dignity, it can be damaging to their relationships because it requires a refusal to express emotions or needs that they fear would make them vulnerable. The gender role attitudes and behavior associated with the Cool Pose have been linked to delinquency and crime (Hall, 2009; Hall & Pizarro, 2011) and to educational difficulties (Allen, 2013).

In recent years, adult African American men in some urban areas have attempted to provide an alternative ideal of manhood for young men, an ideal that emphasizes responsibility and diligence rather than aggressiveness. In one major project, the United States' oldest African American college fraternity, Alpha Phi Alpha, pairs volunteer alumni in its chapters nationwide with African American boys in high-risk neighborhoods (Alpha Phi Alpha, 2009; Ferrier, 1996). Boys in these neighborhoods typically have no fathers present—overall, nearly 70% of African American children are born to single mothers (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016)—and the mentors seek to provide boys with male guidance and positive male role models, as well as assistance and encouragement in their school work. The project features a solemn ceremony in which the boys make the following "Manhood Pledge":

Young Black males sometimes adopt the "Cool Pose" as a way of guarding against threats to their manhood.

> We were born males, not men.
>
> We will become men when we learn the art and science of manhood.
>
> We vow to work to become men, to leave childhood, boyhood behind us.
>
> We vow to seek knowledge of the best way to relate to ourselves, to our Almighty, to our families, and to the community…
>
> We vow to be the positive example of manhood, and Brotherhood,
>
> To be a Brother to Brother,
>
> Brother to Sisters,
>
> And Brother to the community and institutions to which we belong…
>
> We vow to live the seven "R's" of Righteousness, Respect, Responsibility, Restraint, Reciprocity, Rhythm, and Redemption.
>
> We know that life is hard work, but we accept that challenge for ourselves, for you, for life, for the future.

Note the religious tone of the pledge, with words such as "Righteousness" and "Redemption." This religious

emphasis pervades the program—the boys are required to attend church and to be involved in three church activities—and reflects the strong religiosity of African American culture we discussed in Chapter 4. The program can be seen as an effort to establish an explicit code for manhood, similar to the traditional cultures we discussed previously in this chapter. Research has not yet been conducted on the outcomes of this project, but studies on other mentoring projects show that they vary greatly in their effectiveness, depending on the characteristics of the program (Rhodes & DuBois, 2008).

LATINOS Among Latinos, gender roles have been highly traditional until recently, much along the lines of the traditional cultures described previously in this chapter (Rosenfield & Mouzon, 2013). The role of women was concentrated on caring for children, taking care of the home, and providing emotional support for the husband. Historically, the Catholic Church has been very strong among Latinos, and women have been taught to emulate the Virgin Mary by being submissive and self-denying, a cultural belief known as **marianismo.** The role of men, in contrast, has been guided by the ideology of **machismo**, which emphasizes males' dominance over females. Men have been expected to be the undisputed head of the household and to demand respect and obedience from their wives and children. The traditional aspects of manhood have been strong among Latinos—providing for a family, protecting the family from harm, and procreating a large family (Arciniega et al., 2008).

However, in recent years evidence has emerged that gender expectations among Latinos have begun to change, at least with respect to women's roles. Latina women are now employed at rates similar to Whites, and a Latina feminist movement has emerged (Denner & Guzmán, 2006; Lindsey, 2015; Taylor et al., 2007). This movement does not reject the traditional emphasis on the importance of the role of wife and mother, but seeks to value these roles while also expanding the roles available to Latinas. One study found that although Latina adolescent girls are aware of the traditional gender expectations of their culture, they often strive to negotiate a less traditional and more complex and personal form of the female gender role in their relationships with family, peers, and teachers (Denner & Dunbar, 2004).

ASIAN AMERICANS Like Latinos, Asian American adolescents have often received traditional gender role socialization that their parents brought along to the United States from their culture of origin (Chao, 1994). In addition, Asian Americans are subjected to media stereotypes of Asian American women as submissive and "exotic," and of Asian American men as high in intelligence but poor at sports and less masculine than other men. As a result of these stereotypes, Asian American adolescent boys often experience a sense of gender role inferiority (Qin, 2009; Sue, 2005).

Like adolescents with Latino backgrounds, many adolescents with Asian backgrounds are pushing back against the stereotypes about their cultures. In a recent study of Asian Canadian adolescent girls, the girls showed little enthusiasm for the traditional female qualities of gentleness and submissiveness (Chan & Ng, 2013). They valued financial independence, and had both work and family goals for their future. Similarly, a study of Asian American boys found many of them determined to achieve a degree of strength and muscularity that would contradict stereotypes about men of their ethnic group (Hill, 2013).

Adolescents and emerging adults who are members of American minority cultures are exposed not only to the gender roles of their own culture but also to the gender roles of the majority culture, through school, media, and friends and peers who may be part of that culture. This may make it possible for young people in American minority cultures to form a variety of possible gender concepts based on different blends of the gender roles in their minority culture as well as those of the larger society (Way et al., 2013). However, moving toward the gender roles of the majority culture often results in conflict with parents who have more traditional views, especially for girls and especially concerning issues of independence, dating, and sexuality (Fuentes & Vasquez, 1999; Qin, 2009). We will discuss this issue further in Chapter 9, on dating and sexuality.

Gender Stereotypes in Emerging Adulthood

5.16 Explain why gender stereotypes persist despite limited evidence for their validity.

Given the differential gender socialization that people in American society experience in childhood and adolescence, it should not be surprising to find that by the time they reach emerging adulthood they have different expectations for males and females. Most research on gender expectations in adulthood has been conducted by social psychologists, and because social psychologists often use college undergraduates as their research participants,

marianismo
The belief, common in Catholic cultures, that females should emulate the Virgin Mary by being submissive and self-denying.

machismo
Ideology of manhood, common in Latino cultures, which emphasizes males' dominance over females.

much of this research pertains to emerging adults' views of gender. Social psychologists have especially focused on gender stereotypes. A **stereotype** occurs when people believe others possess certain characteristics simply as a result of being a member of a particular group. Gender stereotypes, then, attribute certain characteristics to others simply on the basis of whether they are male or female (Kite et al., 2008). Gender stereotypes can be viewed as one aspect of gender schemas. Gender schemas include beliefs about objects (dresses are "female") and activities (football is "male") as well as people, but gender stereotypes are beliefs specifically about people.

One area of particular interest with regard to emerging adulthood is research on college students' gender stereotypes involving work. Generally, this research indicates that college students often evaluate women's work performance less favorably than men's. In one classic study, Goldberg (1968) asked college women to evaluate the quality of several articles supposedly written by professionals in a variety of fields. Some of the articles were in stereotypically female fields such as dietetics, some were in stereotypically male fields such as city planning, and some were in gender-neutral fields. There were two identical versions of each article, one supposedly written by, for example, "John McKay" and the other written by "Joan McKay." The results indicated that the women rated the articles more highly when they thought the author was a man. Even articles on the "female" fields were judged as better when written by a man. Other studies have found similar results with samples of both male and female college students (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Paludi & Strayer, 1985). Although not all studies have shown a tendency for men's work to be evaluated more favorably, when differences are found they tend to favor men (Lips, 1993; Top, 1991). More recent studies have continued to find strong gender stereotypes related to work (Grossman, 2013; Johnson et al., 2008; White & White, 2006).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think your professors evaluate your work without regard to your gender? Does it depend on the subject area?

Gender-related evaluations may depend on the age of the evaluator. As noted, most studies in this area have been done exclusively on college students, but one study compared males who were early adolescents, late adolescents, or college students (Lobel et al., 2004). Participants were given a description of either an average or outstanding male election candidate behaving gender-stereotypically or counter stereotypically and were asked to indicate their personal election choice, the likelihood that others would choose each candidate, and how successful the candidate would be if he were elected. Adolescents were more likely than the emerging adult college students to favor the gender-stereotypical candidate. No differences were found between the two stages of adolescence. This suggests that gender stereotypes may wane from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

Although some gender differences exist in adolescence and emerging adulthood with respect to various aspects of development, for the most part the differences are not large. Even when a statistically significant difference exists between males and females, for most characteristics there is nevertheless more similarity than difference between the genders. For example, even if it is true overall that adolescent girls are emotionally closer to their parents than adolescent boys are, there are nevertheless many adolescent boys who are closer to their parents than the typical adolescent girl is.

Most human characteristics fall into something resembling what is called a **normal distribution** or a **bell curve**; that is, a small proportion of people rate much higher than most other people, a small proportion rate much lower than most people, but most people fall somewhere in the middle, somewhere around average. Think of height as an example. You may have a friend who is 4 foot 10 inches and another friend who is 6 feet 10 inches, but most of the people you know are probably between 5 and 6 feet tall.

The point, with regard to gender, is that even when gender differences exist between males and females, for most characteristics the portion of the two bell curves that overlaps is much greater than the portion that is distinctive to either gender. (The same is true for children and adults as well as adolescents.) For example, **Figure 5.3** shows the distribution of male and female adolescents from a famous study that found a significant gender difference in math performance (Benbow & Stanley, 1980). As you can see, the two distributions overlap far more than they differ. When people hear that "adolescent boys do better at math than adolescent

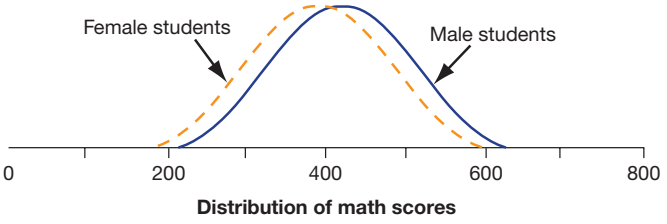
stereotype

A belief that others possess certain characteristics simply as a result of being a member of a particular group.

normal distribution or bell curve

The bell-shaped curve that represents many human characteristics, with most people around the average and a gradually decreasing proportion toward the extremes.

Figure 5.3 Overlap of bell curves. Although the difference in math performance between males and females in this study was statistically significant, there was a great deal of overlap in performance between the two groups.



SOURCE: Benbow & Stanley (1980).

girls," they tend to think of the two distributions as mostly or entirely separate, without realizing that the similarity between the genders is actually greater than the difference between them. Indeed, whenever you read about studies reporting gender differences (including in this text), keep in mind that the distributions of males and females usually overlap a great deal.

Why, then, do so many stereotypes about gender persist? Why do so many people continue to think of the genders as radically different in many ways, as "opposite" sexes? Two reasons can be offered. One reason stems from the development of gender schemas. Gender schemas tend to shape the way we notice, interpret, and remember information according to our expectations about the genders. Once we have formed ideas about how males and females are different, we tend to notice events and information that confirm our expectations and disregard or dismiss anything that does not. In several studies of children and adolescents, for example, boys and girls recalled gender-stereotyped people and activities better than those that were nonstereotyped, and this tendency was strongest for the boys and girls who already possessed the strongest gender stereotypes (Furnham & Singh, 1986; Martin & Ruble, 2004; Lindsey, 2015). Also, studies of college students have found that when they are shown males and females performing an equal number of gender-stereotyped and non–gender-stereotyped behaviors, they consistently overestimate the number of gender-stereotyped behaviors performed (Lenton, Blair, & Hastie, 2001). These studies illustrate how our gender schemas draw our attention to examples that confirm our expectations, so that we perceive the behavior of others to be more gender consistent than it actually is.

A second reason for the persistence of our beliefs about gender differences in capabilities is that the social roles of men and women seem to confirm those beliefs. According to **social roles theory**, social roles for males and females enhance or suppress different capabilities (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Koenig, 2006). Differential gender socialization leads males and females to develop different skills and attitudes, which leads to different behaviors. The differences in behavior seem to confirm the appropriateness of the different roles.

For example, caring for children is part of the female gender role in most cultures, including the American majority culture. In the American majority culture most girls are given dolls as children, and many are given some responsibility for caring for younger siblings. When they reach early adolescence, girls learn that baby-sitting is one of the options available to them as a way to earn money; boys, in contrast, learn that baby-sitting is something girls do but not boys. When they reach emerging adulthood, women are more likely than men to enter child care as a profession, perhaps including majoring in early childhood education in college. When they have children of their own, young women are also more likely than young men to devote themselves to full-time care of them.

Thus, as a consequence of differential gender socialization, and because girls grow up seeing child care as a possible future role but boys generally do not, girls are more likely to develop skills and attitudes that involve caring for children. As a consequence of developing these skills and attitudes, they are more capable of and more interested in devoting themselves to child care in their personal and professional lives as adolescents and emerging adults. The different behavior of women and men regarding child care confirms cultural beliefs that women are "naturally" more loving and nurturing than men. So, we see males and females doing different things, and we conclude that it must be because they are inherently different, overlooking the way their behavior has been shaped by differential gender socialization and by the social roles offered by their culture.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Consider the overlapping bell curves of math abilities in adolescence. Then use social roles theory to explain why so few women are in fields such as engineering and architecture.

social roles theory

Theory that social roles for males and females enhance or suppress different capabilities, so that males and females tend to develop different skills and attitudes, which leads to gender-specific behaviors.

Research Focus

META-ANALYSES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

Doing research on adolescence and emerging adulthood usually means collecting data through methods such as questionnaires or interviews. However, sometimes a scholar will approach a research question by taking data that other scholars have collected in a variety of studies and combining it into one analysis to obtain an overview of studies in an area. **Meta-analysis** is the term for the statistical technique that integrates the data from many studies into one comprehensive statistical analysis. This technique has been used frequently in research on gender differences, partly because so many studies have been published on gender differences. However, it can be used on any topic for which numerous studies exist.

A meta-analysis indicates whether a difference exists between groups (e.g., males and females) and also indicates the size of the difference. The difference between the groups is called the **effect size** and it is usually represented by the letter *d*. In a meta-analysis, the effect size is computed for each study by subtracting the mean of one group (e.g., females) from the mean of the other group (e.g., males) and then dividing the result by the within-group standard deviation for the two groups combined (Hyde, 1992). The within-group standard deviation is a measure of how much variability exists within each group. The convention in these analyses is that a *d* of 0.20 indicates a small effect size, 0.50 a medium effect size, and 0.80 a large effect size (Cohen, 1969). First, *d* is calculated for each study, and then the *d*s are averaged across all the studies included in the meta-analysis.

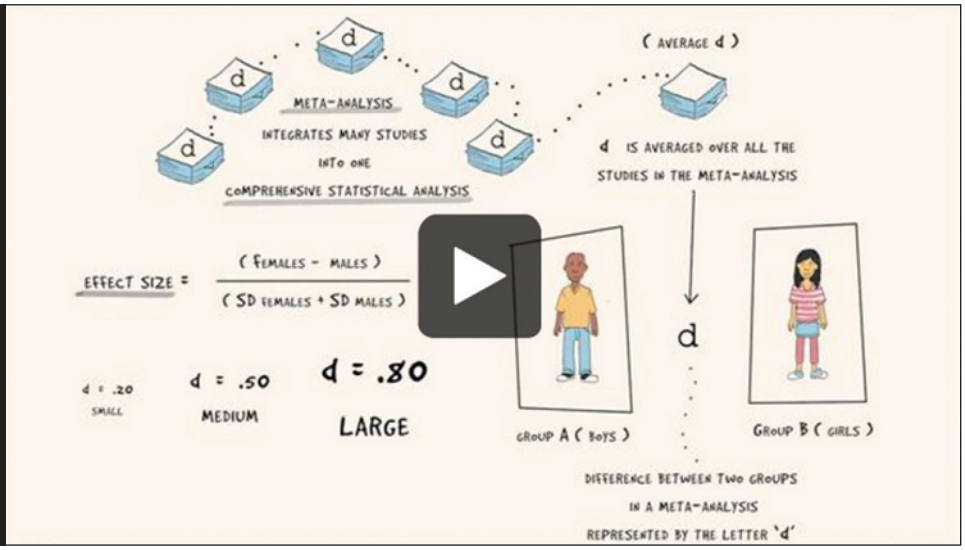
In 2010 a comprehensive meta-analysis of gender differences in adolescents' 8th-grade math performance was conducted, including 69 countries (Else-Quest, Hyde, & Lin, 2010). Across all 69 countries combined, there were no gender differences in math performance, not even a small effect size. However, there was a small-to-medium effect size for math attitudes. That is, boys were more self-confident in their math abilities, and girls were more anxious about math than boys were, even though, keep in mind, boys and girls were no different in their performance.

Perhaps most interesting of all, the meta-analysis found that gender differences in math performance and attitudes were predicted by the degree of a country's gender equality in other domains. Specifically, the more gender equality for girls in school enrollment, and the higher the percentage of women in research jobs and in elected government offices, the higher girls' math performance and the more positive their math attitudes.

The conclusion is that for the most part there are no gender differences in math performance between adolescent girls and boys, but when there are differences, they are the result of broader cultural beliefs and practices regarding gender equality.

Watch META-ANALYSES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

Video



meta-analysis
A statistical technique that integrates the data from many studies into one comprehensive statistical analysis.

effect size
The difference between two groups in a meta-analysis, represented by the letter *d*.

Summing Up

5.1 Distinguish between *gender* and *sex*.

Social scientists use the term sex to refer to the *biological status of being male or female*. Gender, in contrast, refers to the *social categories of male and female.* The process through which cultures communicate gender expectations to children and adolescents is called *gender socialization*.

5.2 Summarize the gender roles of adolescent girls in traditional cultures, including how gender expectations change from middle childhood to adolescence.

In traditional cultures gender roles tend to be sharply divided, and during adolescence boys' and girls' daily lives are often separate. Girls spend their time with adult women learning skills important for child care and running a household. From middle childhood to adolescence, the freedom of girls often becomes restricted, in order to protect them from boys and avoid the possibility of sexual activity.

5.3 List the three requirements of manhood for adolescent boys in traditional cultures, and explain the key factor that makes reaching manhood for adolescent boys different than reaching womanhood is for adolescent girls.

Boys in traditional cultures have to achieve manhood by developing the required skills for providing, protecting, and procreating. The price of failing to meet these requirements is humiliation and rejection. One striking difference between gender expectations for girls and gender expectations for boys in traditional cultures is that for boys, manhood is something that has to be *achieved*, whereas girls reach womanhood inevitably, mainly through their biological changes.

5.4 Explain how economic changes in developing countries are changing their gender roles.

Life in developing countries has changed in terms of gender roles because of globalization, but it remains true that adolescent girls have less in the way of educational and occupational opportunities, not only compared with boys in their own countries but compared with girls in the West. However, as globalization proceeds and traditional cultures become increasingly industrialized, traditional gender roles may change, because the greater physical strength of males is less economically valuable.

5.5 Explain how gender expectations for adolescent girls through American history both supported and restricted them more than adolescent girls today.

Adolescent girls growing up in the American middle class in the 18th and 19th centuries were narrowly constricted in terms of their occupational roles, cultural perceptions of females as fragile and innocent and incapable of important physical work, and in terms of their sexuality and physical appearance. However, girls of those times also benefited from the existence of a wide range of voluntary organizations in which adult women provided a "protective umbrella" for the nurturing of adolescent girls.

5.6 Describe how views of the values of self-control and self-expression in men changed in the course of American history.

According to historian Anthony Rotundo, American values associated with the male role shifted from "communal manhood" in the 17th and 18th centuries, which emphasized self-control, to self-made manhood in the 19th century, with self-control and self-expression both valued, to passionate manhood in the 20th century, with a strong emphasis on self-expression.

5.7 Summarize the changes in beliefs about gender in American society since the 1970s.

An annual national survey of American adults shows a clear trend toward more egalitarian gender attitudes in recent decades. However, the results of the survey also show that a considerable proportion of Americans continue to harbor beliefs about gender roles not unlike those in traditional cultures.

5.8 Describe how gender socialization changes from middle childhood to adolescence.

According to the gender intensification hypothesis, psychological and behavioral differences between males and females become more pronounced in the transition from childhood to adolescence because of intensified socialization pressures to conform to culturally prescribed gender roles.

5.9 Describe the evidence for differential gender socialization in the family, with peers, and in school.

Differential gender socialization is the term for socializing males and females according to different expectations about the attitudes and behavior appropriate to each gender. In the course of growing up, children get encouragement from parents, peers, and teachers to conform to gender roles. In the family, parents dress their boys and girls differently, give them different toys, and decorate their bedrooms differently. Children (especially boys) who deviate from gender norms in play suffer peer ridicule and are less popular than children who conform to gender roles. With regard to school, research has found that teachers generally reinforce the traditional cultural messages regarding gender.

5.10 Summarize how adolescent girls respond to gender socialization in social media.

Use of social media has been found to be associated with heightened insecurity about physical appearance and an enhanced "drive for thinness" in adolescent girls. Viewing their friends' photos on Facebook, adolescent girls tend to make unflattering comparisons to their own appearance.

5.11 Contrast adolescent boys and girls in the major problem that results from their gender socialization.

For girls, the focus on physical appearance that is the heart of the female gender role can produce many kinds of distress. For boys, the problem at the core of their gender role in adolescence is aggressiveness.

5.12 Explain how gender schemas guide expectations for how males and females should behave.

According to gender schema theory, gender is one of our most important schemas from early childhood onward. By the time we reach adolescence, on the basis of our socialization we have learned to categorize an enormous range of activities, objects, and personality characteristics as "female" or "male." Gender schemas influence how we interpret the behavior of others and what we expect from them.

5.13 Connect the concept of expressive and instrumental traits to research on adolescents' views of the ideal man or woman.

In general, femininity is associated with being nurturing (sympathetic, compassionate, gentle, etc.) and compliant (yielding, soft-spoken, childlike, etc.). In contrast, masculinity is associated with being independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient, individualistic, etc.) and aggressive (assertive, forceful, dominant, etc.). The difference in traits associated with each gender role has been described by scholars as a contrast between the expressive traits ascribed to females and the instrumental traits ascribed to males.

5.14 Describe the challenges facing transgender youth and how they respond.

Transgender people are those whose self-identification does not match their biological sex. Transgender adolescents and emerging adults are at notable risk for verbal and physical aggression. Although most research on transgender youth focuses on the problems they face, recent studies have found them to be resilient when facing hostility or discrimination.

5.15 Explain how the gender roles of African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans are rooted in their distinctive cultural histories.

African American women have a long tradition of showing exceptional strength and resilience, whereas African American men saw their masculinity undermined during slavery and long afterward. Latino tradition emphasizes machismo and marianismo, which entails dominance for men and submissiveness for women. Asian American women have been stereotyped as "exotic" and Asian American men as unmasculine.

5.16 Explain why gender stereotypes persist despite limited evidence for their validity.

Gender stereotypes attribute certain characteristics to others simply on the basis of whether they are male or female. Gender stereotypes can be viewed as one aspect of gender schemas. Gender schemas tend to shape the way we notice, interpret, and remember information according to our expectations about the genders. Once we have formed ideas about how males and females are different, we tend to notice events and information that confirm our expectations and disregard or dismiss anything that does not. A second reason for the persistence of our beliefs about gender differences in capabilities is that the social roles of men and women seem to confirm those beliefs, because of the way boys and girls have been socialized to conform to gender roles.

Key Terms

sex, p. 135
gender, p. 135
gender socialization, p. 135
provide, p. 137
protect, p. 137
procreate, p. 137
hymen, p. 141
communal manhood, p. 142
self-made manhood, p. 143
passionate manhood, p. 143
gender intensification hypothesis, p. 144
differential gender socialization, p. 145
cognitive-developmental theory of gender, p. 148
gender identity, p. 148
self-socialization, p. 149
gender schema theory, p. 149
schema, p. 149
expressive traits, p. 150
instrumental traits, p. 151
androgyny, p. 151
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gender nonconforming, p. 153
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transsexuals, p. 153
marianismo, p. 155
machismo, p. 155
stereotype, p. 156
normal distribution or bell curve, p. 156
social roles theory, p. 157
meta-analysis, p. 158
effect size, p. 158

Chapter 6
The Self

Learning Objectives

6.1 Summarize the differences among cultures in conceptions of the self.

6.2 Describe the different kinds of selves adolescents may have, and explain how this variation reflects adolescents' cognitive development.

6.3 Explain how and why self-esteem changes from preadolescence through adolescence, including ethnic variations.

6.4 List Harter's eight domains of self-concept, and identify which of them has the most influence on global self-esteem in adolescence.

6.5 Explain why self-esteem is relatively high for some adolescents and relatively low for others.

6.6 Summarize the evidence for emotional volatility in adolescence.

6.7 Evaluate the claim that girls lose their "voice" in adolescence.

6.8 Summarize adolescents' emotional states during times they are alone.

6.9 Explain how identity issues develop in adolescence, according to Erikson's theory, and how and why identity development might go off track.

6.10 Connect Erikson's theory of identity development to the identity status model on which most research is based.

6.11 Evaluate Erikson's theory from the perspective of postmodern theory,

and note the theory's limitations concerning gender and culture.

6.12 Describe Phinney's model of ethnic identity in adolescence.

6.13 Explain how globalization is influencing identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

The Catcher in the Rye, by J. D. Salinger (1951/1964), is probably the best-known novel of adolescence. It consists entirely of one long, self-reflective monologue by the main character, Holden Caulfield. Holden is talking to someone, but we never learn who the person is—a psychologist, perhaps? He gives a long narrative about a dramatic 24-hour period of his life. It begins when he abruptly leaves the prep school where he had been enrolled, feeling alienated from his schoolmates, sick to death at what he perceives as their hypocrisy and shallowness. Afraid to go home—this is not the first time he has had trouble at school—he goes into New York City instead, where he has a series of misadventures, culminating in a physical and psychological collapse.

Holden tells the whole complicated (and often hilarious) story to the reader through the course of the book. However, it is not really the events that are the focus of Holden's tale but Holden himself. It is about his attempts to understand who he is and how he fits into the world around him, a world he finds confusing, bruising, and sad. He is reluctant to move toward entering the adult world, because nearly all adults seem to him to be pathetic or corrupt. He much prefers the world of children. Throughout the book he expresses his tender and perhaps romanticized view of their innocence and sweetness. His growing self-awareness has come as an unpleasant shock, because in his view it has jarred him out of the Eden of his childhood innocence.

HOLDEN IS NOT A TYPICAL ADOLESCENT. IT IS HIS atypical sensitivity and wit that make him such a compelling character in *The Catcher in the Rye*. Nevertheless, he provides a good example of how issues of the self come to the forefront of development in adolescence. He engages in self-reflection about his maturity, or lack of it ("I act quite young for my age …"). He evaluates himself, sometimes negatively ("I'm a terrific liar …"). He has moments of elation, but more moments of loneliness and sadness, in which he broods about death and the cruelties of life. He tries to work out issues of identity, of who he is and what he wants out of life, concluding—at least for now—that the only future that appeals to him is the imaginary one of being the "catcher in the rye," the guardian of playing children.

The issues Holden confronts in his monologue are the kinds of issues we will address in this chapter on the self. As we saw in Chapter 3 on cognitive development, moving into adolescence results in new capacities for self-reflection. Adolescents can think about themselves in a way that younger children cannot. The ability for abstract thinking that develops in adolescence includes asking abstract questions about one's self, such as "What kind of person am I? What characteristics make me who I am? What am I good at, and not-so-good at? How do other people perceive me? What kind of life am I likely to have in the future?" Younger children can ask these questions, too, but only in a rudimentary way. With adolescents' growing cognitive capacities, they can now ask these questions of themselves more clearly, and they can come up with answers that are more complex and insightful.

This enhanced cognitive capacity for self-reflection has a variety of consequences. It means that adolescents change in their *self-conceptions*, that is, in their answers to the question "What kind of person am I?" It means that adolescents change in their *self-esteem*, that is, in their capacity for evaluating their fundamental worth as a person. It means that adolescents change in their *emotional understanding*, as they become more aware of their own emotions and as their enhanced understanding of themselves and others affects their daily emotional lives. It also means that adolescents change in their *identities*, that is, in their perceptions of their capacities and characteristics and how these fit into the opportunities available to them in their society. All of these changes continue through emerging adulthood, but identity issues are especially central to emerging adulthood, even more than in adolescence in many respects.

We will discuss each of these aspects of the self in this chapter, and end with a look at how globalization is influencing self-development for adolescents in developing countries. First, however, we consider the cultural approach to concepts of the self. Although self-reflection increases in adolescence as a part of normal cognitive development, the culture young people live in has profound effects on how they experience this change.

Self-Conceptions

How people think about themselves changes with age, but throughout life, our self-conceptions are shaped by the cultures we live in. In adolescence, across cultures, self-conceptions become more abstract and more complex.

Culture and the Self

6.1 Summarize the differences among cultures in conceptions of the self.

The general distinction introduced in Chapter 4, between individualistic and collectivistic cultures, and between broad and narrow socialization values, comes into play in considerations of the self, and perhaps especially on this topic. As noted in Chapter 4, in discussing cultural differences in conceptions of the self, scholars typically distinguish between the *independent self* promoted by individualistic cultures and the *interdependent self* promoted by collectivistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Raeff, 2010; Shweder et al., 2006).

Cultures that promote an independent, individualistic self also promote and encourage reflection about the self. In such cultures it is seen as a good thing to think about yourself, to consider who you are as an independent person, and to think highly of yourself (within certain limits, of course—no culture values selfishness or egocentrism). Americans are especially known for their individualism and their focus on self-oriented issues. It was an American who first invented the term *self-esteem* (William James, in the late 19th century), and the United States continues to be known to the rest of the world as a place where the independent self is valued and promoted (Raeff, 2010).

However, not all cultures look at the self in this way or value the self to the same extent. In collectivistic cultures, characterized by narrow socialization, an interdependent conception of the self prevails. In these cultures, the interests of the group—the family, the kinship group, the ethnic group, the nation, the religious institution—are supposed to come first, before the needs of the individual. This means that it is not necessarily a good thing, in these cultures, to think highly of yourself. People who think highly of themselves, who possess a high level of self-esteem, threaten the harmony of the group because they may be inclined to pursue their personal interests regardless of the interests of the groups to which they belong.

Thus, children and adolescents in these cultures are socialized to mute their self-esteem and to learn to consider the interests and needs of others to be at least as important as the interests and needs of themselves (Gelfand, 2012; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). By adolescence, this means that the "self" is thought of not so much as a separate, independent being, essentially apart from others, but as *defined by* relationships with others, to a large extent (Raeff, 2006). This is what it means for the self to be interdependent rather than independent. In the perspective of these cultures, the self cannot be understood apart from social roles and obligations.

We will learn in more detail about different ways of thinking about the self as we move along in this chapter. Throughout the chapter, keep in mind that cultures vary in the way their members are socialized to think about the self.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Based on what you have learned so far in this text, what would you say are the economic reasons traditional cultures would promote an interdependent self?

Types of Selves in Adolescence

6.2 Describe the different kinds of selves adolescents may have, and explain how this variation reflects adolescents' cognitive development.

Adolescents think about themselves differently than younger children do, in a variety of respects. The changes in self-understanding that occur in adolescence have their foundation in the more general changes in cognitive functioning discussed in Chapter 3. Specifically, adolescent self-conceptions, like adolescent cognitive development overall, become more *abstract* and more *complex*.

MORE ABSTRACT As explained in Chapter 3, to say that something is abstract means that it is a concept, an idea, something that cannot be experienced directly through the senses. For adolescents, the self becomes this kind of concept, as they reflect on their personal characteristics in new ways.

According to Susan Harter (1999, 2006, 2015), a scholar who has done extensive work on the development of self-conceptions from childhood through adolescence, with increasing age children describe themselves less in concrete terms ("I have a dog named Buster and a sister named Carrie") and more in terms of their traits ("I'm pretty smart, but I'm kind of shy"). For adolescents, self-conceptions become still more trait-focused, and the traits become more abstract, as they describe themselves in terms of intangible personality characteristics. For example, one 15-year-old girl in a study on self-conceptions described herself as follows:

> What am I like as a person? Complicated! I'm sensitive, friendly, outgoing, popular, and tolerant, though I can also be shy, self-conscious, even obnoxious.... I'm a pretty cheerful person, especially with my friends.... At home I'm more likely to be anxious around my parents. (Harter, 2015, p. 94)

Watch SELF-CONCEPTIONS IN ADOLESCENCE

Notice the use of all the abstractions. "Sensitive." "Outgoing." "Cheerful." "Anxious." Adolescents' capacity for abstraction makes these kinds of descriptions possible.

One aspect of this capacity for abstraction in adolescents' self-conceptions is that they can distinguish between an **actual self** and **possible selves** (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Oyserman Destin, & Novin, 2015). Scholars distinguish two kinds of possible selves, an ideal self and a feared self (Chalk et al., 2005). The **ideal self** is the person the adolescent would like to be (for example, an adolescent may have an ideal of becoming highly popular with peers or highly successful in athletics or music). The **feared self** is the person the adolescent imagines it is possible to become but dreads becoming (for example, an adolescent might fear becoming an alcoholic, or fear becoming like a disgraced relative or friend). Both kinds of possible selves require adolescents to think abstractly. That is, possible selves exist only as abstractions, as *ideas* in the adolescent's mind.

The capacity for thinking about an actual, a possible, an ideal, and a feared self is a cognitive achievement, but this capacity may be troubling in some respects. If you can imagine an ideal self, you can also become aware of the discrepancy between your actual self and your ideal self, between what you are and what you wish you were. If the discrepancy is large enough, it can result in feelings of failure, inadequacy, and depression. Studies have found that the size of the discrepancy between the actual and ideal self is related to depressed mood in both adolescents and emerging adults (Papadakis et al., 2006; Remue Hughes et al., 2014).

However, awareness of actual and possible selves provides some adolescents with a motivation to strive toward their ideal self and avoid becoming the feared self (Cota-Robles, Neiss, & Hunt, 2000; Oyserman & James, 2011). One study of an intervention designed to encourage adolescents to develop an academic possible self found that among the adolescents in the intervention, academic initiative and grades improved, whereas depression and school misbehavior declined, compared to the control group (Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2006).

Emerging adults, too, are often inspired by the vision of a possible self. In fact, one of the distinctive features of emerging adulthood mentioned in Chapter 1 is that it is the "age of possibilities" (Arnett, 2015). In one Australian study (Whitty, 2002), early emerging adulthood (ages 17 to 22) was found to be a time of "grand dreams" of being wealthy and having a glamorous occupation, but beyond emerging adulthood (ages 28 to 33) the visions of a possible self became more realistic, if still optimistic. In a national study in the United States, 82% of 18- to 29-year-olds agreed that "At this time of my life, it still seems like anything is possible" (Arnett, 2015).

Most scholars who have studied this topic see it as healthiest for adolescents to possess both an ideal self and a feared self. One study that compared delinquent adolescents to other adolescents found that the nondelinquent adolescents tended to have this balance between an ideal self and a feared self. In contrast, the delinquent adolescents possessed a feared self but were less likely than other adolescents to have a clear conception of an ideal self to strive for (Oyserman & Markus, 1990).

MORE COMPLEX A second aspect of adolescents' self-understanding is that it becomes more complex. Again, this is based on a more general cognitive attainment, the formal operational ability to perceive multiple aspects of a situation or idea. Scholars have found that adolescents' self-conceptions become more complex, especially from early adolescence to middle adolescence. Harter (1986) conducted a study in which she asked adolescents in 7th, 9th, and 11th grades to describe themselves. The results showed that the extent to which adolescents described

actual self
A person's perception of the self as it is, contrasted with the possible self.

possible selves
A person's conception of the self as it potentially may be. May include both an ideal self and a feared self.

ideal self
The person an adolescent would like to be.

feared self
The self a person imagines it is possible to become but dreads becoming.

themselves in contradictory ways (e.g., shy and fun-loving) increased sharply from 7th to 9th grade and then declined slightly in 11th grade.

Harter and her colleagues have found that recognizing these contradictions in their personalities and behavior can be confusing to adolescents, as they try to sort out "the real me" from the different aspects of themselves that appear in different situations (Harter, 2015; Harter et al., 1997). However, adolescents' contradictory descriptions do not necessarily mean that they are confused about which of the two contradictory descriptions apply to their actual selves. To some extent, the contradictions indicate that adolescents, more than younger children, recognize that their feelings and their behavior can vary from day to day and from situation to situation (Harter, 1990, 2015). Rather than simply saying "I'm shy" as a younger child might, an adolescent might say "I'm shy when I'm around people I don't really know, but when I'm around my friends I can be kind of wild and crazy."

A related aspect of the increasing complexity of self-conceptions is that adolescents become aware of times when they are exhibiting a **false self**, a self that they present to others while realizing that it does not represent what they are actually thinking and feeling (Harter et al., 1997; Weir & Jose, 2010). With whom would you think adolescents would be most likely to exhibit their false selves—friends, parents, or dates? Research by Harter and others indicates that adolescents are most likely to put on their false selves with dating partners, and least likely with their close friends, with parents in between (Sippola et al., 2007). Most adolescents in Harter's research indicate that they sometimes dislike putting on a false self, but many also say that some degree of false self behavior is acceptable and even desirable, to impress someone or to conceal aspects of the self they do not want others to see (Harter et al., 1997). Recent research has begun to investigate presentations of actual and false selves on social media such as Facebook (Michikyan, Dennis, & Subrahmanyam, 2014), a topic we will return to in Chapter 12.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think a false self is most likely to be shown to dating partners? Would the false self be gradually discarded as the dating partner becomes a boyfriend or girlfriend, or not?

Self-Esteem

The cultural focus on self-esteem in American society has led to a considerable amount of research on adolescent self-esteem by American scholars in recent decades. This research has shed light on a number of issues, including changes in self-esteem from preadolescence through adolescence, different aspects of self-esteem, and influences on self-esteem.

Self-Esteem From Preadolescence Through Adolescence

6.3 Explain how and why self-esteem changes from preadolescence through adolescence, including ethnic variations.

Self-esteem is a person's overall sense of worth and well-being. *Self-image, self-concept,* and *self-perception* are closely related terms, referring to the way people view and evaluate themselves.

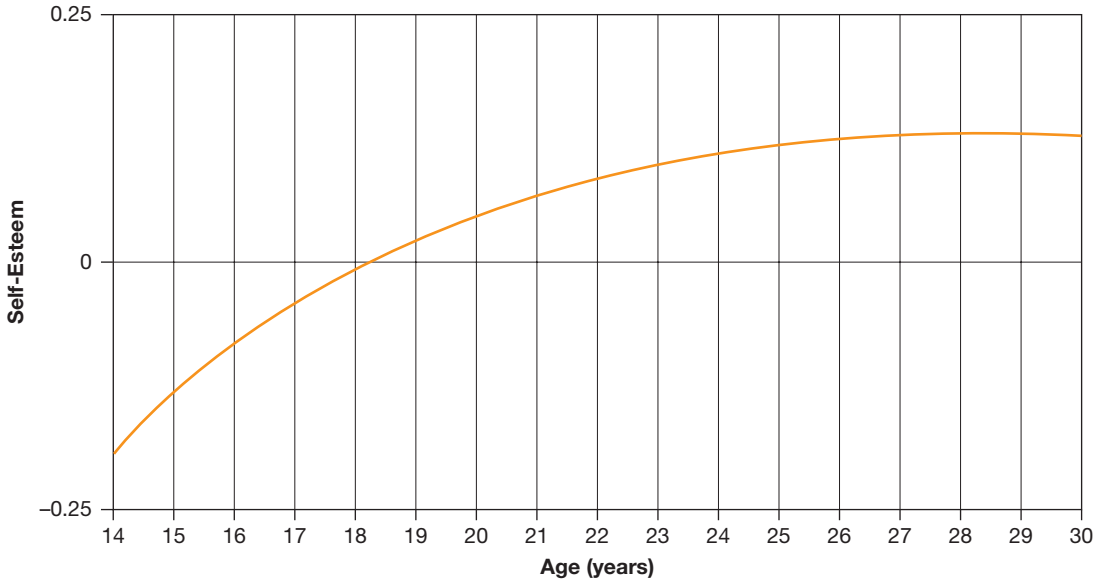
Several longitudinal studies of self-esteem have followed samples from preadolescence through adolescence or from adolescence through emerging adulthood, and these studies generally find that self-esteem declines in early adolescence, then rises through late adolescence and emerging adulthood (see **Figure 6.1**) (Huang, 2010; Orth & Robins, 2014). A number of developmental reasons explain why self-esteem might follow this pattern. The "imaginary audience" that we have discussed as part of adolescents' cognitive development can make them self-conscious in a way that decreases their self-esteem when they first experience it in early adolescence (Alberts et al., 2007; Elkind, 1967). That is, as adolescents develop the capacity to imagine that others are especially conscious of how they look and what they say and how they act, they may suspect or fear that others are judging them harshly.

And they may be right. Adolescents in Western cultures tend to be strongly peer-oriented and to value the opinion of their peers highly, especially on day-to-day issues such as how they are dressed and what they say in social situations (Brown & Braun, 2013). But as discussed in Chapter 3, their peers have developed new cognitive capacities for sarcasm and ridicule, which tend to be dispensed freely toward any peer who seems odd or awkward or uncool (Cameron et al., 2010; Ichikawa et al.,

false self
The self a person may present to others while realizing that it does not represent what he or she is actually thinking and feeling.

self-esteem
A person's overall sense of worth and well-being.

Figure 6.1 Self-esteem rises from adolescence to emerging adulthood.



SOURCE: Orth & Robins (2014).

2015). So, the combination of greater peer-orientation, greater self-consciousness about evaluations by peers, and peers' potentially harsh evaluations contributes to declines in self-esteem in early adolescence. Self-esteem rises in late adolescence and emerging adulthood as peers' evaluations become less important (Galambos et al., 2006).

Most studies on self-esteem in adolescence assume that high self-esteem is good and low self-esteem is a problem that needs to be fixed, so it is worth remembering here that views of self-esteem vary widely among cultures. Americans value high self-esteem to a greater extent than people in other countries, even compared to people in other Western countries, and the gap between Americans and non-Western countries in this respect is especially great (Becker et al., 2014; Shweder et al., 2006). For example, in traditional Asian culture, self-criticism is a virtue and high self-esteem is a character problem (Falk et al., 2009). The American concern with self-esteem is part of American individualism.

Diversity in self-esteem also exists among different American ethnic groups. Despite being subject to centuries of slavery, discrimination, and racism, African Americans tend to have higher self-esteem than other ethnic groups, and the difference increases with age from childhood through adolescence and emerging adulthood (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2007), although their self-esteem suffers if they experience racial discrimination (Yip, 2015). White adolescents tend to have higher self-esteem than Latinos, Asian Americans, or Native Americans (Twenge & Crocker, 2002). Asian Americans are often lowest in studies that compare the self-esteem of adolescents of different ethnic groups (Greene & Way, 2005). The reasons for these ethnic differences are rooted in cultural differences, with self-esteem promoted most in African American culture and least in Asian American cultures (Greene & Way, 2005). The interdependent self favored in Asian cultures tends to discourage high self-evaluations and encourage a focus on the needs and concerns of others (Heine, 2015; Nishikawa et al., 2007).

African American adolescents have higher self-esteem than adolescents in other ethnic groups.

THINKING CRITICALLY

What hypothesis would you propose to explain the ethnic differences in adolescent self-esteem just described? How would you test your hypothesis?

Different Aspects of Self-Esteem

6.4 List Harter's eight domains of self-concept, and identify which of them has the most influence on global self-esteem in adolescence.

As scholars have studied self-esteem, they have concluded that it has different aspects in addition to overall self-esteem. Morris Rosenberg, the scholar who developed the widely used Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, distinguished between baseline self-esteem and barometric self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1986). **Baseline self-esteem** is a person's stable, enduring sense of worth and well-being. People with high baseline self-esteem might have an occasional bad day in which they feel incompetent or self-critical, but they still have high baseline self-esteem because most days they evaluate themselves positively. In contrast, people with low baseline self-esteem might continue to have a poor opinion of themselves even though they have some days when things go well and they have positive feelings about themselves.

Barometric self-esteem is the fluctuating sense of worth and well-being people have as they respond to different thoughts, experiences, and interactions in the course of a day. According to Rosenberg, early adolescence is a time when variations in barometric self-esteem are especially intense (Rosenberg, 1986). An adolescent might have a disagreement with a parent over breakfast and feel miserable, then go to school and have some fun with friends before class and feel good, then get back a test in biology with a poor grade and feel miserable again, then get a smile from an attractive potential love interest and feel great—all in just a few hours.

The Experience Sampling Method (ESM) studies, in which adolescents wear beeper watches and record their moods and activities when beeped at random times, confirm Rosenberg's insights by showing just this kind of rapid fluctuation of moods among adolescents in a typical day (Larson & Richards, 1994). ESM studies find that adults and preadolescents experience changes in their moods as well, but not with the same frequency or intensity as adolescents. Moodiness may be especially high in early adolescence. A recent study used a variation of the ESM, in which Dutch adolescents kept Internet diaries of their daily experiences of happiness, sadness, and anger, for five straight days on three occasions per year, over a five-year period from age 13 to 18 (Maciejewski et al., 2015). There was a consistent pattern of less mood fluctuation with each year.

Other studies confirm that adolescents' self-esteem varies depending on who they are with (Harter et al., 1998). Furthermore, adolescents vary in how much their barometric self-esteem fluctuates, with some relatively stable across time and contexts and some highly variable (Harter & Whitesell, 2003). The more enjoyable and secure their social relationships, the more stable their self-esteem is.

Other aspects of adolescent self-esteem have been investigated by Susan Harter (1989, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2015). Her *Self-Perception Profile for Adolescents* distinguishes the following eight domains of adolescent self-image:

- Scholastic competence
- Social acceptance
- Athletic competence
- Physical appearance
- Job competence
- Romantic appeal
- Behavioral conduct
- Close friendship.

Examples of items from each subscale are provided in the Research Focus box on page 169, along with more information about the scale. In addition to the eight subscales on specific domains of self-esteem, Harter's scale also contains a subscale for global (overall) self-esteem.

Harter's research indicates that adolescents do not need to have a positive self-image in all domains to have high global self-esteem. Each domain of self-image influences global self-esteem only to the extent that the

baseline self-esteem
A person's stable, enduring sense of worth and well-being.

barometric self-esteem
The fluctuating sense of worth and well-being people have as they respond to different thoughts, experiences, and interactions in the course of a day.

adolescent views that domain as important. For example, some adolescents may view themselves as having low athletic competence, but that would influence their global self-esteem only if it was important to them to be good at athletics. Nevertheless, some domains of self-esteem are more important than others to most adolescents, as we will see in the next section.

SELF-ESTEEM AND PHYSICAL APPEARANCE Which of Harter's eight aspects of self-image would you expect to be most important in adolescence? Research by Harter and others has found that physical appearance is most strongly related to global self-esteem, followed by social acceptance from peers (Barker & Bornstein, 2010; Harter, 2015; Shapka & Keating, 2005). A similar link between physical appearance and self-esteem has been found for emerging adults (Mendelson, Mendelson, & Andrews, 2000).

Adolescent girls are more likely than boys to emphasize physical appearance as a basis for self-esteem. This gender difference largely explains the gender difference in self-esteem that occurs at adolescence in most Western cultures (Gentile et al., 2009). Girls have a more negative body image than boys in adolescence and are more critical of their physical appearance. They are less satisfied with the shape of their bodies than boys are, and the majority of them believe they weigh too much and have attempted to diet (Barker & Bornstein, 2010). Because girls tend to evaluate their physical appearance negatively, and because physical appearance is at the heart of their global self-esteem, girls' self-esteem tends to be lower than boys' during adolescence (Steiger et al., 2014).

The prominence of physical appearance as a source of self-esteem also helps explain why girls' self-esteem is especially likely to decline as they enter early adolescence. As we have seen in Chapter 2, girls are often highly ambivalent about the changes that take place in their physical appearance when they reach puberty. Reaching puberty means becoming more womanly, which is good, but becoming more womanly means gaining weight in certain places, which is not good in some cultures. Because the physical ideal for American females is so thin, reaching an age where nature promotes rounder body development makes it difficult for adolescent girls to feel good about themselves (Calzo et al., 2012). The focus on physical attractiveness as a source of self-esteem is further promoted by the fact that reaching adolescence also means facing evaluations from others as a potential romantic/sexual partner, and for girls especially, physical attractiveness is the primary criterion for this evaluation (Harter, 2015).

> Girls compare their own bodies to our cultural ideals and find them wanting. Dieting and dissatisfaction with bodies have become normal reactions to puberty…. Girls are terrified of being fat, as well they should be. Girls hear the remarks made about heavy girls in the halls of their schools. No one feels thin enough. Because of guilt and shame about their bodies, young women are constantly on the defensive…. Almost all adolescent girls feel fat, worry about their weight, diet and feel guilty when they eat.
>
> —MARY PIPHER (1994), *REVIVING OPHELIA: SAVING THE SELVES OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS*, PP. 184–185

It should be emphasized that the research that has found a decline in girls' self-esteem in adolescence and a gender difference in perceived physical appearance has been mainly on White adolescents. Evidence indicates that African American girls evaluate their physical appearance quite differently than White girls do (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2007). In one study of middle school and high school girls, 40% of the African American girls were satisfied with their bodies, compared with just 20% of the White girls (Kelly et al., 2005). This ethnic difference in perceived physical appearance helps explain why White American girls tend to have lower self-esteem than boys in adolescence, whereas in American minority groups the reverse is true (Greene & Way, 2005; Mitola et al., 2007). However, some evidence suggests that Black and Asian young women evaluate themselves according to skin color, with those having relatively dark skin also having negative perceptions of their attractiveness (Hill, 2002; Philips, 2004).

SELF-ESTEEM IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD Although self-esteem tends to decline from preadolescence to adolescence, for most people it rises during emerging adulthood (Galambos et al., 2006; Orth & Robins, 2014). **Figure 6.1** shows this pattern. There are a number of reasons why self-esteem increases over this period. Physical appearance is important to adolescents' self-esteem, and by emerging adulthood most people have passed through the awkward changes of puberty and may be more comfortable with how they look. Also, feeling accepted and approved by parents contributes to self-esteem, and from adolescence to emerging adulthood relationships with parents generally improve while conflict diminishes (Arnett, 2015; Galambos et al., 2006). Peers and friends are also important to self-esteem, and entering emerging adulthood means leaving the social pressure cooker of secondary school, where peer evaluations are a part of daily life and can be harsh (Barry, Madsen & DeGrace, 2015; Pascoe, 2007).

Also, reaching emerging adulthood usually means having more control over the social contexts of everyday life, which makes it possible for emerging adults to emphasize the contexts they prefer and avoid the contexts they find disagreeable, in a way that adolescents cannot.

Research Focus

HARTER'S SELF-PERCEPTION PROFILE FOR ADOLESCENTS

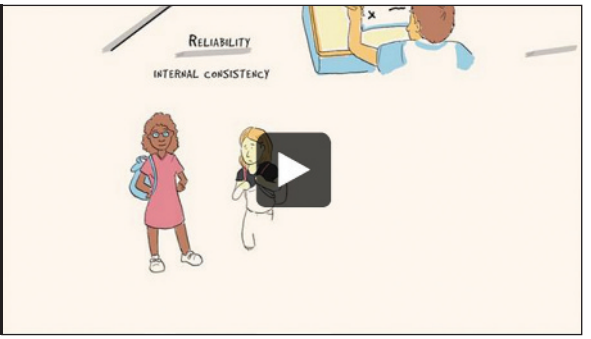
The most widely used measure of the self in adolescence is Susan Harter's (1988, 1999, 2003, 2006, 2015) Self-Perception Profile for Adolescents. The scale consists of nine subscales of 5 items each, for a total of 45 items. Eight of the subscales assess specific domains of self-image, and the ninth subscale assesses overall ("global") self-worth. The format of the items is to present two statements about "teenagers." The adolescent then selects which of the statements most applies to him or her, and whether the statement is "sort of true for me" or "really true for me." Examples of items from each subscale are shown in **Table 6.1**.

Notice that for some items, the response that signifies high self-esteem comes first (before the "BUT"), whereas for other items the high self-esteem response comes second (after the "BUT"). The reason for this variation is to avoid a **response bias**, which is the tendency to choose the same response for all items. If the high self-esteem response came first for all items, after a few items an adolescent might start simply checking the first box without reading the item closely. Altering the arrangement of the items helps to avoid a response bias.

Reliability and validity are two qualities sought in any questionnaire. To establish the reliability of the subscales, Harter calculated the **internal consistency** of each one. Internal consistency is a statistic that indicates the extent to which the different items in a scale or subscale are answered in a similar way. Harter's subscales showed high internal consistency, which means that adolescents who reported a positive self-perception on one item of a subscale also tended to report a positive self-perception on the other items of the subscale, and adolescents who reported a negative self-perception on one item of a subscale also tended to report a negative self-perception on the other items.

Watch HARTER'S SELF-PERCEPTION PROFILE FOR ADOLESCENTS

Video



What about the validity of the scale? Recall from Chapter 1 that the validity of a scale is the extent to which it really measures what it claims to measure. One way to establish validity is to see whether findings using the scale are consistent with findings using other methods. Research using the Harter scale has found that girls rate themselves lower than boys on physical appearance and global self-worth, but higher than boys on close friendships (Harter, 1988, 1999, 2015). Because these findings are consistent with other studies, the findings appear to support the validity of the Harter scale. However, Harter's research has taken place mostly on adolescents in the American middle class. The measure may not be as valid for adolescents in other cultures, especially in Eastern cultures such as Japan and China, in which it is socially disapproved to evaluate yourself positively (Nishikawa et al., 2007).

Table 6.1 Sample Items From the *Self-Perception Profile for Adolescents*

Social Acceptance
Some teenagers are popular with others their age BUT Other teenagers are not very popular.
Physical Appearance
Some teenagers think that they are good looking BUT Other teenagers think that they are not very good looking.
Romantic Appeal
Some teenagers feel that other people their age will be romantically attracted to them BUT Other teenagers worry about whether people their age will be attracted to them.
Close Friendship
Some teenagers are able to make really close friends BUT Other teenagers find it hard to make really close friends.
Global Self-Worth
Some teenagers are happy with themselves most of the time BUT Other teenagers are often not happy with themselves.

SOURCE: Harter (1988, 2015).

response bias
On a questionnaire, the tendency to choose the same response for all items.

internal consistency
A statistical calculation that indicates the extent to which the different items in a scale or subscale are answered in a similar way.

For example, adolescents who dislike school and do poorly have little choice but to attend school, where poor grades may repeatedly undermine their self-esteem. However, in emerging adulthood they can leave school and instead engage in full-time work that they may find more gratifying and enjoyable, thus enhancing their self-esteem.

Causes and Effects of Self-Esteem

6.5 Explain why self-esteem is relatively high for some adolescents and relatively low for others.

What leads some adolescents to have high self-esteem and others to have low self-esteem? Feeling accepted and approved by others—especially parents and peers—is the influence identified by theorists and researchers as the most important (DuBois, 2003; Greene & Way, 2005; Harter, 2015). As noted previously, because peers become especially prominent in the social world of adolescents, they gain considerable power over self-esteem in adolescence compared with earlier ages, but parents are important as well. Although adolescents often spend less time with their parents and have more conflict with them than before adolescence, adolescents' relationships with parents remain crucial to their perceptions of themselves. If parents provide love and encouragement, adolescent self-esteem is enhanced; if parents are denigrating or indifferent, adolescents respond with lower self-esteem (Blattner et al., 2013; Ojanen & Perry, 2007). Approval from adults outside the family, especially teachers, contributes to self-esteem as well (Dusek & McIntyre, 2003; Mota & Matos, 2014).

School success has also been found to be related to self-esteem in adolescence, especially for Asian American adolescents (Rivas-Drake et al., 2008). But which comes first? Do adolescents gain in self-esteem when they do well in school, or does self-esteem directly influence adolescents' performance in school? In the 1960s and 1970s, the predominant belief in American education was that self-esteem is more of a cause of school success than a consequence.

Numerous programs were instituted to try to enhance students' self-esteem, by praising them and trying to teach them to praise themselves, in the hopes that this would raise their school performance. However, scholars eventually concluded that these programs did not work (Baumeister et al., 2007). More recent studies have shown that school success and self-esteem are mutually reinforcing: Doing well in school enhances self-esteem in children and adolescents, which in turn gives them confidence that promotes further school success (Roskam & Nils, 2007). It is possible for self-esteem to be too high as well as too low: Adolescents who have inflated self-esteem—that is, they rate themselves more favorably than parents, teachers, and peers rate them—tend to have greater conduct problems in the classroom compared with their peers (Baumeister et al., 2007; Twenge, 2013). The best way to improve adolescents' school-related self-esteem is to teach them knowledge and skills that can be the basis of real achievements in the classroom.

In other areas of functioning, the question of the effects of self-esteem is controversial, with some scholars claiming that self-esteem has a wide range of effects, whereas others argue that, like the findings regarding school performance, functioning in other areas is a cause of self-esteem rather than an effect (Baumeister, 2013; Donnellan et al., 2005). One study indicates that the effects of self-esteem may depend on which domains are high and which are low (Wild et al., 2004). *Low* self-esteem in the family and school domains and *high* self-esteem in the peer domain were associated with multiple risk behaviors in adolescents of both sexes.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Americans generally consider it healthy to have high self-esteem. Is it possible for self-esteem to be too high? If so, how would you be able to tell when that point is reached? Is it subjective, based simply on each person's opinion, or could you define that point objectively?

The Emotional Self

Among the issues of the self that adolescents confront is how to understand and manage their emotions. One of the most ancient and enduring observations of adolescence is that it is a time of heightened emotions. More than 2,000 years ago, the Greek philosopher Aristotle

Negative moods become more common in adolescence.

observed that youth "are heated by Nature as drunken men by wine." About 250 years ago, the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau made a similar observation: "As the roaring of the waves precedes the tempest, so the murmur of rising passions announces the tumultuous change" of puberty and adolescence. Around the same time that Rousseau was writing, a type of German literature was developing that became known as *sturm und drang* literature—German for "storm and stress." In these stories, young people in their teens and early 20s experienced extreme emotions of angst, sadness, and romantic passion. Today, too, most American parents see adolescence as a time of heightened emotional fluctuations (Buchanan & Hughes, 2011). But just because these views of adolescence are common does not mean they are true. The storm and stress issue was introduced in Chapter 1, but let's examine it in more detail here.

Adolescents' Emotions: Storm and Stress?

6.6 Summarize the evidence for emotional volatility in adolescence.

What does contemporary research tell us about the validity of these historical and popular ideas about adolescent emotionality? Probably the best sources of data on this question are the ESM studies, in which people record their emotions and experiences when they are "beeped" at random times during the day (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984; Goldner et al., 2011; Larson & Richards, 1994). What makes the ESM method especially valuable for addressing the question of adolescent emotionality is that it assesses emotions at numerous specific moments rather than having adolescents make an overall judgment of their emotional fluctuations. Furthermore, ESM studies have also been conducted on preadolescents and adults. Thus, if we compare the patterns of emotions reported by the different groups, we can get a good sense of whether adolescents report more extremes of emotions than preadolescents or adults.

The results indicate that they do (Larson, Csikszentmihalyi, & Graef, 1980; Larson & Richards, 1994). Adolescents report feeling "self-conscious" and "embarrassed" two to three times more often than their parents and are also more likely than their parents to feel awkward, lonely, nervous, and ignored. Adolescents are also moodier when compared to preadolescents. Comparing preadolescent 5th graders to adolescent 8th graders, Larson and Richards (1994) describe the emotional "fall from grace" that occurs during that time, as the proportion of time experienced as "very happy" declines by 50%, and similar declines take place in reports of feeling "great," "proud," and "in control." The result is an overall "deflation of childhood happiness" (p. 85) as childhood ends and adolescence begins. This finding is consistent with the decline in self-esteem described previously.

Brain development may contribute to adolescents' emotionality (Giedd et al., 2015). In one study comparing adolescents (ages 10 to 18) to emerging adults and young adults (ages 20 to 40), participants were shown pictures of faces displaying strong emotions (Baird et al., 1999). When adolescents processed the emotional information from the photos, brain activity was especially high in the amygdala, a primitive part of the brain involved in emotions, and relatively low in the frontal lobes, the part of the brain involved in higher functions such as reasoning and planning. The reverse was true for adults. This seems to indicate that adolescents often respond to emotional stimuli more with the heart than with the head, whereas adults tend to respond in a more controlled and rational way. Studies also indicate that the hormonal changes of puberty contribute to increased emotionality in early adolescence (Susman & Rogol, 2004).

However, most scholars see these emotional changes as due to cognitive and environmental factors more than to biological changes (Barrocas & Hankin, 2011; Susman & Rogol, 2004). According to Larson and Richards (1994), adolescents' newly developed capacities for abstract reasoning "allow them to see beneath the surface of situations and envision hidden and more long-lasting threats to their well-being" (p. 86). Larson and Richards (1994) also argue that experiencing multiple life changes and personal transitions during adolescence (such as the onset of puberty, changing schools, and the first romantic and sexual experiences) contributes to adolescents' emotional volatility. Nevertheless, Larson and Richards (1994) emphasize that it is not just that adolescents experience potentially stressful events but *how* they experience and interpret them that underlies their emotional volatility. Even in response to the same or similar events, adolescents report more extreme and negative moods than preadolescents or adults.

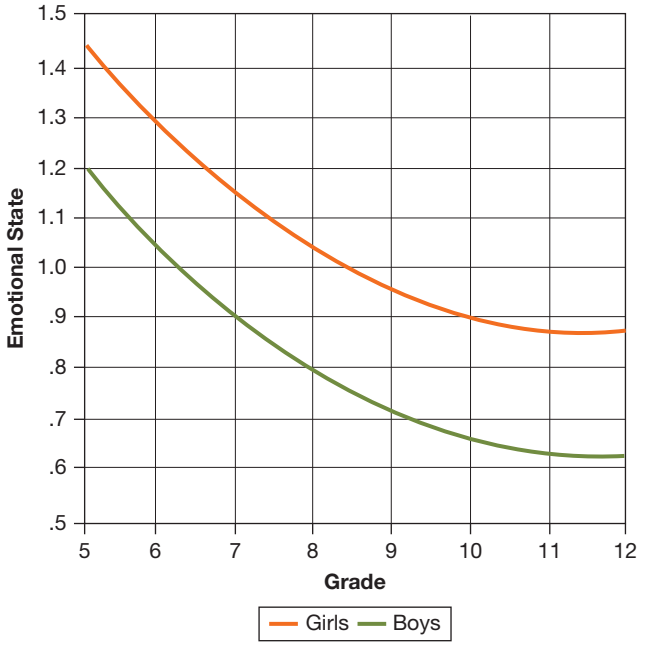
How does emotionality change during the course of adolescence? Larson and Richards assessed their original ESM sample of 5th to 8th graders four years later, in 9th to 12th grades (Larson et al., 2002). As **Figure 6.2** shows, they found that the decline in positive emotional states continued through 9th and 10th grades and then leveled out. Also, the older adolescents were less volatile in their emotions; that is, the changes in their emotions from one time to the next were less extreme.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Adolescent girls have lower overall self-esteem than adolescent boys, yet boys have lower average emotional states than girls do. Is this a contradiction, or is it possible that both these findings could be true?

Figure 6.2 Decline in average emotional state from grades 5–12.

SOURCE: Larson et al. (2002).



According to Carol Gilligan, girls risk losing confidence in themselves when they reach adolescence.

What about other cultures? Is adolescent emotionality especially an American phenomenon, or does it take place in other cultures as well? Only limited evidence is available to answer this question. However, in one study the ESM method was used with adolescents and their parents in India (Verma & Larson, 1999). The results indicated that, in India as in the United States, adolescents reported more extremes of emotion than their parents did.

Few studies have examined emotionality in emerging adulthood, but one longitudinal study found that from ages 18 to 25, negative emotions (such as feeling depressed or angry) decreased (Galambos et al., 2006). This finding fits well with the research on self-esteem in showing that for most people the self becomes happier and more stable from adolescence to emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2015).

Gender and the Emotional Self: Do Adolescent Girls Lose Their "Voice"?

6.7 Evaluate the claim that girls lose their "voice" in adolescence.

One of the most influential theorists on the self-development of girls in adolescence has been Carol Gilligan. Gilligan and her colleagues have argued that there are gender differences in the self in adolescence. They claim that early adolescence is a crucial turning point in self-development, in which boys learn to assert their opinions, whereas girls lose their "voice" and become reticent and insecure (Gilligan, 2008; Gilligan, Lyons, & Hanmer, 1990; Gilligan, Rogers, & Tolman, 2014).

In Gilligan's view, from early childhood onward girls and boys differ in their emotional responses to social relationships. She sees girls as more sensitive to the nuances of human relationships from an early age, more observant of the subtleties of social interactions, and more interested in cultivating emotional intimacy in their relationships with others. Girls have a "different voice" than boys, not just in their views of moral issues but in their views of human relationships more generally.

Early adolescence is crucial, according to Gilligan, because it is at this point that girls become aware of an irreconcilable conflict in the gender expectations that the American majority culture has for females. On the one hand, girls perceive that independence and assertiveness are valued in their culture, and that people who are ambitious and competitive are most likely to be rewarded in their education and in their careers. On the other hand, they perceive that their culture values females mainly for their physical appearance and for feminine traits such as nurturance and care for others, and rejects girls and women as selfish when they show the traits the culture rewards most, such as competitiveness. As a result, girls in early adolescence typically succumb to the gender socialization of their culture and become more insecure and tentative about their abilities, more likely to mute their voices in an effort to be socially accepted. At the extreme, according to Gilligan, the muting of girls' voices is reflected in an escalation in such problems as depression and eating disorders when girls reach adolescence.

However, critics have argued that Gilligan exaggerates the differences between boys and girls in adolescence (Farady, 2010; Sommers, 2000; Tavris, 1992). For example, it is

true that girls' self-esteem declines in early adolescence, but boys' self-esteem declines as well, something Gilligan rarely acknowledges (Huang, 2010; Orth & Robins, 2014). A related criticism is of Gilligan's research methods. As in her studies of moral development, her studies of gender differences in the self in adolescence have rarely included boys. She studies girls and then makes assumptions about how they differ from the patterns that might be found among boys. Also, she typically presents the results of her research only in the form of excerpts from the interviews she and her colleagues have conducted, and commentaries on those excerpts. Critics find this approach weak methodologically and difficult to judge for reliability and validity (Farady, 2010; Sommers, 2000).

Although Gilligan's research methods may have certain flaws, other researchers have explored the issues she has raised, using more rigorous methods. In one study, Susan Harter and her colleagues examined Gilligan's idea of losing one's voice in adolescence, but they included boys as well as girls (Harter et al., 1997; Harter et al., 1998). Harter and colleagues gave the adolescents a questionnaire to measure the degree of their "voice" (expressing an opinion, disagreeing, etc.), and another questionnaire to measure the degree of their self-reported masculinity and femininity. The results indicated some support for Gilligan's theory, in that "feminine" girls reported lower levels of "voice" than boys did. In contrast, androgynous girls—those who reported having both masculine and feminine traits—were equal to boys in "voice." However, Harter's research does not support Gilligan's claim that girls' "voice" declines as they enter adolescence (Harter, 1999). Only the more "feminine" girls were lower than boys in "voice," not girls in general.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Based on your experience and observation, do you agree or disagree with Gilligan's view that girls lose their "voice" in adolescence? Do boys?

The Self, Alone

6.8 Summarize adolescents' emotional states during times they are alone.

One of the reasons that adolescents are able to engage in the frequent self-reflection that allows them to consider their self-conceptions, self-esteem, and emotional states is that they are often by themselves. Studies of time use among American adolescents indicate that they spend about one fourth of their time alone, which is more time than they spend with either their families or their friends (Barnes et al., 2007; Larson et al., 1982; Larson & Richards, 1994).

The ESM studies provide some interesting data on adolescents' experiences of being alone (Greasley & Lamont, 2011; Larson et al., 1982; Larson & Richards, 1994). These studies find that a substantial proportion of adolescents' time alone is spent in their bedrooms, with the door closed. Is this a lonely time for them? Yes, but it also has benefits. During their time alone their moods tend to be low—they are more likely than at other times to report feeling weak, lonely, and sad. However, after a period by themselves their mood tends to rise. Larson and Richards (1994) conclude that adolescents use their time alone for self-reflection and mood management. They listen to music, they lie on their beds, they groom themselves in the mirror, they brood, they text their friends, they fantasize (Greasley & Lamont, 2011). When their time alone is done, they tend to feel restored, ready to face the slings and arrows of daily life again.

Adolescents spend more time by themselves than with family or friends.

Larson and Richards (1994) provide a revealing example of one adolescent girl's experience of being alone. She was alone about one fourth of the times she was beeped, the typical rate. Often, she reported feeling lonely during her times alone. She lamented her looks, she brooded over how all the girls except herself seemed to have a boyfriend. Yet, she wrote, "I like to be by myself. I don't have to be worried or aggravated by my parents. I have noticed that when I'm alone I feel better sometimes." Then she added, in large print, "*!NOT ALWAYS!*," reflecting her ambivalence (Larson & Richards, 1994, p. 102).

Being alone can be constructive, then, as long as an adolescent does not have too much of it. Studies have found that adolescents who spend an unusually high proportion of their time alone tend to have higher rates of school problems, depression, and other psychological difficulties (Barnes et al., 2007; Larson & Richards, 1994; Schneiders et al., 2007). However, the same studies have found that adolescents who are rarely alone also have higher rates of school problems and depression. A moderate amount of time alone can be healthy for adolescents

because, as Larson and Richards (1994) observe, "After a long day in which their emotions are played upon by peers, teachers, and family members, a measured period of time by themselves, to reflect, regroup, and explore, may be just what they need" (p. 103)

Just as being alone does not necessarily mean being lonely, a person can be lonely even when among others. Robert Weiss (1973) made an important and influential distinction between two types of loneliness: social loneliness and emotional loneliness. **Social loneliness** occurs when people feel that they lack a sufficient number of social contacts and relationships. In contrast, **emotional loneliness** occurs when people feel that the relationships they have lack sufficient closeness and intimacy. Thus, social loneliness reflects a deficit in the *quantity* of social contacts and relationships, whereas emotional loneliness reflects a deficit in the emotional *quality* of a person's relationships. Young people may experience either or both of these types of loneliness in their teens and early 20s (Fontaine et al., 2009).

Emerging adulthood is a period when time alone is especially high (Iacovou, 2002; Vanhalst et al., 2013). According to time use studies across the life span, young people ages 19 to 29 spend more of their leisure time alone than any people except the elderly, and more of their time in productive activities (school and work) alone than any other age group under 40 (Larson, 1990). Emerging adults have also been found to report greater feelings of loneliness than either adolescents or adults (Rokach, 2000), and there are good reasons why these years would be lonelier. In many Western countries, most emerging adults move out of the home by age 18 or 19, to go to college or just to live independently (Douglass, 2007). This move may have many advantages, such as giving emerging adults more independence and requiring them to take on more responsibility for their daily lives, but it also means that they are no longer wrapped in the relative security of the family environment. They may be glad to be on their own in many ways, but nevertheless they may find themselves to be lonely more often than when they had lived at home (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015). Most young people in developed countries do not enter marriage—and the emotional support and companionship that usually go along with it—until their late 20s or early 30s (Arnett, 2015). For many young people, emerging adulthood is a period between the companionship of living with family and the companionship of marriage or some other long-term partnership. In recent years, texting, emailing, and using social-networking sites such as Facebook have become common ways for emerging adults to maintain social connections and support, as we will see in Chapter 12 (Coyne, 2015; Lenhart et al., 2010).

In the college environment, emerging adults rarely experience social loneliness but emotional loneliness is common (Eshbaugh, 2010). The first year of college has been found to be an especially lonely period for emerging adults, even though they are meeting many new people (Wiseman, Mayseless, & Sharabany, 2006). A college freshman living in a dormitory may have people around virtually every moment of the day—while sleeping, eating, studying, working, and going to class—but still feel lonely if those social contacts are not emotionally rewarding.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Compared with young people in Western cultures, do you think young people in traditional cultures would be more or less likely to experience loneliness?

Identity

I'm exploring who I am … because I'm not really sure any more. Because up till about seventh grade, I was just a kid. I was me and I never really thought about it. But now I've thought about it a lot more and I'm starting to have to make decisions about who I want to be.

—CONRAD, AGE 13 (IN BELL, 1998, P. 72)

Because adolescence and emerging adulthood are crucial periods for identity development, theorists and researchers have devoted a considerable amount of attention to this topic. In this section, we will look first at Erikson's theory of the adolescent identity crisis, then at the research that has been conducted to explore Erikson's theory. After that, we will consider the roles of gender and culture in adolescent identity development, with a special focus on ethnic identity.

"All of us, at some moment, have had a vision of our existence as something unique, untransferable, and very precious. This revelation almost always takes place during adolescence…. The adolescent vacillates between infancy and youth, halting for a moment before the infinite richness of the world. He is astonished at the fact of his being, and this astonishment leads to reflection: as he leans over the river of his consciousness, he asks himself if the face that appears there, disfigured by the water, is his own. The singularity of his being, which is pure sensation in children, becomes a problem and a question."

—OCTAVIO PAZ (1985, P. 9)

social loneliness

Condition that occurs when people feel that they lack a sufficient number of social contacts and relationships.

emotional loneliness

Condition that occurs when people feel that the relationships they have lack sufficient closeness and intimacy.

Erikson's Theory

6.9 Explain how identity issues develop in adolescence, according to Erikson's theory, and how and why identity development might go off track.

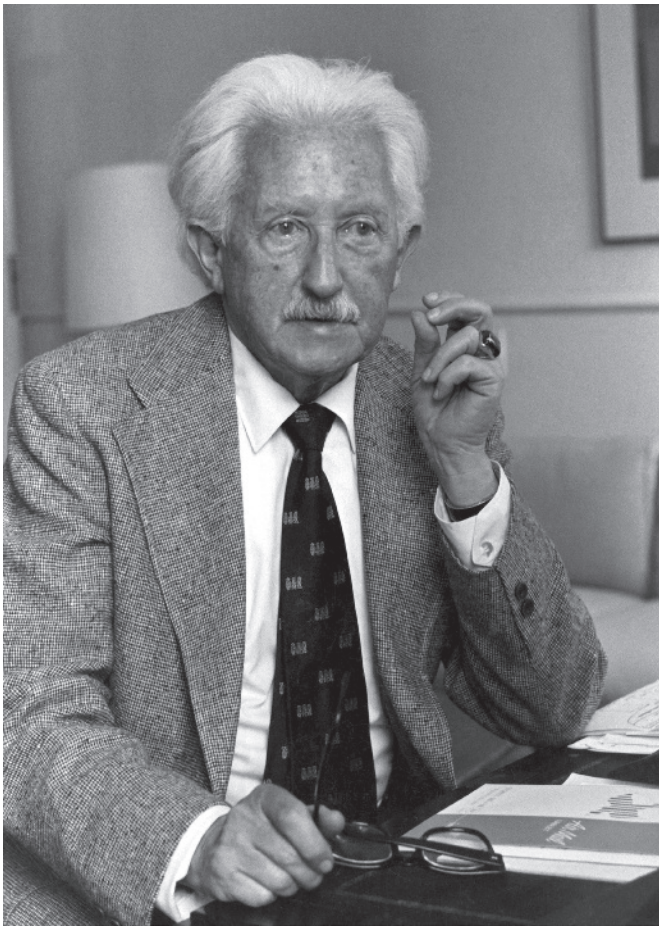
One of the most distinctive features of adolescence is that it is a time of thinking about who you are, where your life is going, what you believe in, and how your life fits into the world around you. These are all issues of **identity**. It is the adolescent's nascent capacity for self-reflection that makes consideration of identity issues possible. Adolescents are able to consider themselves in the abstract, in the "third person," in a way that younger children cannot. During adolescence and continuing through emerging adulthood, explorations are made into various aspects of identity, culminating in commitments that set the foundation for adult life.

Erik Erikson (1902–1994) is one of the most influential scholars in the history of the study of adolescent development, including on identity issues. Indeed, he has had a substantial influence on the study of human development from infancy to old age. Drawing on his diverse experience as a teacher, psychoanalyst, ethnographer among Native Americans, and therapist of World War II veterans, he developed a comprehensive theory of human development across the life span. However, the primary focus of Erikson's work was on adolescence, and adolescent development is where he has had his greatest influence.

In Erikson's theory of human development, each period of life is characterized by a distinctive developmental issue or "crisis," as he described in his classic book *Childhood and Society* (Erikson, 1950). Each of these crises holds the potential for a healthy path of development and an unhealthy path. For example, Erikson views infancy as a period of *trust versus mistrust*. Infant development follows a healthy path, in Erikson's theory, when the infant establishes a secure sense of trust with at least one person who can be counted on to provide protection and loving care. The unhealthy path is mistrust, which results from a failure to establish that secure sense of trust.

Each stage of life has a central crisis of this kind, according to Erikson (1950). In adolescence, the crisis is **identity versus identity confusion**. The healthy path in adolescence involves establishing a clear and definite sense of who you are and how you fit into the world around you. The unhealthy alternative is identity confusion, which is a failure to form a stable and secure identity. Identity formation involves reflecting on what your traits, abilities, and interests are, and then sifting through the range of life choices available in your culture, trying out various possibilities, and ultimately making commitments. The key areas in which identity is formed are love, work, and ideology (beliefs and values) (Erikson, 1968). In Erikson's view, a failure to establish commitments in these areas by the end of adolescence reflects identity confusion.

Erikson did not assert that adolescence is the only time when identity issues arise and that once adolescence is over identity issues have been resolved, never to return. Identity issues exist early in life, from the time children first realize they have an existence separate from others, and continue far beyond adolescence as adults continue to ask themselves questions about who they are and how they fit into the world around them. As Erikson observed, "A sense of identity is never gained nor maintained once and for all…. It is constantly lost and regained" (1959, p. 118).



Erik Erikson proposed that the central developmental issue of adolescence is identity versus identity confusion.

identity

Individuals' perceptions of their characteristics and abilities, their beliefs and values, their relations with others, and how their lives fit into the world around them.

identity versus identity confusion

Erikson's term for the crisis typical of the adolescent stage of life, in which individuals may follow the healthy path of establishing a clear and definite sense of who they are and how they fit into the world around them, or follow the unhealthy alternative of failing to form a stable and secure identity.

Historical Focus

YOUNG MAN LUTHER

Among Erik Erikson's many innovative contributions to the field of human development were his studies in **psychohistory**, which is the psychological analysis of important historical figures. His most extensive works of psychohistory were his analyses of the development of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the leader of the independence movement in India in the mid-20th century, and Martin Luther, the theologian and leader of the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century. His study of Luther is of particular interest for our purposes because he focused on Luther's development during adolescence and emerging adulthood. In fact, the title of his book on Luther is *Young Man Luther* (1958).

According to Erikson, two events were especially important in Luther's identity formation. The first event took place in 1505, when Luther was 21. He was about to begin studying law. Since his childhood, his father had decreed that he would become a lawyer, and he was on the verge of fulfilling his father's dream. However, shortly before beginning his first semester of law school, as he was traveling to the college where he was to be enrolled, he was caught in a severe thunderstorm. A bolt of lightning struck the ground close to where he was taking shelter from the storm and may even have thrown him to the ground. In his terror, he cried out to St. Anne for protection from the storm and promised that he would become a monk if he survived. The storm abated, and a few days later Luther entered a monastery in accordance with his promise to St. Anne—without informing his father, who was enraged when he learned what Luther had done.

Martin Luther as a young man.

The second event took place two years later, when Luther was 23. He was with his fellow monks in the choir of the monastery, listening to a reading from the Bible that described Jesus's cure of a man who was possessed by a demon (Mark 9:17). Suddenly, Luther threw himself to the ground, raving and roaring "It isn't me! It isn't me!" Erikson (and others) interpreted this event as indicating the depth of Luther's fear that he could never eradicate his sense of moral and spiritual inadequacy, no matter what he did, no matter how good a monk he

Nevertheless, Erikson saw adolescence as the time when identity issues are most prominent and most crucial to development. Furthermore, Erikson argued that it is important to establish a clear identity in adolescence as a basis for initial commitments in adult life and as a foundation for later stages of development. Erikson viewed this as true of all his stages; developing via the healthy path provides a stable foundation for the next stage of development, whereas developing via the unhealthy path is problematic not only in that stage but as an unreliable foundation for the stages to come.

How does an adolescent develop a healthy identity? In Erikson's view, identity formation is founded partly in the **identifications** the adolescent has accumulated in childhood (Erikson, 1968). Children *identify* with their parents and other loved ones as they grow up—that is, children love and admire them and want to be like them. When adolescence comes, adolescents reflect on their identifications, rejecting some and embracing others. The ones that remain are integrated into the adolescent self, combined of course with the adolescent's own individual characteristics. Thus, adolescents create an identity in part by modeling themselves after parents, friends, and others they have loved in childhood, not simply imitating them but integrating parts of their loved ones' behavior and attitudes into their own personality.

The other key process that contributes to identity formation, according to Erikson, is exploring various possible life options. Erikson described adolescence as often including a **psychosocial moratorium**, a period when adult responsibilities are postponed as young people try

psychohistory
The psychological analysis of important historical figures.

identifications
Relationships formed with others, especially in childhood, in which love for another person leads one to want to be like that person.

psychosocial moratorium
Erikson's term for a period during adolescence when adult responsibilities are postponed as young people try on various possible selves.

was. By shouting "It isn't me!" Luther "showed himself possessed even as he tried most loudly to deny it" (Erikson, 1958, p. 23). Erikson and others have seen this event as pivotal in Luther's identity development. His sense that nothing he could do would be good enough to make him holy in the eyes of God eventually led him to reject the Catholic Church's emphasis on doing good works to earn entry into heaven and to create a new religious doctrine based on the idea that faith and faith alone was enough to make a person worthy and saved before God.

Erikson's study of Luther illustrates several aspects of his theory of identity formation. First, Erikson viewed identity formation as centering on an identity crisis. More recent theorists and researchers tend to use the term *exploration* rather than *crisis* to describe the process of identity formation, but Erikson used the term *crisis* deliberately. As he wrote in *Young Man Luther*:

> . . . only in a crisis, individual or historical, does it become obvious what a sensitive combination of interrelated factors the human personality is . . . In some young people, in some classes, at some periods in history, this crisis will be minimal; in other people, classes, and periods, the crisis will be clearly marked off as a critical period, a kind of "second birth," apt to be aggravated either by widespread neuroticisms or by pervasive ideological unrest. . . . Luther, so it seems, was a rather endangered young man, beset with a syndrome of conflicts. (pp. 14–15)

Thus, Erikson viewed Luther's youth, including the two crisis events described, as an extreme example of the identity crisis that all adolescents go through in one form or another.

Second, Erikson's study of Luther shows his sensitivity to the cultural and historical context of identity development. Throughout the book, Erikson emphasizes the match between Luther's unusual personality and the historical and cultural circumstances in which he lived. Had Luther grown up in a different time and place, he would have developed a much different identity. In analyzing Luther, Erikson shows the importance in identity development of the person looking inward and assessing his or her individual abilities and inclinations, then looking outward to possibilities available in the social and cultural environment. Successful identity development lies in reconciling the individual's abilities and desires with the possibilities and opportunities offered in the environment.

Third, in describing Luther's development Erikson shows that identity formation reaches a critical point during the identity crisis, but it begins before that time and continues well after. In explaining Luther, Erikson describes not only his adolescence and emerging adulthood but also his childhood, particularly his relationship with his loving but domineering father. Also, Erikson describes how Luther's identity continued to develop through his adulthood. The two key crises took place in his early 20s, but it was not until his early 30s that he broke away from the Catholic Church and established a new, separate form of Christianity. In the decades that followed, his identity developed further as he married, had children, and continued to develop his religious ideas.

on various possible selves. Thus, falling in love is part of identity formation because during this process you get a clearer sense of yourself through intimate interactions with other persons. Trying out various possible jobs—and, for college students, various possible majors—is part of identity formation, too, because these explorations give you a clearer sense of what you are good at and what you truly enjoy. Erikson saw ideological exploration as part of identity formation as well. "Trying out" a set of religious or political beliefs by learning about them and participating in organizations centered around a particular set of beliefs serves to clarify for adolescents what they believe and how they wish to live. In Erikson's view, the psychosocial moratorium is not characteristic of all societies but only those with individualistic values, in which individual choice is supported (Erikson, 1968).

Most young people in Western societies go through the explorations of the psychosocial moratorium and then settle on more enduring choices in love, work, and ideology as they enter adulthood. However, some young people find it difficult to sort out the possibilities that life presents to them, and they remain in a state of identity confusion after their peers have gone on to establish a secure identity. For many of these adolescents, according to Erikson, this may be a result of unsuccessful adaptation in previous stages of development. Just as identity formation provides the foundation for further development in adulthood, development in childhood provides the basis for development in adolescence. If development in any of the earlier stages has been unusually problematic, then identity confusion is more likely to be the outcome of adolescent development. For other adolescents, identity confusion may be the result of an inability to sort through all the choices available to them and decide among them.

At the extreme, according to Erikson, such adolescents may develop a **negative identity**, "an identity perversely based on all those identifications and roles which, at critical stages of development, had been presented to them as most undesirable or dangerous" (Erikson, 1968, p. 174). Such adolescents reject the range

negative identity
Erikson's term for an identity based on what a person has seen portrayed as most undesirable or dangerous.

of acceptable possibilities for love, work, and ideology offered by their society, and instead deliberately embrace what their society considers unacceptable, strange, contemptible, and offensive.

Research on Identity

6.10 Connect Erikson's theory of identity development to the identity status model on which most research is based.

Erikson was primarily a theoretical writer and a therapist rather than a researcher, but his ideas have inspired a wealth of research over the past 50 years. One of Erikson's most influential interpreters has been James Marcia (1966, 1980, 1989, 1993, 1994, 1999, 2014; Marcia & Carpendale, 2004). Marcia constructed a measure called the Identity Status Interview that classified adolescents into one of four identity statuses: *diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure*, or *achievement*. This system of four categories, known as the **identity status model**, has also been used by scholars who have constructed questionnaires to investigate identity development in adolescence rather than using Marcia's interview (e.g., Adams, 1999; Benson, Harris, & Rogers, 1992; Grotevant & Adams, 1984; Kroger, 2007).

As shown in **Table 6.2**, each of these classifications involves a different combination of exploration and commitment. Erikson (1968) used the term **identity crisis** to describe the process through which young people construct their identity, but Marcia and other current scholars prefer the term *exploration* (Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Marcia, 2014; Waterman, 2007). Crisis implies that the process inherently involves anguish and struggle, whereas exploration implies a more positive investigation of possibilities.

Table 6.2 The Four Identity Statuses

		Commitment	
		Yes	No
Exploration	Yes	Achievement	Moratorium
	No	Foreclosure	Diffusion

Identity diffusion is a status that combines no exploration with no commitment. For adolescents in identity diffusion, no commitments have been made among the choices available to them. Furthermore, no exploration is taking place. The adolescent at this stage is not seriously attempting to sort through potential choices and make enduring commitments.

Identity moratorium involves exploration but no commitment. This is a stage of actively trying out different personal, occupational, and ideological possibilities. This classification is based on Erikson's (1968) idea of the psychosocial moratorium, discussed previously. Different possibilities are being tried on, sifted through, some discarded and some selected, for adolescents to be able to determine which of the available possibilities are best suited to them.

> Is the sense of identity conscious? At times, of course, it seems only too conscious. For between the double prongs of inner need and inexorable outer demand, the as yet experimenting individual may become the victim of a transitory extreme identity consciousness, which is the common core of the many forms of "self-consciousness" typical for youth. Where the processes of identity formation are prolonged (a factor which can bring creative gain), such preoccupation with the "self-image" also prevails. We are thus most aware of our identity when we are just about to gain it and when we (with that startle which motion pictures call a "double take") are somewhat surprised to make its acquaintance; or, again, when we are just about to enter a crisis and feel the encroachment of identity confusion.
>
> —ERIK ERIKSON (1968), P. 165

Adolescents who are in the **identity foreclosure** classification have not experimented with a range of possibilities but have nevertheless committed themselves to certain choices—commitment, but no exploration. This is often a result of their parents' strong influence. Marcia and most other scholars tend to see exploration as a necessary part of forming a healthy identity, and therefore see foreclosure as unhealthy. We will discuss this issue shortly.

identity status model
An approach to conceptualizing and researching identity development that classifies people into one of four identity categories: foreclosure, diffusion, moratorium, or achievement.

identity crisis
Erikson's term for the intense period of struggle that adolescents may experience in the course of forming an identity.

identity diffusion
An identity status that combines no exploration with no commitment. No commitments have been made among the available paths of identity formation, and the person is not seriously attempting to sort through potential choices and make enduring commitments.

identity moratorium
An identity status that involves exploration but no commitment, in which young people are trying out different personal, occupational, and ideological possibilities.

identity foreclosure
An identity status in which young people have not experimented with a range of possibilities but have nevertheless committed themselves to certain choices—commitment, but no exploration.

Finally, the classification that combines exploration and commitment is **identity achievement**. Identity achievement is the classification for young people who have made definite personal, occupational, and ideological choices. By definition, identity achievement is preceded by a period of identity moratorium in which exploration takes place. If commitment takes place without exploration, it is considered identity foreclosure rather than identity achievement.

Two findings stand out from the many studies that have been conducted using the identity status model. One is that adolescents' identity status tends to be related to other aspects of their development (Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Marcia, 2014). The identity achievement and moratorium statuses are notably related to a variety of favorable aspects of development. Adolescents in these categories of identity development are more likely than adolescents in the foreclosure or diffusion categories to be self-directed, cooperative, and good at problem solving. Adolescents in the achievement category are rated more favorably in some respects than adolescents in the moratorium category. As you might expect, moratorium adolescents are more likely than achievement adolescents to be indecisive and unsure of their opinions.

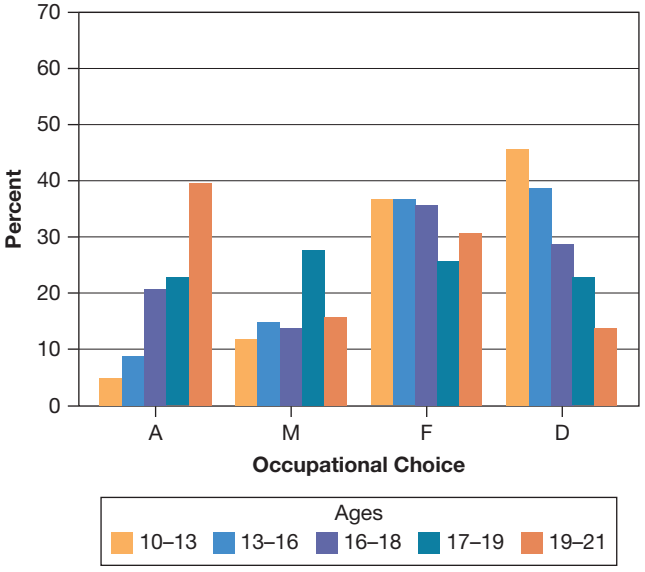
In contrast, adolescents in the diffusion and foreclosure categories of identity development tend to have less favorable development in other areas as well. Diffusion is considered to be the least favorable of the identity statuses and is viewed as predictive of later psychological problems. Compared with adolescents in the achievement or moratorium statuses, adolescents in the diffusion status are lower in self-esteem and self-control. Diffusion status is also related to high anxiety, apathy, and disconnected relationships with parents.

The foreclosure status is more complex in its relation to other aspects of development (Hardy et al., 2011; Meeus, 2011). Adolescents in the foreclosure status tend to be higher on conformity, conventionality, and obedience to authority than adolescents in the other statuses (Kroger & Marcia, 2011). These are generally considered negative outcomes by researchers from Western majority cultures, although they are virtues in many non-Western cultures (Heine, 2015; Shweder et al., 2006). Also, adolescents with the foreclosure status tend to have especially close relationships with their parents, which may lead them to accept their parents' values and guidance without going through a period of exploration as adolescents with the achievement status have done. Again, this is sometimes portrayed as negative by psychologists who believe it is necessary to go through a period of exploration in order to develop a mature identity, but this view rests partly on values that favor individualism and independent thinking.

The other prominent finding in research on identity formation is that it takes longer to reach identity achievement than scholars had expected. In fact, for most young people this status is reached—if at all—in emerging adulthood or beyond rather than in adolescence. Studies that have compared adolescents from ages 12 through 18 have found that, although the proportion of adolescents in the diffusion category decreases with age and the proportion of adolescents in the identity achievement category increases with age, even by early emerging adulthood less than half are classified as having reached identity achievement (Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2010; Meeus, 2011; van Hoof, 1999). An example of this pattern, reported in an American study (Waterman, 1999), is shown in **Figure 6.3**. Similar findings were reported in a study of 12- to 27-year-olds in the Netherlands (Meeus et al., 1999).

Studies of college students find that progress toward identity achievement also takes place during the college years, but mainly in the specific area of occupational identity rather than for identity more generally (Waterman, 1992). Some studies indicate that identity achievement may come faster for emerging adults who do not attend college, perhaps because in the college environment young people's ideas about themselves are challenged and they are encouraged to question previously held ideas (Schwartz et al., 2011). However, even for noncollege emerging adults, the majority have not reached identity achievement by age 21 (Kroger et al., 2010; Waterman, 1999).

Figure 6.3 Changes in identity status with age. The numbers indicate the percentage of people in each identity status category at each age. *A*, Achievement; *M*, Moratorium; *F*, Foreclosure; *D*, Diffusion.



identity achievement

The identity status of young people who have made definite personal, occupational, and ideological choices following a period of exploring possible alternatives.

Emerging adulthood is now regarded by many identity researchers as an especially important time for identity development (Schwartz et al., 2015). Even 40 years ago, Erikson observed that it was taking longer and longer for young people in industrialized societies to achieve identity formation. He commented on the "prolonged adolescence" that was becoming increasingly common in such societies and how this was leading to a prolonged period of identity formation, "during which the young adult through free role experimentation may find a niche in some section of his society" (1968, p. 156). Considering the changes that have taken place since Erikson made this observation in the 1960s, including much higher ages of marriage and parenthood and longer education, Erikson's observation applies to far more young people today than it did then. Indeed, the conception of emerging adulthood as a distinct period of life is based to a considerable extent on the fact that, over recent decades, the late teens and early 20s have become a period of "free role experimentation" for an increasing proportion of young people (Arnett, 2000, 2015). The achievement of an adult identity comes later, compared with earlier generations, because many emerging adults use the years of their late teens and early 20s for identity explorations in love, work, and ideology.

Critiques and Elaborations of Identity Theory and Research

6.11 Evaluate Erikson's theory from the perspective of postmodern theory, and note the theory's limitations concerning gender and culture.

Erikson's theory has dominated identity theory and research for over half a century, and like any long-standing theory it has been critiqued and modified over time. Three of the most prominent critiques have been a critique of the identity status model, a gender critique, and a cultural critique. Two important elaborations of identity theory and research have been the study of ethnic identity among minority groups and the analysis of how globalization influences identity development. The following sections explore each of these topics.

THE IDENTITY STATUS MODEL: A POSTMODERN PERSPECTIVE In recent years, the identity status model has come under increasing criticism from scholars who view it as a narrow and outdated model of identity formation (Arnett, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2015). According to these critics, identity is not nearly as stable and unitary as the identity status model portrays it, nor does identity development proceed through a predictable set of stages that culminate in identity achievement some time in late adolescence or emerging adulthood. On the contrary, in this view, the most common form of identity today is the **postmodern identity**, which is composed of diverse elements that do not always form a unified, consistent self (Hammack, 2014; Schachter, 2005).

The postmodern identity changes across contexts, so that people may show a different identity to friends, family, coworkers, and others. It also changes continuously, not just in adolescence and emerging adulthood but throughout the life course, as people add new elements to their identities and discard others. As noted in Chapter 1, a similar theme has been sounded by globalization theorists, who have argued that young people around the world increasingly develop a complex identity that combines elements from their culture and the global media culture and that changes as these cultures change (Arnett, 2002a; Giddens, 2000; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). The identity status model continues to dominate research on identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood, but the postmodern critique may lead to new methods that will expand our understanding of identity issues.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Which better fits your own sense of identity, the identity status model or the postmodern identity theory? How would you devise a study to test the claims of the postmodern identity theorists?

GENDER AND IDENTITY Another critique of identity theory and research concerns the role of gender. Erikson has been the subject of theoretical critiques for being biased toward male development (Gilligan, 1982; Montgomery, 2005). Erikson believed that to some extent "anatomy is destiny," meaning that there are sex differences in psychological development, including identity development, that are based on biological sex differences (Erikson, 1950, 1968). Specifically, he believed that women's biology, represented by the "inner space" of the uterus and the capacity for bearing children, makes them oriented toward relationships with others, whereas men's biology, represented by the penis, makes them oriented toward independent, instrumental activity. With regard to adolescence, in Erikson's theory forming an identity means becoming separate and independent from others. Consequently, according to Carol Gilligan (1982) and others, Erikson presents the male goal of striving for an independent identity in adolescence as the healthy standard for normal development. In contrast, adolescent girls' emphasis on relationships with others is a less desirable deviation from normal development (Archer, 1992; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001).

Until recently, studies often found gender differences in identity development, especially in relation to

postmodern identity
A conception of identity as complex and as highly variable across contexts and across time.

occupational exploration (Kroger, 2007; Waterman, 1992). That is, some evidence suggested that females were more willing than males to constrain their occupational exploration to maintain their relationships (Archer, 1989; Cooper & Grotevant, 1987; Marcia, 1993; Patterson et al., 1992). That is, some females seemed to be less willing than males to take advantage of an educational or occupational opportunity that would require them to move a great distance because that would mean leaving their parents, their friends, and perhaps their romantic partner.

In Erikson's theory, this means that intimacy was often a higher priority than identity for females, whereas for males identity tended to come before intimacy (Gilligan, 1982; Lytle et al., 1997; Miller, 1991; Scheidel & Marcia, 1985; Surrey, 1991). According to Erikson, **intimacy versus isolation** is the central issue of young adulthood. Establishing intimacy means uniting your newly formed identity with another person in an intimate relationship. The alternative is isolation, characterized by an inability to form an enduring intimate relationship. Research on the relation between identity and intimacy has often focused on gender differences. Most studies until about a decade ago indicated that developmental processes of forming an identity and establishing intimacy took place simultaneously for females, whereas males tended to achieve identity before intimacy (Lytle et al., 1997; Miller, 1991; Surrey, 1991).

However, the most recent studies have found no gender differences in identity and intimacy patterns. This finding has been reported on samples in the United States (Montgomery, 2005), the Netherlands (Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010), Australia (Zimmer-Gembeck & Petherick, 2006), and Israel (Seginer & Noyman, 2005). The change may be due to increasing gender equality in Western countries, as noted in Chapter 5.

CULTURE AND IDENTITY Erik Erikson's cultural background was diverse—he was the son of Danish parents, raised in Germany, and spent most of his adult life in the United States—and he was acutely aware of the relation between culture and identity formation. He spent time as an ethnographer among the Sioux and Yurok tribes of Native Americans, and he devoted a chapter in *Childhood and Society* (1950) to adolescent identity development in these tribes. Nevertheless, most of the research inspired by Erikson's theory has taken place among middle-class adolescents in Western countries. What can we say about identity development among adolescents in other cultures?

intimacy versus isolation

Erikson's term for the central crisis of young adulthood, in which people face alternatives between committing themselves to another person in an intimate relationship or becoming isolated as a consequence of an inability to form an enduring intimate relationship.

According to Erikson, young women often place intimacy above identity development, but the most recent research has found no gender differences.

One observation that can be made is that, although Erikson sought to ground his theory in historical and cultural context, his discussion of identity development nevertheless assumes an independent self that is allowed to make free choices in love, work, and ideology. The focus of Erikson's identity theory is on how young people develop an understanding of themselves as unique individuals. However, as we have discussed, this conception of the self is distinctively Western and is historically recent (Heine, 2015; Markus & Kitiyama, 1991; Shweder et al., 2006). In most cultures until recently, the self has been understood as interdependent, defined in relation to others, rather than as independent. Even today, Erikson's assertions of the prominence of identity issues in adolescence may apply more to modern Western adolescents than to adolescents in other cultures.

A related cultural observation is that the psychosocial moratorium, the period of exploration that Erikson viewed as a standard part of identity formation, is considerably more possible in some cultures than others (Arnett, 2015; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). In today's developed countries, there are few pressures on young people to become economic contributors in childhood or adolescence. Young people in these societies are generally allowed a long psychological

moratorium in adolescence and emerging adulthood to try out various possible life choices in love, work, and ideology. However, the experience of adolescence is often much different in traditional cultures. Explorations in love are clearly limited or even nonexistent in cultures where dating is not allowed and marriages are either arranged by parents or strongly influenced by them. Explorations in work are limited in cultures where the economy is simple and offers only a limited range of choices.

Limitations on exploration in both love and work are narrower for girls in traditional cultures than for boys. With regard to love, as noted in Chapter 5, some degree of sexual experimentation is encouraged for adolescent boys in most cultures, but for girls sexual experimentation is more likely to be restricted or forbidden. With regard to work, in most traditional cultures today and for most of human history in every culture, adolescent girls have been designated by their cultures for the roles of wife and mother, and these were essentially the only choices open to them.

In terms of ideology, too, a psychosocial moratorium has been the exception in human cultures rather than the standard. In most cultures, young people have been expected to grow up to believe what adults teach them to believe, without questioning it. It is only in recent history, and mainly in developed countries, that these expectations have changed and that it has come to be seen as desirable for adolescents and emerging adults to think for themselves, decide on their own beliefs, and make their life choices independently (Arnett, 2002).

For modern young people in the West, then, identity development is a longer and more complex process than in the past and compared with traditional cultures. As we will see later in this chapter, this is increasingly true for the rest of the world as well, as industrialization increases worldwide and as Western values of individualism influence traditional cultures through globalization (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011).

Identity explorations are often limited in traditional cultures, especially for girls. Here, girls in Zambia cultivate a field.

Ethnic Identity

6.12 Describe Phinney's model of ethnic identity in adolescence.

In discussing identity, we have noted that in Erikson's theory the three key areas of identity formation are love, work, and ideology. For a large and growing proportion of adolescents in industrialized societies, one aspect of ideology is beliefs about what it means to be a member of an ethnic minority within a society dominated by the majority culture. Scholarly attention to this topic has increased in recent years as immigration from developing countries to industrialized societies has grown and as scholars have begun to devote greater attention to cultural issues in development (Berry, 2010).

Like other identity issues, issues of ethnic identity come to the forefront in adolescence because of the cognitive capacities that adolescents develop (Pahl & Way, 2006). One aspect of the growing capacity for self-reflection among adolescents who belong to ethnic minorities is likely to be a sharpened awareness of what it means for them to be a member of their minority group. Group terms such as *African American*, *Chinese Canadian*, and *Turkish Dutch* take on a new meaning as adolescents can now think about what these terms mean and how the term for their ethnic group applies to themselves. Also, as a consequence of their growing capacity to think about what others think about them, adolescents become more acutely aware of the prejudices and stereotypes that others may hold about their ethnic group.

Because adolescents and emerging adults who are members of ethnic minorities have to confront such issues, identity development is likely to be more complex for them than for those who belong to the majority culture (Phinney, 2000, 2006). Consider, for example, identity development in the area of love. Love—along with dating

Adolescents with a bicultural ethnic identity are able to alternate their identities depending on the group they are with.

and sex—is an area where cultural conflicts are especially likely to arise for adolescents who are members of ethnic minorities. Part of identity development in Western majority cultures means trying out different possibilities in love by forming emotionally intimate relationships with different people and gaining sexual experience. However, this model is in sharp conflict with the values of many ethnic minority groups. In most Asian American groups, for example, recreational dating is disapproved and sexual experimentation before marriage is considered disgraceful—especially for females (Tong, 2013). Similarly, among Latinos, gaining sexual experience in adolescence is considered wrong for girls, and they are often highly restricted by their parents and their brothers to prevent any violation of this norm (O'Sullivan & Hearn, 2008). Young people in these ethnic groups face a challenge in reconciling the values of their ethnic group on such issues with the values of the majority culture, to which they are inevitably exposed through school, the media, and peers (Qin, 2009; Trinh et al., 2014).

How, then, does identity development take place for young people who are members of minority groups within Western societies? To what extent do they develop an identity that reflects the values of the majority culture, and to what extent do they retain the values of their minority group? One scholar who has done extensive work on these questions among American minorities is Jean Phinney (1990, 2000, 2006; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011). On the basis of her research, Phinney has concluded that adolescents who are members of minority groups have four different ways of responding to their awareness of their ethnicity (**Table 6.3**).

Table 6.3 Four Possible Ethnic Identity Statuses

		Identification with Ethnic Group	
		High	**Low**
Identification with Majority Culture	**High**	Bicultural	Assimilated
	Low	Separated	Marginal

Examples

Assimilation: "I don't really think of myself as Asian American, just as American."

Separation: "I am not part of two cultures. I am just Black."

Marginality: "When I'm with my Indian friends, I feel White, and when I'm with my White friends, I feel Indian. I don't really feel like I belong with either of them."

Biculturalism: "Being both Mexican and American means having the best of both worlds. You have different strengths you can draw from in different situations."

SOURCE: Based on Phinney & Devich-Navarro (1997).

Assimilation is the option that involves leaving behind the ways of one's ethnic group and adopting the values and way of life of the majority culture. This is the path that is reflected in the idea of American society as a "melting pot" that blends people of diverse origins into one national culture. **Marginality** involves rejecting one's culture of origin but also feeling rejected by the majority culture. Some adolescents feel little identification with the culture of their parents and grandparents, nor do they feel accepted and integrated into American society. **Separation** is the approach that involves associating only with members of one's own ethnic group and rejecting the ways of the majority culture. **Biculturalism** involves developing a dual identity, one based in the ethnic group of origin and one based in the majority culture. Being bicultural means moving back and forth between the ethnic culture and the majority culture, and alternating identities as appropriate.

Which of these ethnic identity statuses is most common among minority adolescents? The bicultural status is the most common status among Mexican Americans and Asian Americans, as well as among some European minority groups such as Turkish adolescents in the Netherlands and Pakistani adolescents in Great Britain (Hutnik & Street, 2010; Marks et al., 2011; Verkuyten, 2002). However, separation is the most common ethnic identity status among African American adolescents (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), and marginality is pervasive among Native American adolescents (see the Cultural Focus box on page 185). Of course, each ethnic group is diverse and contains adolescents with a variety of different ethnic identity statuses.

Adolescents tend to be more aware of their ethnic identity when they are in the minority. For example, in one study, Latino adolescents attending a predominantly non-Latino school reported significantly higher levels of ethnic identity than adolescents in a predominantly Latino or a

assimilation
In the formation of an ethnic identity, the approach that involves leaving the ethnic culture behind and adopting the ways of the majority culture.

marginality
In the formation of ethnic identity, the option that involves rejecting one's culture of origin but also feeling rejected by the majority culture.

separation
In the formation of ethnic identity, the approach that involves associating only with members of one's own ethnic group and rejecting the ways of the majority culture.

biculturalism
In the formation of ethnic identity, the approach that involves developing a dual identity, one based in the ethnic group of origin and one based in the majority culture.

balanced Latino/non-Latino school (Umaña-Taylor, 2005). Phinney (2006, 2008) has proposed that emerging adulthood may be an especially important time for developing ethnic identity because emerging adults often enter new contexts (new schools, new jobs, perhaps new living situations) that may involve greater contact with people outside their ethnic group and thus sharpen their awareness of their ethnic identity.

Is a strong ethnic identity related to other aspects of development in adolescence and emerging adulthood? For the most part, having a well-defined ethnic identity appears to play a positive role in adolescents' lives (Hughes et al., 2009; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Specifically, studies have found that having a strong sense of one's ethnicity is related to a variety of other favorable aspects of development, such as overall well-being, academic achievement, and lower rates of risk behavior (Giang & Wittig, 2006; St. Louis & Liem, 2005; Romero et al., 2014; Yasui & Dishion, 2007).

Some scholars have argued that, for African American adolescents in particular, cultivating pride in their ethnic identity is an important part of their identity formation, especially in a society where they are likely to experience discrimination because of the color of their skin (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Street et al., 2009; Whaley & McQueen, 2010). However, other scholars have argued that promoting ethnic identity may lead adolescents to adopt a separation identity that cuts them off from the majority culture in a way that inhibits their personal growth (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). These scholars express concern that some minority adolescents may come to define themselves in opposition to the majority culture—developing a negative identity, in Erikson's (1968) terms—in a way that may interfere with developing a positive identity of their own.

The separation response is, at least in part, a result of the discrimination and prejudice that minorities often face in American society and that young people become more fully aware of as they reach adolescence. Their awareness of discrimination may also increase with the length of time their family has been in the United States. An interesting finding in this research is that foreign-born adolescents tend to believe in the American ideal of equal opportunity more than minority adolescents whose families have been in the United States for a generation or more (Phinney, DuPont et al., 1994; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010). This suggests that recent immigrants may expect that they or their children will become assimilated into the great American melting pot, but after a generation or two many of them come up against the realities of ethnic prejudice in American society, leading to more of a separation identity. African American adolescents tend to be more in favor of separation than adolescents from other ethnic groups, perhaps because most of them are from families who have been in the United States for many generations and who have experienced a long history of slavery, racism, and discrimination (Seaton et al., 2011).

Identity and Globalization

6.13 Explain how globalization is influencing identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

One identity issue that has risen in prominence in recent years is how globalization influences identity, especially for adolescents and emerging adults. Two aspects of identity stand out as issues related to globalization (Arnett, 2002a). First, as noted in Chapter 1, because of globalization more young people around the world now develop a bicultural identity, with one part of their identity rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture. For example, India has a growing, vigorous high-tech economic sector, led largely by young people. However, even the better-educated young people, who have become full-fledged members of the global economy, still mostly prefer to have an arranged marriage, in accordance with Indian tradition (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012). They also generally expect to care for their parents in old age, again in accordance with Indian tradition. Thus, they have one identity for participating in the global economy and succeeding in the fast-paced world of high technology, and another identity, rooted in Indian tradition, that they maintain with respect to their families and their personal lives.

Although developing a bicultural identity means retaining a local identity alongside a global identity, there is no doubt that many cultures are being modified by globalization, specifically by the introduction of global media, free market economics, democratic institutions, increased length of formal schooling, and delayed entry into marriage and parenthood (Jensen, 2008; Larson et al., 2010). These changes often alter traditional cultural practices and beliefs, and may lead less to a bicultural identity than to a **hybrid identity**, integrating local culture with elements of the global culture (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007; Hermans & Kempen, 1998).

Increasing immigration is one of the forces promoting globalization (Fuligni & Tsai, 2015), and identities become even more complicated for young people who are immigrants. They may develop identities that combine their native culture, the local culture to which they have immigrated, and the global culture, along with various hybrids, leading to a multicultural identity or a complex

hybrid identity
An identity that integrates elements of various cultures.

Cultural Focus

THE NATIVE AMERICAN SELF

Native American young people exhibit greater difficulties in many respects than any other American minority group (Goldston et al., 2008; Markstrom, 2008). They have the highest prevalence rates for use of alcohol, cigarettes, and illicit drugs (Friese et al., 2011; Whitesell et al., 2014). They have the highest school dropout rate and the highest teenage pregnancy rate (Garwick et al., 2008; Palacios & Kennedy, 2010). Especially alarming is the suicide rate among Native American young people aged 15 to 24, which is three times the rate for Whites (Le & Gobert 2015). Suicide is the leading cause of death among young Native Americans. Native Canadians (also known as First Nations peoples) are similar to Native Americans in their levels of substance use, school dropout, teenage pregnancy, and suicide (Kielland & Simeone, 2014).

To a large extent, scholars view the difficulties of Native American young people as rooted in problems of the self (Katz, 1995; Lefley, 1976; Markstrom, 2008). The self-esteem of Native American adolescents tends to be substantially lower than that of other ethnic groups (Whitesell et al., 2009). Young Native Americans have also been found to have problems forming an identity in adolescence and emerging adulthood, as they attempt to reconcile the socialization of their Native American cultures with the influences and demands of the dominant White majority culture (Markstrom, 2011).

The explanation for problems of the self among young Native Americans is partly historical and partly contemporary. In historical terms, during the 19th century Native American cultures were decimated and finally overcome by the spread of European American settlement into the vast areas of the United States that Native American tribes once dominated (Tveskov, 2008). The devastation of their cultures was deep and thorough, as they were betrayed repeatedly by the U.S. government, killed in large numbers, forced to leave their homelands, and ultimately herded onto reservations in the most desolate parts of the country. This alone would be enough to explain substantial disruption to their cultural life to the present day, with consequent effects on the socialization and development of their young people.

In the 20th century, additional government practices added to and prolonged the cultural destruction suffered by Native Americans. For most of the century, Native American children were forced to attend schools run not by the adults of their community but by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), a federal agency. The goal of these schools was complete assimilation of Native American children and adolescents into the ways of the majority culture—and, correspondingly, the annihilation of their attachment to their own culture's beliefs, values, knowledge, and customs (Unger, 1977). Often, these were boarding schools where the children lived during the school year, completely isolated from their families and communities.

Given these conditions, and given that constructing the self requires a cultural foundation (Shweder et al., 2006), many Native American young people found it difficult to construct a stable and coherent self. These educational practices finally changed in the 1970s, when federal legislation was passed giving Native Americans substantial control over their schools (John, 1998). Still, like the effects of losing their lands and being forced to enter reservations a century ago, the damage from the cultural annihilation practices of the schools has endured in Native American cultures.

Today, threats to the selves of Native American young people remain from the historical legacy of cultural destruction and from the bleak conditions they face as they look ahead to adulthood. The legacy of cultural destruction makes it difficult for them to form a bicultural identity; Native American cultures and the American majority culture are not easily combined because for many young Native Americans accepting White society even as part of a bicultural identity would amount to betraying their own people in light of the suffering they have endured at the hands of Whites (Markstrom, 2011). At the same time, government practices undermining Native American cultural socialization over the 20th century were effective, so that many young people no longer share their culture's traditional beliefs or know much about their culture's traditional way of life. As Deyhle (1998) observes, "On the one hand, due to the racism against [Native Americans] in the Anglo community and youth's insistence on cultural integrity, the Anglo world is not available to them. On the other hand, the traditional lives of their ancestors no longer exist" (p. 6).

Thus, many young Native Americans find themselves with a marginal ethnic identity status, alienated from both the majority culture and their own culture, living between two worlds and at home in neither. Conditions in their communities are grim; rates of poverty and unemployment among Native Americans are exceptionally high (Carlo et al., 2011), but the predominantly White majority culture does not accept them and is not accepted by them. Their high rates of substance use, school leaving, teenage pregnancy, and suicide reflect their difficulties in constructing a self under these conditions. Although some recent hopeful signs have been seen—for example, in rising rates of college enrollment—overall, young Native Americans' prospects remain formidably bleak.

hybrid identity. Furthermore, people living in a culture to which immigrants have come may incorporate aspects of the immigrants' culture into their own identities. Thus for an increasing number of the world's young people, as Hermans and Kempen (1998) observed, "Different and contrasting cultures can be part of a repertoire of collective voices playing their part in a multivoiced self" (p. 118).

A second identity-related consequence of globalization is that it seems to be leading to an increase in identity confusion—a marginalized identity, in Phinney's scheme—among young people in traditional cultures. As local cultures change in response to globalization, most young people manage to adapt to the changes and develop a bicultural or hybrid identity that provides the basis for living in their local culture and also participating in the global culture. For some young people, however, adapting to the rapid changes taking place in their cultures is more difficult. The images, values, and opportunities they perceive as being part of the global culture undermine their belief in the value of local cultural practices. At the same time, the ways of the global culture seem out of reach to them, too foreign to everything they know from their direct experience. Rather than becoming bicultural, they may experience themselves as marginalized, excluded from both their local culture and the global culture, truly belonging to neither.

Identity confusion among young people may be reflected in problems such as depression, suicide, and substance use. A variety of cultures have experienced a sharp increase in suicide and substance use among their young people since their rapid move toward joining the global culture (Arnett, 2002a; Chenhall & Senior, 2009). This increase in these problems seems to indicate the difficulty that some young people in traditional cultures experience in forming a stable identity in the context of the rapid social changes caused by globalization. Whether this means that young people in traditional cultures are more likely than young people in the West to experience identity confusion remains to be studied.

Summing Up

6.1 Summarize the differences among cultures in conceptions of the self.

Cultures differ greatly in their views of the self, with some promoting an independent self that is high in self-esteem and others promoting an interdependent self that is defined by relations with others.

6.2 Describe the different kinds of selves adolescents may have, and explain how this variation reflects adolescents' cognitive development.

Self-conceptions become more abstract in adolescence. This includes the development of the capacity to distinguish between an actual self and two types of possible selves, an ideal self and a feared self. Self-conceptions in adolescence also become more complex, with an increased awareness that different aspects of the self might be shown to different people and in different situations. This includes an awareness that one may show a false self to others at times.

6.3 Explain how and why self-esteem changes from preadolescence through adolescence, including ethnic variations.

Research indicates that self-esteem tends to decline in early adolescence and rise through late adolescence and emerging adulthood. Self-esteem does not decline among all adolescents but is more likely to decline for girls than for boys and more likely to decline among Whites than among African Americans. The most influential aspects of self-esteem in adolescence are physical appearance and peer acceptance.

6.4 List Harter's eight domains of self-concept, and identify which of them has the most influence on global self-esteem in adolescence.

The eight domains of self-concept are scholastic competence, social acceptance, athletic competence, physical appearance, job competence, romantic appeal, behavioral competence, and close friendship. Physical appearance has the most influence on adolescents' global self-esteem.

6.5 Explain why self-esteem is relatively high for some adolescents and relatively low for others.

Self-esteem is influenced mainly by feeling accepted (or not) by others, especially parents and peers. Succeeding in school also promotes self-esteem.

6.6 Summarize the evidence for emotional volatility in adolescence.

The ESM studies show that adolescents tend to experience more extremes of emotions, especially negative ones such as feeling embarrassed or awkward, compared with preadolescents or adults.

6.7 Evaluate the claim that girls lose their "voice" in adolescence.

Carol Gilligan has argued that gender differences exist in emotional self-development during adolescence, as girls "lose their voice" in the course of conforming to cultural pressures for the female role, rather than asserting their authentic selves. However, research has provided limited support for this claim.

6.8 Summarize adolescents' emotional states during times they are alone.

The ESM studies find that adolescents are alone about one fourth of the time. Although their moods tend to be low during these hours, they often use these times for reflection and regeneration. Emotional loneliness tends to be high among college freshmen.

6.9 Explain how identity issues develop in adolescence, according to Erikson's theory, and how and why identity development might go off track.

According to Erik Erikson, the key crisis in adolescent development is identity versus identity confusion, and the three principal areas of identity formation are love, work, and ideology. Identity development occurs as adolescents assess their traits, abilities, and interests, and how these match up with the possibilities available to them in their culture. Then they explore possibilities in love, work, and ideology to decide which paths to follow. Identity confusion may develop if adolescents are unable to choose among the possibilities available to them.

6.10 Connect Erikson's theory of identity development to the identity status model on which most research is based.

The identity status model has guided most research in this area by classifying adolescents into one of four statuses: foreclosure, diffusion, moratorium, and achievement. Research using the identity status model has shown that achievement and moratorium are related to positive aspects of development, whereas diffusion is mostly negative. It also shows that most identity development takes place in emerging adulthood rather than adolescence.

6.11 Evaluate Erikson's theory from the perspective of postmodern theory, and note the theory's limitations concerning gender and culture.

Postmodern identity theory proposes that people have many different and sometimes contradictory aspects of themselves that they exhibit in different contexts, rather than one stable identity. It also asserts that changes in the self continue to occur throughout the life span rather than being concentrated in adolescence. The gender critique notes that Erikson's theory values the independent self most often associated with males over the relational self most often associated with females. The cultural critique of Erikson's theory is that it assumes a range of independent choices in love, work, and ideology, but in most cultures, individual's choices are shaped and constricted by cultural beliefs and by the influences of others.

6.12 Describe Phinney's model of ethnic identity in adolescence.

Adolescents who are members of ethnic minorities face the challenge of developing an ethnic identity in addition to an identity in the areas of love, work, and ideology. Four possible alternatives of ethnic identity formation are assimilation, marginality, separation, and biculturalism.

6.13 Explain how globalization is influencing identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Globalization is leading to the development of more bicultural and hybrid identities that combine elements of the local culture with elements of the global culture, and it appears to be leading to greater identity confusion among young people in some traditional cultures.

Key Terms

actual self, p. 164
possible selves, p. 164
ideal self, p. 164
feared self, p. 164
false self, p. 165
self-esteem, p. 165
baseline self-esteem, p. 167
barometric self-esteem, p. 167
response bias, p. 169
internal consistency, p. 169
social loneliness, p. 174
emotional loneliness, p. 174
identity, p. 175
identity versus identity confusion, p. 175
identifications, p. 176
psychosocial moratorium, p. 176
psychohistory, p. 176
negative identity, p. 177
identity status model, p. 178
identity crisis, p. 178
identity diffusion, p. 178
identity moratorium, p. 178
identity foreclosure, p. 178
identity achievement, p. 179
postmodern identity, p. 180
intimacy versus isolation, p. 181
assimilation, p. 183
marginality, p. 183
separation, p. 183
biculturalism, p. 183
hybrid identity, p. 184

Chapter 7

Family Relationships

Learning Objectives

7.1 Describe the family systems principles of disequilibrium and subsystems.

7.2 Summarize general patterns of parents' development in midlife and how these patterns influence their relations with adolescents and emerging adults.

7.3 Identify the five common patterns of sibling relationships in adolescence.

7.4 Explain why relations with extended family members are often especially close for adolescents in traditional cultures.

7.5 Summarize the parenting styles model, and explain how the styles represent custom complexes.

7.6 Outline how research has shown parenting styles to be related to aspects of adolescents' development.

7.7 Explain how theory and research on reciprocal effects, differential parenting, and nonshared environments complicate claims of the effects of parenting on adolescents.

7.8 Identify the limitations of applying the American parenting styles model to other cultures, and the distinctive practices of Asian and Latino cultures that are not included in this model.

7.9 Summarize the two main forms of infant attachment and the evidence for their influence on adolescent development.

7.10 Describe how conflict with parents changes during adolescence, and identify the main sources of the conflicts in the United States and around the world.

7.11 Explain why conflict with parents usually decreases from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

7.12 Summarize the main changes that have taken place in adolescents' family lives in Western countries over the past 200 years.

7.13 Name the main changes that have taken place in adolescents' family lives in Western countries over the past 50 years.

7.14 Distinguish between family structure and family process, and use the concept of family process to explain variability in adolescents' responses to divorce.

7.15 Explain why adolescents often respond negatively to parents' remarriage even though it benefits the mother in many ways.

7.16 Identify the variables that influence adolescents' response to both parents working.

7.17 Describe the causes and consequences of physical and sexual abuse.

7.18 Distinguish running away from home in developed countries from becoming "street children" in developing countries.

"Last year I was really depressed, and [my boyfriend] kept saying I should talk to my mom… And she made me feel a lot better…. My mom and I are really close."

—GRETCHEN, AGE 17 (BELL, 1998, P. 70)

"[My mother] says, 'I just don't want to hear anymore; go back to your room.' And I think, as a human being, she shouldn't be able to say that to me without getting my response back; I just don't feel that's right."

—14-YEAR-OLD GIRL (KONOPKA, 1985, P. 67)

"Everything was going along like usual and then all of a sudden my parents were arguing a lot…. And pretty soon my dad came to me and said, 'Well, you know, me and your mom are having problems and I think I'm going to have to leave.' And we both started crying…. I was trying not to cry, but I couldn't help it."

—GORDON, AGE 17 (BELL, 1998, P. 67)

"In high school, even in middle school, I had a terrible relationship with my parents. My mom and I rarely talked, and my dad and I were in conflict almost every day. But somehow, in the course of the last four years, I've managed to get to a point where I can hang out with my parents and really love them. It's weird how time and age can just change a relationship like that."

DIANA, AGE 22 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 63)

FAMILY LIFE! IT CAN BE THE SOURCE OF OUR deepest attachments as well as our most bitter and painful conflicts. For young people and their parents, frequent adjustments are required in their relationships as adolescents and emerging adults gain more autonomy, inexorably moving away from their families toward the larger world and new attachments outside the family. These adjustments do not always proceed smoothly, and conflicts can result when young people and their parents have different perceptions of the most desirable pace and scope of this growing autonomy. For many adolescents and emerging adults in Western societies, family life is further complicated by their parents' divorce and perhaps remarriage, which require adjustments that many young people find difficult.

Despite these complications, for most young people the family remains a crucial source of love, support, protection, and comfort (Larson et al., 2010). Family members, especially parents, are the people admired most by the majority of adolescents and emerging adults and are among the people to whom they have the closest attachments (Scott et al., 2011). In a study of 42 developed countries, 90% of 15-year-olds said they find it "very easy" to talk to their mothers, and 78% said it was "very easy" to talk to their fathers (World Health Organization, 2016). Adolescents and emerging adults also typically attribute their core moral values to the influence of their parents (Hardy et al., 2008).

In this chapter, we will explore many aspects of the family lives of adolescents and emerging adults. We will begin with a look at various aspects of the family system in which adolescents develop, including parents' development at midlife, sibling relationships, and relationships with extended family members. Then we will focus on the central relationships in adolescents' family systems, their relationships with their parents. This will include a discussion of the effects of various parenting styles on adolescents' development and an examination of adolescents' attachments to parents. Emerging adults' relationships to parents will be examined as well.

In the second half of the chapter we will turn to challenges and difficulties in young people's relationships

with parents. We will examine the basis for conflict with parents in adolescence. We will also look at the historical context of adolescents' family lives, including changes in family life over the past 200 years as well as more recent family changes—rising rates of divorce, remarriage, single-parent households, and dual-earner families—and how these changes have influenced adolescents' development. The chapter will close with a look at the causes and effects of physical and sexual abuse in the family and the problems faced by adolescents who live on the streets, in the United States and around the world.

Adolescents' Family Relationships

Although families are much smaller now than they have been through most of human history, adolescents' family relationships are diverse and complex. In addition to parents, most adolescents have at least one sibling, and they have relationships with extended family members such as grandparents. To understand adolescents' family relationships, it is necessary to understand how the various parts of the family function as a system, and to understand parents' development during the time they have adolescent children.

The Adolescent in the Family System

7.1 Describe the family systems principles of disequilibrium and subsystems.

One useful framework for making sense of the complex ways family members interact with each other is the **family systems approach**. According to this approach, to understand family functioning one must understand how each relationship within the family influences the family as a whole (Kreppner & Lerner, 2013; Minuchin, 1974, 2002). The family system is composed of a variety of subsystems. For example, in a family consisting of two parents and an adolescent, the subsystems would be mother and adolescent, father and adolescent, and mother and father. In families with more than one child, or with extended family members who are closely involved in the family, the family system becomes a more complex network of subsystems, consisting of each **dyadic relationship** (a relationship of two persons) as well as every possible combination of three or more persons.

The family systems approach is based on two key principles. One is that each subsystem influences every other subsystem in the family. For example, a high level of conflict between the parents affects not only the relationship between the two of them but also the relationship that each of them has with the adolescent (Kan et al., 2008).

A second, related principle of the family systems approach is that a change in any family member or family subsystem results in a period of **disequilibrium** (or imbalance) until the family system adjusts to the change. When a child reaches adolescence, the changes that accompany adolescent development make a certain amount of disequilibrium normal and inevitable. A key change is the advent of puberty and sexual maturity, which typically results in disequilibrium in relationships with each parent, as we saw in Chapter 2. Changes also take place as a result of adolescents' cognitive development, which may lead to disequilibrium because of the way cognitive changes affect adolescents' perceptions of their parents. When emerging adults leave home, the disequilibrium caused by leaving often changes their relationships with their parents for the better (Aquilino, 2006; Arnett, 2015). Parents change, too, and the changes they experience may result in disequilibrium in their relationships with their children (Noller & Callan, 2015). Other, less normative changes that may take place in adolescence or emerging adulthood can also be a source of disequilibrium—the parents' divorce, for example, or psychological problems in the adolescent or in one or both parents. For both normative and nonnormative changes, adjustments in the family system are required to restore a new equilibrium.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Think of an example of disequilibrium that occurred in your family during your adolescence or emerging adulthood. How did the various family members adapt?

family systems approach
An approach to understanding family functioning that emphasizes how each relationship within the family influences the family as a whole.

dyadic relationship
A relationship between two persons.

disequilibrium
In the family systems approach, this term is used in reference to a change that requires adjustments from family members.

In the following sections, we will examine three aspects of the family system that have implications for adolescents' development: changes in parents at midlife, sibling relationships, and extended family relationships.

Parents' Development During Midlife

7.2 Summarize general patterns of parents' development in midlife and how these patterns influence their relations with adolescents and emerging adults.

"I think this is the best time of life, because you know what you're doing, you know what you want, you make better decisions. I love reading, I love shopping, I love traveling. It's wonderful! But I worry about my kids' future and well-being."

—ROSA, AGE 48, MOTHER OF AN ADOLESCENT AND AN EMERGING ADULT (ARNETT & FISHEL, 2014, P. 18)

For most parents, their children's development during adolescence and emerging adulthood overlaps with their own development during midlife. As noted in Chapter 1, the median age of marriage and first childbirth in developed countries today is quite high, usually in the late 20s or early 30s. If adolescence begins at about age 10, this means that most parents in developed countries are nearing age 40 when their first child enters adolescence, and age 40 is usually considered the beginning of midlife (Lachman, Teshale, & Agrigoroaei, 2014). Of course, a great deal of variability exists in most developed countries, and a substantial proportion of people have their first child in their early 20s or in their late 30s or 40s. But even for people who have their children relatively early or relatively late, their children's development in adolescence and emerging adulthood is likely to overlap at least in part with their own development during midlife, if it can be said that midlife lasts roughly from age 40 to 60.

What kinds of developmental changes take place during midlife that may have an impact on the family system? Studies have consistently found that, for most people in most respects, midlife is an especially satisfying and enjoyable time of life (Brim et al., 2004; Freund & Ritter, 2009; Lachman et al., 2014). Although most people do perceive a decline in energy, physical health, creativity, and physical attractiveness when they reach midlife, they perceive increases in wisdom, competence, psychological health, and respect from others. Despite popular beliefs that midlife is typically a time of "**midlife crisis**," for most people midlife is in many ways the prime of life.

midlife crisis

The popular belief, largely unfounded according to research, that most people experience a crisis when they reach about age 40, involving intensive reexamination of their lives and perhaps sudden and dramatic changes if they are dissatisfied.

At midlife, most parents of adolescents are reaching the prime of life in many respects.

This is true in a variety of ways. Job satisfaction peaks in middle adulthood, as does the sense of having job status and power (Besen et al., 2013). Earning power tends to increase, so that many couples who struggled financially when their children were younger find themselves financially secure for the first time during midlife (Whitbourne & Willis, 2006). Gender roles become less restrictive and more flexible for both men and women, not only in the West but in non-Western cultures as well (Etaugh & Bridges, 2006; Shweder, 1998).

People's personalities also tend to become more flexible and adaptive when they reach midlife. For example, in one large study of German adults at midlife, during their 40s and 50s most people reported a steady rise in what the researchers called "flexible goal adjustment," as defined by affirmative responses to items such as "I can adapt quite easily to changes in a situation" (Brandtstadter, 2006, 2015; Brandtstadter & Baltes-Götz, 1990; Brandtstadter & Greve, 1994). It appears, then, that as their children reach adolescence, most parents are likely to be flexible enough to adapt their parenting to adolescents' changing development and growing autonomy. The results of studies on midlife adults also suggest that adolescents' growing autonomy may be welcomed by most parents, because it gives parents more time to enjoy their own lives.

One change that has been much discussed in popular culture is the "empty-nest syndrome," referring to the adjustments that parents must make in midlife when their youngest child leaves home. Although popular stereotypes suggest that this is a difficult time for parents, in fact most parents handle it easily. For example, in a national American survey of parents of 18- to 29-year-olds, asked

how they responded to their children leaving home, 84% indicated that "I missed him/her," but 61% agreed that "I enjoyed having more time with my spouse/partner" and 60% agreed that "I welcomed the chance to have more time for myself" (Arnett & Schwab, 2013). In general, parents' marital satisfaction and overall life satisfaction improve when their adolescent children enter emerging adulthood and leave the nest (Arnett, 2015; Campbell et al., 2007; Gorchoff et al., 2008; Whitbourne & Willis, 2006). Disequilibrium is not necessarily negative, and for most parents the disequilibrium in the family system that results from children's leaving home is experienced as positive.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think parents respond favorably when their children leave home?

Although reaching midlife is positive for most adults, there is variability at midlife as there is at other ages. For men in blue-collar professions that require physical strength and stamina, such as construction or factory work, job performance becomes more difficult to sustain in middle adulthood and job satisfaction declines (Gilbert & Constantine, 2005). Only about one-fourth of divorces take place after age 40, but midlife divorces tend to be even more emotionally and financially difficult than divorces at younger ages, especially for women (Brown & Lin, 2012; Etaugh & Bridges, 2006). In short, evaluating the influence of parents' midlife development on the family systems that adolescents and emerging adults experience requires taking into account the specific characteristics of the parents' lives.

Sibling Relationships

7.3 Identify the five common patterns of sibling relationships in adolescence.

For about 80% of American adolescents, and similar proportions in other developed countries, the family system also includes relationships with at least one sibling (Tucker & Updegraff, 2010; Ungar et al., 2011). The proportion of families with siblings is even higher in developing countries, where birth rates tend to be higher and families with only one child are rare (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

Five common patterns can be identified in adolescents' relationships with their siblings (Stewart, Beilfuss, & Verbrugge, 1998). In the **caregiver relationship**, one sibling serves parental functions for the other. This kind of relationship is most common between an older sister and younger siblings, in both Western and non-Western cultures (Larson et al., 2010; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). In the **buddy relationship**, siblings treat each other as friends. They try to be like one another, and they enjoy being together. A **critical relationship** between siblings is characterized by a high level of conflict and teasing. In a **rival relationship**, siblings compete against each other and measure their success against one another. Finally, in a **casual relationship** between siblings, the relationship between them is not emotionally intense, and they may have little to do with one another.

Adolescents' relationships with their siblings can take any one of these forms, or any combination of them

Adolescents tend to have more conflict with siblings than with anyone else.

caregiver relationship
Between siblings, a relationship in which one sibling serves parental functions for the other.

buddy relationship
Between siblings, a relationship in which they treat each other as friends.

critical relationship
Between siblings, a relationship characterized by a high level of conflict and teasing.

rival relationship
Between siblings, a relationship in which they compete against each other and measure their success against one another.

casual relationship
Between siblings, a relationship that is not emotionally intense, in which they have little to do with one another.

(Noller, 2005; Yucel & Yuan, 2015). A critical relationship between siblings is common. In fact, in studies that compare adolescents' relationships with siblings to relationships with parents, grandparents, teachers, and friends, adolescents report more frequent conflicts with their siblings than with anyone else. Common sources of conflict include teasing, possessions (e.g., borrowing a sibling's clothes without permission), responsibility for chores, name-calling, invasions of privacy, and perceived unequal treatment by parents (Campione-Barr & Smetana, 2010; Updegraff et al., 2005).

However, even though adolescents tend to have more conflicts with siblings than in their other relationships, conflict with siblings is lower in adolescence than at younger ages (Cicirelli, 2013). From childhood to adolescence, relationships with siblings become more casual and less emotionally intense, partly because adolescents gradually spend less time with their siblings (Noller & Callan, 2015). Adolescents' involvement in friendships and employment takes them outside the family environment for an increasing amount of time, resulting in less time and less conflict with siblings.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Thus far, little research has taken place on sibling relationships in emerging adulthood. Based on your own observations and experience, what would you expect research to indicate about how sibling relationships change from adolescence to emerging adulthood?

Nevertheless, many adolescents have a buddy relationship with their siblings and feel close to them. When asked to list the most important people in their lives, most adolescents include their siblings, and siblings are often an important source of emotional support (Noller, 2005; Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2005). Adolescents who have two or more siblings may be closer to one sibling than to the others. With respect to their "favorite" brother or sister, adolescents rate the level of closeness as similar to their relationship with their best friend (Greenberger et al., 1980). However, for sibling relationships in general, adolescents rate the level of closeness as lower than in their relationships with parents or friends (Martinez & Howe, 2013; Updegraff, McHale, & Crouter, 2002).

Adolescent siblings in divorcing families often experience a heightened intensity in both hostility and warmth in their relationship (Noller, 2005; Sheehan et al., 2004). They report greater conflict than adolescents in nondivorced families during the period when the divorce is occurring, but they also report greater closeness because of the support they provide each other during that stressful time, and the closeness tends to endure after the conflict subsides (Bush & Ehrenberg, 2003). This is a good example of how one subsystem in the family, the relationship between the parents, affects another subsystem in the family, the relationship between siblings.

Sibling relationships in emerging adulthood often become more distant, as one or both of them leaves the household and they see each other less often (Scharf & Shulman, 2015). However, one study of adolescents and emerging adults in Israel found that emerging adults spent less time with their siblings than adolescents did but also felt more emotional closeness and warmth toward their siblings (Scharf, Shulman, & Avigad-Spitz, 2005). Conflict and rivalry were also reported to be less intense by emerging adults than by adolescents. Qualitative analyses showed that emerging adults had a more mature perception of their relationship with their siblings than adolescents did, in the sense that they were better able to understand their siblings' needs and perspectives.

In traditional cultures, the caregiver relationship between siblings is the most common form. Adolescents in traditional cultures often have child-care responsibilities (Ungar et al., 2011). In Schlegel and Barry's (1991) analysis of adolescence in traditional cultures, over 80% of adolescent boys and girls had frequent responsibility for caring for younger siblings. This responsibility promotes close attachments between siblings. Time together and closeness are especially high between siblings of the same gender mainly because in traditional cultures daily activities

Adolescents in traditional cultures often take care of younger siblings. Here, an adolescent girl and her younger sibling in Kenya.

Research Focus

THE DAILY RHYTHMS OF ADOLESCENTS' FAMILY LIVES

In nearly every chapter of this text I refer to research using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM), which involves having people carry wristwatch beepers and then beeping them randomly during the day so that they can record their thoughts, feelings, and behavior. This method is an exceptionally creative and unusual approach to studying adolescents' lives. Some of the most interesting and important findings so far using this method concern the interactions and relationships between adolescents and their families. Here, let's look at ESM research in greater detail.

Reed Larson and Maryse Richards are the two scholars who have done the most to apply the ESM to adolescents and their families. In their classic book *Divergent Realities: The Emotional Lives of Mothers, Fathers, and Adolescents* (Larson & Richards, 1994), they described the results of a study that included a sample of 483 American adolescents in fifth through ninth grades, and another sample of 55 fifth through eighth graders and their parents. All were two-parent, White families. All three family members (adolescent, mother, and father) were beeped at the same times, about 30 times per day between 7:30 in the morning and 9:30 at night, during the week of the study. (Larson and Richards have also published articles that follow up this sample through 12th grade; see Larson, 2011; Larson et al., 2002; Richards et al., 2002. They have also published results of ESM research with African American families; see Bohnert et al., 2008.)

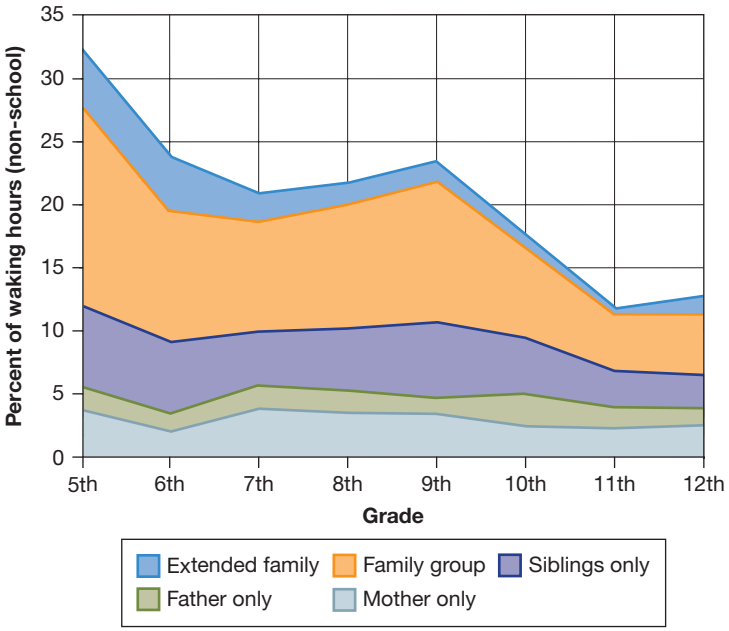
When beeped, the family members paused from whatever they were doing and recorded a variety of information in the notebooks that the researchers had given them for the study. The notebooks contained items about their objective situation when beeped: where they were, whom they were with, and what they were doing. There were also items about their subjective states. They rated the degree to which they felt happy to unhappy, cheerful to irritable, and friendly to angry, as well as how hurried, tired, and competitive they were feeling. The results provide "an emotional photo album…a set of snapshots of what [adolescents] and [their] parents go through in an average week" (Larson & Richards, 1994, p. 9).

What do the results tell us about the daily rhythms of American adolescents' family lives? One striking finding of the study was how little time adolescents and their parents actually spent together on a typical day. Mothers and fathers each averaged about an hour a day spent in shared activities with their adolescents, and their most common shared activity was watching television. The amount of time adolescents spent with their families dropped by 50% between fifth and ninth grades and declined even more sharply between ninth and 12th grades, as you can see in **Figure 7.1**. In turn, there was an increase from fifth to ninth grade in the amount of time adolescents spent alone in their bedrooms.

The study also revealed some interesting gender differences in parent–adolescent relationships. Mothers were more deeply involved than fathers with their adolescents, both for better and for worse. The majority of mother—adolescent interactions were rated positively by both of them, especially experiences such as talking together, going out together, and sharing a meal. Adolescents, especially girls, tended to be closer to their mothers than to their fathers and had more conversations with them about relationships and other personal issues. However, adolescents' negative feelings toward their mothers increased sharply from fifth to ninth grade, and certain positive emotions decreased. For

Figure 7.1 Changes in time spent with family members during adolescence.

SOURCE: Larson et al. (1996).



are often separated by gender. Caregiver relationships between siblings are also common in African American families, in part because many African American families are headed by single mothers who rely on older siblings to help with child care (Brody et al., 2003).

Conflict tends to be low between adolescent siblings in traditional cultures because age serves as a powerful determinant of status. Older siblings are understood to have authority over younger ones, simply by virtue of being older. This lessens conflict because it is accepted that the older sibling has the right to exercise authority—although of course sometimes younger siblings resist their older siblings' authority (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). Also, siblings in

example, the proportion of interactions with the mother in which adolescents reported feeling "very close" to her fell from 68% in fifth grade to just 28% by ninth grade. Also, adolescents reported more conflicts with their mothers than with their fathers—although fathers were often called in if Mom's authority failed to achieve the results she desired—and the number of conflicts between mothers and adolescents increased from fifth to ninth grades.

As for fathers, they tended to be only tenuously involved in their adolescents' lives, a "shadowy presence," as Larson and Richards put it. For most of the time they spent with their adolescents, the mother was there as well, and the mother tended to be more directly involved with the adolescent when the three of them were together. Moms were usually on the "front lines" of parenting, whereas for fathers parenting was more of a voluntary, leisure-time activity. Fathers averaged only 12 minutes per day alone with their adolescents, and 40% of this time was spent watching TV together. Fathers and their adolescents did not talk much, and when they did, sports was the most common topic.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think fathers tend to be less involved than mothers in the lives of their adolescents? Do you think this will remain true when the current generation of adolescents grows up and becomes parents?

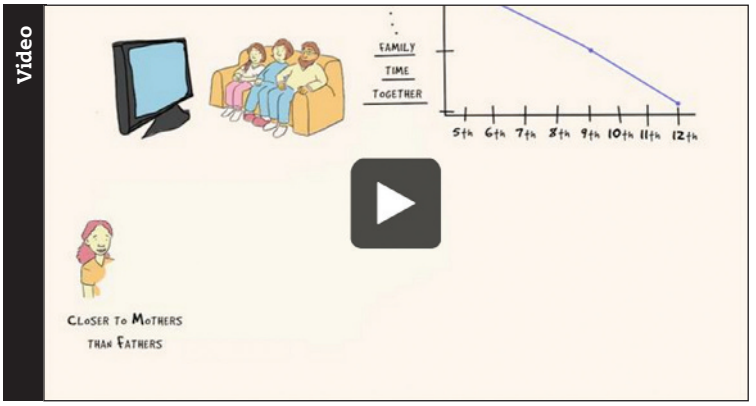
Fathers usually reported being in a good mood during the rare times they and their adolescents were doing something together. In contrast, adolescents' enjoyment of their time with their fathers decreased between fifth and ninth grades, especially for girls. Fathers tended to dominate when they were with their adolescents, and adolescents often resented it. Dad may have been enjoying their time together, but by ninth grade the adolescent usually was not. The "divergent realities" experienced in adolescents' families seem to be especially sharp between fathers and adolescents.

Larson and Richards used the term *the Six O'Clock Crash* to describe what happens when Mom and Dad come home from work in the early evening and face a barrage of demands—greeting each other, fixing dinner, taking care of household chores, and dealing with the emotions each has piled up during the day. The burden of household tasks fell mostly on mothers rather than fathers, even when both parents worked an equal number of hours. Adolescents were even less help than fathers. They did only half as much household work as fathers, who already did a lot less than mothers. And even when they helped out, they often did so grudgingly and resentfully; they interpreted requests for help as harassment. As the authors put it, "Many of these adolescents, especially boys, felt little responsibility for their family's needs, and were therefore annoyed when asked to do their part" (Larson & Richards, 1994, p. 100).

At the same time, however, the study showed that parents are often important sources of comfort and security for adolescents. Adolescents brought home to the family their emotions from the rest of the day. If their parents were responsive and caring, adolescents' moods improved and their negative emotions were relieved. In contrast, if adolescents felt their parents were unavailable or unresponsive, their negative feelings deepened.

In sum, the study demonstrates the enduring importance of parents in the lives of adolescents. Also, because the study included the perspectives of fathers and mothers as well as adolescents, interacting in pairs as well as all together, the results provide a vivid sense of the interconnected emotions and perspectives within the family system.

Watch THE DAILY RHYTHMS OF ADOLESCENTS' FAMILY LIVES



traditional cultures often rely on one another economically throughout life, which means that they all have an interest in maintaining harmony in the relationship. For example, Hollos and Leis's (1989) ethnography of Nigerian adolescents described how they frequently rely on older siblings to provide them with connections that will lead to employment.

Extended Family Relationships

7.4 Explain why relations with extended family members are often especially close for adolescents in traditional cultures.

In traditional cultures, young men generally remain in their family home after marriage, and young women

move into their new husband's home. This practice has been remarkably resistant to the influence of globalization so far. It remains the typical pattern, for example, in the majority cultures of India and China, the two most populous countries in the world, as well as in most other traditional cultures in Asia and Africa (Ochiai, 2015). Consequently, children in these cultures typically grow up in a household that includes not only their parents and siblings but also their grandparents, and often their uncles, aunts, and cousins as well.

These living arrangements promote closeness between adolescents and their extended family. In Schlegel and Barry's (1991) cross-cultural analysis, daily contact was as high with grandparents as with parents for adolescents in traditional cultures, and adolescents were usually even closer to their grandparents than to their parents. Perhaps this is because parents typically exercise authority over adolescents, which may add ambivalence to adolescents' relationships with their parents, whereas grandparents are less likely to exercise authority and may focus more on nurturing and supporting adolescents.

Similar patterns of closeness to grandparents have been found among adolescents in American minority cultures. Asian American adolescents typically grow up with grandparents either in the home or living nearby, and they report high levels of nurturing and support from their grandparents (Fuligni et al., 1999; Nagata et al., 2010). Many Mexican American adolescents have grandparents living in their household, and closeness in extended family relationships is highly valued in Mexican culture (Harwood et al., 2002; Haxton & Harknett, 2009).

African American families also have a tradition of extended family households. Several studies have described how African American extended families provide mutual support, sharing financial resources and parenting responsibilities (McAdoo, 1996; Oberlander et al., 2007). About 70% of African American adolescents are in single-parent families, and extended family support has been found to be especially important in reducing the emotional and economic stresses of single parenthood (Ruiz & Silverstein, 2007). The effects of this support are evident in the lives of adolescents. For example, extended family support in African American families is negatively related to adolescents' involvement in problem behavior and positively related to their grades in school (Hamilton, 2005; Oberlander et al., 2007).

Extended family members are also important figures in the lives of adolescents in Western majority cultures. About 80% of American adolescents list at least one member of their extended family among the people most important to them, and closeness to grandparents is positively related to adolescents' well-being (Pratt et al., 2010; Ruiz & Silverstein, 2007). However, in the American majority culture, adolescents' contact with extended family members is relatively infrequent, in part because extended family members often live many miles away. American adolescents have significantly less contact with their extended family members compared with adolescents in European countries because members of European extended families are more likely to live in close proximity (Alsaker & Flammer, 1999; Arnett & Balle-Jensen, 1993). Also, for Americans closeness to extended family members declines substantially between childhood and adolescence (Attar-Schwartz et al., 2009).

An exception to this pattern occurs among adolescents in divorced families, who tend to have increased rather than decreased contact with their grandparents during adolescence, especially with their maternal grandfather (Clingempeel et al., 1992; Henderson et al., 2009). This suggests that the maternal grandfather fills the father's role in these families, to some extent, by spending more time with his grandchildren than he would if the father were present. Mothers and adolescents in divorced families may have greater need for the grandfather's support and assistance, given the economic and emotional strains that often occur in divorced families (Huurre et al., 2006).

Variations in Parenting

As we discussed in Chapter 4, parents play a central role in the socialization process, for adolescents as well as for children. To a large extent, parents draw the forms of their parenting from the cultural beliefs they have learned, particularly beliefs about the relative value of individualism and collectivism. Therefore, parenting styles are custom complexes in the sense that they reflect underlying cultural beliefs. However, there are also variations within cultures, as parents adopt different parenting styles depending on their personal values and on how their children and adolescents respond to what they do.

Parenting Styles

7.5 Summarize the parenting styles model, and explain how the styles represent custom complexes.

"My mother was far too lenient. She didn't enforce any rules. I could stay out till two or three in the morning and nobody cared. At sixteen, I was doing cocaine and drinking. I still experience anger at my mother for not even trying to give me structure".

—LAURA, MOTHER OF ADOLESCENTS
(FABER & MAZLISH, 2005, P. 5)

"My parents were from another country—a whole other culture. In my house everything was strictly prohibited. I couldn't buy what I wanted, couldn't go where I wanted, couldn't wear what I wanted. Even when I was a senior in high school, I had to ask permission".

—MOTHER OF ADOLESCENTS (FABER & MAZLISH, 2005, P. 4)

"My parents discuss things with me, and we try to come up with solutions".

—15-YEAR-OLD BOY (FABER & MAZLISH, 2005, P. 69)

Because parents are so important in the development of children, social scientists have devoted a great deal of research to the quality of parent–child relationships and to the effects of parenting. One branch of this research has involved the study of **parenting styles**—that is, the kinds of practices that parents exhibit in relation to their children and the effects of these practices. For over 50 years, scholars have engaged in research on this topic, and the results have been quite consistent (Collins & Laursen, 2006; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Larzelere, Morris, & Harrist, 2013). Virtually all of the prominent scholars who have studied parenting have described it in terms of two dimensions: demandingness and responsiveness (also known by other terms such as *control* and *warmth*). Parental **demandingness** is the degree to which parents set down rules and expectations for behavior and require their children to comply with them. Parental **responsiveness** is the degree to which parents are sensitive to their children's needs and express love, warmth, and concern.

Many scholars have combined these two dimensions to describe different kinds of parenting styles. For many years, the best-known and most widely used conception of parenting styles was the one articulated by Diana Baumrind (1968, 1971, 1991). Her research on middle-class American families, along with the research of other scholars inspired by her ideas, identified four distinct parenting styles (Collins & Laursen, 2006; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg, 2000; see **Table 7.1**).

Table 7.1 Parenting Styles and the Two Dimensions of Parenting

		Demandingness	
		High	**Low**
Responsiveness	**High**	Authoritative	Permissive
	Low	Authoritarian	Disengaged

Authoritative parents are high in demandingness and high in responsiveness. They set clear rules and expectations for their children. Furthermore, they make clear what the consequences will be if their children do not comply, and they make those consequences stick if necessary. However, authoritative parents do not simply "lay down the law" and then enforce it rigidly. A distinctive feature of authoritative parents is that they *explain* the reasons for their rules and expectations to their children, and they willingly engage in discussion with their children over issues of discipline, sometimes leading to negotiation and compromise. Authoritative parents are also loving and warm toward their children, and they respond to what their children need and desire.

Authoritarian parents are high in demandingness but low in responsiveness. They require obedience from their children, and they punish disobedience without compromise. None of the verbal give-and-take common with authoritative parents is allowed by authoritarian parents. They expect their commands to be followed without dispute or dissent. Also, they show little in the way of love or warmth toward their children. Their demandingness takes place without responsiveness, in a way that shows little emotional attachment and may even be hostile.

Permissive parents are low in demandingness and high in responsiveness. They have few clear expectations for their children's behavior, and they rarely discipline them. Instead, their emphasis is on responsiveness. They believe that children need love that is truly "unconditional." They may see discipline and control as having

parenting styles
The patterns of practices that parents exhibit in relation to their children.

demandingness
The degree to which parents set down rules and expectations for behavior and require their children to comply with them.

responsiveness
The degree to which parents are sensitive to their children's needs and express love, warmth, and concern for them.

authoritative parents
A parenting style in which parents are high in demandingness and high in responsiveness (i.e., they love their children but also set clear standards for behavior and explain to their children the reasons for those standards).

authoritarian parents
Parenting style in which parents are high in demandingness but low in responsiveness (i.e., they require obedience from their children and punish disobedience without compromise, but show little warmth or affection toward them).

permissive parents
Parenting style in which parents are low in demandingness and high in responsiveness. They show love and affection toward their children but are permissive with regard to standards for behavior.

the potential to damage their children's healthy tendencies for developing creativity and expressing themselves however they wish. They provide their children with love and warmth and give them a great deal of freedom to do as they please.

Disengaged parents are low in both demandingness and responsiveness. Their goal may be to minimize the amount of time and emotion they devote to parenting. Thus, they require little of their children and rarely bother to correct their behavior or place clear limits on what they are allowed to do. They also express little in the way of love or concern for their children. They may seem to have little emotional attachment to them.

These four parenting styles can be understood as custom complexes. As described in Chapter 4, a *custom complex* consists of a typical cultural practice and the beliefs underlying it. What beliefs are reflected in the parenting styles just described? Research on parents' child-rearing goals shows that American parents tend to value independence highly as a quality they wish to promote in their children (Horvath & Lee, 2015; Keller et al., 2006). Authoritarian parenting clearly discourages independence, but the other three parenting styles—authoritative, permissive, and disengaged—reflect parents' beliefs that it is good for adolescents to learn **autonomy**—that is, to learn to be independent and self-sufficient, to learn to think for themselves and be responsible for their own behavior (Larzelere et al., 2013).

Authoritative parents promote autonomy in positive ways through encouraging discussion and give-and-take that teaches adolescents to think independently and make mature decisions. Permissive and disengaged parents promote this outcome in a negative way—that is, through the absence of restraint that allows adolescents a great deal of autonomy without parental guidance. As we will see in the next section, the differences in how these parenting styles promote autonomy result in different effects on adolescents' development. Nevertheless, in combination the prominence of these parenting styles in the families of American adolescents reflects the prominence of individualism in American cultural beliefs (Keller et al., 2006). This is an example of how cultural beliefs form the basis for the socialization that occurs in the family and elsewhere, as discussed in Chapter 4.

disengaged parents

Parenting style in which parents are low in both demandingness and responsiveness and relatively uninvolved in their children's development.

autonomy

The quality of being independent and self-sufficient, capable of thinking for one's self.

The Effects of Parenting Styles on Adolescents

7.6 Outline how research has shown parenting styles to be related to aspects of adolescents' development.

A great deal of research has been conducted on how parenting styles influence adolescents' development. A summary of the results is shown in **Table 7.2**. In general, authoritative parenting is associated with the most favorable outcomes, at least by American standards. Adolescents who have authoritative parents tend to be independent, self-assured, creative, and socially skilled (Collins & Laursen, 2006; Cook et al., 2011; Steinberg, 2000). They also tend to do well in school and to get along well with their peers and with adults (Spera, 2005). Authoritative parenting helps adolescents develop characteristics such as optimism and self-regulation that in turn have positive effects on a wide range of behaviors (Jackson et al., 2005; Larzelere et al., 2013).

All the other parenting styles are associated with some negative outcomes, although the type of negative outcome varies depending on the specific parenting style (Goldstein, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2005; Larzelere et al., 2013; Simons & Conger, 2007). Adolescents with authoritarian parents tend to be dependent, passive, and conforming. They are often less self-assured, less creative, and less socially adept than other adolescents. Adolescents with permissive parents tend to be immature and irresponsible. They are more likely than other adolescents to conform to their peers. Adolescents with disengaged parents tend to be impulsive. Partly as a consequence of their impulsiveness, and partly because disengaged parents do little to monitor their activities, adolescents with disengaged parents tend to have higher rates of problem behaviors such as delinquency, early sexual involvement, and use of drugs and alcohol.

Authoritative parenting tends to be better for adolescents for a number of reasons (Steinberg, 2000). Adolescents are at a point in their lives when they have become capable of exercising more autonomy and self-regulation than when they were younger (Steinberg, 1996). To be able to move into adult roles after adolescence, they need to be given a greater amount of autonomy and required to exercise a greater amount of responsibility. At

Table 7.2 Adolescent Outcomes Associated with Parenting Styles

Authoritative	Authoritarian	Permissive	Disengaged
Independent	Dependent	Irresponsible	Impulsive
Creative	Passive	Conforming	Delinquent
Self-assured	Conforming	Immature	Early sex, drugs
Socially skilled			

the same time, they lack the experience with the world and with their own impulses and abilities that adults have; consequently, an excess of autonomy may leave them aimless or even lead them into harm (Simons & Conger, 2007). Authoritative parenting achieves a balance between allowing enough autonomy for adolescents to develop their capacities and at the same time requiring them to exercise their increased autonomy in a responsible way. All the other parenting styles either fail to allow as much autonomy or allow it without requiring the kind of responsibility that is associated with healthy development.

Authoritative parenting combines demandingness with responsiveness, which includes affection, emotional attachment, love, and concern for the adolescent's needs and well-being. Parents' responsiveness helps adolescents to learn to believe in their own worthiness as people. It also leads adolescents to identify with their parents and seek to please them by embracing the values their parents hold and by behaving in ways the parents will approve (Larzelere et al., 2013). The other parenting styles either lack responsiveness or provide it without requiring an adequate level of demandingness.

Inconsistency between parents also tends to be related to negative outcomes for adolescents. Most studies of parenting in adolescence assess one parent or combine ratings for the two parents into one rating, but studies that examine differences have produced interesting results. For example, Johnson, Shulman, and Collins (1991) had fifth, eighth, and 11th graders rate their parents on various items. Parents were categorized into one of two general types, authoritative or permissive. Fifth graders generally viewed their parents as similar—only 9% rated them in different categories—but the proportion perceiving a discrepancy rose with age, to 23% of eighth graders and 31% of 11th graders. Adolescents who perceived inconsistency between their parents were lower on self-esteem and school performance compared not only with those who perceived both parents as authoritative but also with those who perceived both parents as permissive.

When parents have different approaches to parenting, it could be a reflection of marital discord. One study that assessed families over a 6-year period found that couples whose marital quality decreased over this period also became less similar in their parenting styles (Kan et al., 2008). Here again we see the importance of the family systems perspective, in noting the ways that one relationship, between marriage partners, affects other relationships, including each parent's relationship with the adolescent.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

How would you categorize the parenting style of your parents when you were in adolescence? Was it the same for you as for your siblings (if you have any)? To what extent did their parenting influence you, and to what extent did you evoke certain parenting behaviors from them?

Are the Effects of Parenting on Adolescents Really "Effects"? A More Complex Picture of Parenting

7.7 Explain how theory and research on reciprocal effects, differential parenting, and nonshared environments complicate claims of the effects of parenting on adolescents.

Although parents undoubtedly affect their adolescents profoundly by their parenting, the process is not nearly as simple as the cause-and-effect model just described. Sometimes discussions of parenting make it sound as though parenting style A automatically and inevitably produces adolescent type X. However, enough research has taken place by now to indicate that the relationship between parenting styles and adolescent development is considerably more complex than that. Adolescents not only are affected by their parents but also affect their parents in return. Scholars refer to this principle as **reciprocal effects** or **bidirectional effects** between parents and children (Collins & Laursen, 2006; Willoughby & Hamza, 2011).

Recall our discussion of evocative genotype → environment interactions in Chapter 2. Adolescents are not like billiard balls that head predictably in the direction they are propelled. They have personalities and desires of their own that they bring to the parent–adolescent relationship. Thus, adolescents may evoke certain behaviors from their parents. An especially aggressive adolescent may evoke authoritarian parenting, perhaps because the parents find that authoritative explanations of the rules are simply ignored, and their responsiveness diminishes as a result of the adolescent's repeated violations of their trust. An especially mild-tempered adolescent may evoke permissive parenting because parents may see no point in laying down specific rules for an adolescent who has no inclination to do anything outrageous anyway.

reciprocal effects
In relations between parents and children, the concept that children not only are affected by their parents but affect their parents in return. Also called *bidirectional effects*.

bidirectional effects
In relations between parents and children, the concept that children not only are affected by their parents but affect their parents in return. Also called *reciprocal effects*.

Research involving siblings indicates that adolescent siblings *within the same family* often give different accounts of what their parents are like toward them. This may be due to **differential parenting**, meaning that parents' behavior often differs toward siblings within the same family (East, 2009). Thus, one adolescent may see her parents as admirably demanding and responsive, the epitome of the authoritative parent, whereas her brother describes the same parents as dictatorial, unresponsive, authoritarian parents. These differences in how adolescents perceive their parents' behavior are in turn related to differences in the adolescents: The ones who perceive their parents as authoritative tend to be happier and to be functioning better in a variety of ways (Updegraff et al., 2005). Note the possible role of reciprocal effects here as well. Parents may treat their adolescents differently in part because the adolescents vary in how resistant or compliant they are in response to parents' rules and guidelines.

Does this research discredit the claim that parenting styles influence adolescents? No, but it modifies this claim. Parents do have beliefs about what is best for their adolescents, and they try to express those beliefs through their behavior toward their adolescents. However, parents' actual behavior is affected not only by what they believe is best but also by how their adolescents behave toward them and how their adolescents seem to respond to their parenting. Being an authoritative parent is easier if your adolescent responds to the demandingness and responsiveness you provide, and not so easy if your love is rejected and your rules and the reasons you provide for them are ignored. Parents whose efforts to persuade their adolescents through reasoning and discussion fall on deaf ears may be tempted either to demand compliance (and become more authoritarian) or to give up trying (and become permissive or disengaged).

Adolescent siblings within the same family often report different experiences with their parents.

One ambitious research project has gone deeper than previous research into the complexities of adolescents' family lives (Neiderhiser et al., 2007; Reiss et al., 2000). This project studied 720 families from various areas of the United States, and two same-sex siblings within each family, including identical twins, fraternal twins, full siblings, half siblings, and biologically unrelated stepsiblings. The research design enabled the researchers to examine questions of genetic and environmental family influences on adolescents, as well as the different experiences of siblings within the same family. The research methods used in the study included not only questionnaires but interviews, videotaped family interactions, and information on the adolescents' social world outside the family. The average ages of the siblings when the study began were 12 and 15, and the families were followed over a 3-year period.

In terms of dimensions of *warmth* and *negativity*, there was evidence for differential parenting; that is, adolescents within the same family often differed in how warm or negative they reported their parents to be (Feinberg & Hetherington, 2001). To put it another way, differential parenting resulted in **nonshared environmental influences**, meaning that the siblings experienced quite different family environments, and the consequences of these differences were evident in adolescents' behavior and psychological functioning. Also, the influence of genetics seemed to be especially strong for parental negativity, in the sense that the more alike two siblings were genetically, the more alike parents' behavior was toward them with respect to negativity (Feinberg, Neiderhiser, Howe, & Hetherington, 2001). This seems to indicate evocative genotype → environment interactions because it suggests that the parents' negativity was evoked by the adolescents' genetically based behavior.

Furthermore, parents and adolescents often differed in their reports of parenting behavior (Feinberg et al., 2001), with parents reporting more warmth and less negativity than their adolescents reported for them. For younger adolescents, the more different their reports were from their parents' reports, the more likely they were to be functioning poorly (Feinberg et al., 2000).

differential parenting

When parents' behavior differs toward siblings within the same family.

nonshared environmental influences

Influences experienced differently among siblings within the same family (e.g., when parents behave differently with their different children).

This suggests that it is important to include multiple reports of parenting behavior, rather than using only the adolescents' reports as most studies do.

Beyond American Parenting Styles: Parenting in Other Cultures

7.8 Identify the limitations of applying the American parenting styles model to other cultures, and the distinctive practices of Asian and Latino cultures that are not included in this model.

Almost all the research on parenting styles has taken place in American society, and most of it has centered on families in the American majority culture. What do parent–adolescent relationships look like if we step outside of the American experience and look around the world, especially toward non-Western cultures?

Probably the most striking difference is how rare the authoritative parenting style is in non-Western cultures. Remember, a distinctive feature of authoritative parents is that they do not rely on the authority of the parental role to ensure that adolescents comply with their commands and instructions. They do not simply lay down the law and expect to be obeyed. On the contrary, authoritative parents *explain the reasons* for what they want adolescents to do and *engage in discussion* over the guidelines for their adolescents' behavior (Baumrind, 1971, 1991; Larzelere et al., 2013).

Outside of the West, however, this is an extremely rare approach to adolescent socialization. In traditional cultures, parents expect that their authority will be obeyed, without question and without requiring an explanation (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). This is true not only of nonindustrial traditional cultures but also of industrialized traditional cultures outside the West, most notably Asian cultures such as China, Japan, Vietnam, and South Korea (Russell et al., 2010; Tseng, 2004; Zhang & Fuligni, 2006). As noted in Chapter 1, Asian cultures have a tradition of filial piety, meaning that children are expected to respect, obey, and revere their parents throughout life (Leung et al., 2010). In other traditional cultures as well, the *role of parent* carries greater inherent authority than it does in the West. Parents are not supposed to provide reasons why they should be respected and obeyed. The simple fact that they are parents and their children are children is viewed as sufficient justification for their authority (see the Cultural Focus box for an example).

Does this mean that the typical parenting style in traditional cultures is authoritarian? No, although sometimes scholars have come to this erroneous conclusion. Keep in mind that authoritarian parenting combines high demandingness with *low responsiveness*. Parents in traditional cultures are indeed high in demandingness, and their demandingness is often of a more uncompromising quality than is typical in the West. However, it is not true that parents in traditional cultures are typically low in responsiveness. On the contrary, parents and adolescents in nonindustrialized traditional cultures often develop a closeness that is nearly impossible in Western families because they spend virtually all of their days together, working side by side (boys with their fathers, girls with their mothers), in a way that the economic structure of industrialized societies prevents. Parents and adolescents in industrialized traditional cultures such as Asian cultures also maintain a strong degree of closeness that is reflected in a sense of interdependence and in shared activities and mutual obligations (Hardaway & Fuligni, 2006; Lim & Lim, 2004).

However, parental responsiveness may be expressed quite differently in non-Western cultures. For example, parents in non-Western cultures rarely use praise with their children, and in many Asian cultures open expressions of affection and warmth between parents and adolescents are uncommon (Jeffries, 2004). But are typical parents of adolescents in non-Western cultures responsive—do they have deep emotional attachments to their adolescents, do they love them, are they deeply concerned with their well-being? Unquestionably, the answer is yes.

If parents in non-Western cultures cannot be called authoritarian, what *are* they? The fact is, they do not fit very well into the parenting scheme presented earlier. They are generally closest to authoritative parents because, like them, they tend to be high in demandingness and high in responsiveness. However, as noted, both their demandingness and their responsiveness are very different from the authoritative American or Western parent.

The difficulty of fitting other cultures into the parenting styles model applies not only to non-Western traditional cultures but also to ethnic minority cultures that are part of American society. Studies indicate that African American, Latino, and Asian American parents are less likely than White parents to be classified as authoritative and more likely to be classified as authoritarian (e.g., Kapungu et al., 2006; Pong et al., 2010). However, it is somewhat difficult to say what this means. If parents in these studies were high in responsiveness and also high in an uncompromising demandingness that rejects discussion and explanation, they would not have fit well into either the authoritative or the authoritarian categories used by the researchers.

Asian American psychologists have argued that designations of authoritative and authoritarian cannot be easily applied to Asian American parents (Chao, 2001; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Lim & Lim, 2004; Way et al., 2013). They suggest that researchers may misunderstand Asian American parenting and mislabel it as authoritarian because it involves a degree and type of demandingness

Cultural Focus

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES IN INDIA

India is currently the second most populous country in the world, with a population of over 1 billion people. By the middle of the 21st century, it will pass China and reach a population of 1.5 billion, about four times the projected population of the United States. India is an astonishingly diverse country, with a wide variety of religions, languages, and regional cultures. Nevertheless, scholars generally believe that a common Indian culture can be identified (Segal, 1998), including with regard to young people and their families. The features of the Indian family provide a good illustration of young people's family lives in a traditional culture.

Indian families have many features in common with other traditional cultures discussed in this text. Collectivistic values are strong, and the well-being and success of the family are considered more important than the well-being and success of the individual (Saraswathi, 1999; Saraswathi & Oke, 2013). There is a strong emphasis on sacrifice, and children are taught from an early age to relinquish their own desires for the sake of the family as a whole. Interdependence among family members is stressed throughout life, emotionally, socially, and financially (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012; Seiter & Nelson, 2011).

As in most traditional cultures, the Indian family has a clear hierarchy based on age (Kakar, 1998; Saraswathi, 2006). Respect for elders is strongly emphasized. Even in childhood, older children are understood to have definite authority over anyone younger than they are; in adulthood, older adults merit respect and deference from younger adults simply on the basis of being older. Because it is common for young married couples to live with the husband's parents rather than establishing a separate residence, many households with children contain grandparents and often uncles, aunts, and cousins as well. This pattern is changing because Indian society is becoming increasingly urbanized, and extended family households are less common in urban areas than in rural areas. Nevertheless, even now 80% of India's population is rural and tends to live according to traditional family arrangements (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012).

One feature that is distinctive to the traditional Indian family is the idea that the parents, especially the father, are to be regarded by their children as a god would be regarded by a devotee. The Hindu religion, which most Indians believe, has many gods of varying degrees of power, so this is not like stating that the father is like "God" in a Western sense. Nevertheless, the analogy of a father being like a god to

Adolescents in India benefit from close family relationships.

that is typical of Asian families but that may be perceived as wrong by a White researcher unfamiliar with Asian cultural beliefs. Asian American adolescents show none of the negative effects typically associated with authoritarian parenting. On the contrary, they have higher educational achievement, lower rates of behavioral problems, and lower rates of psychological problems, compared with White adolescents (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008; Kim et al., 2013). Furthermore, family attitudes of interdependence among Asian American adolescents and emerging adults are related to their high rates of academic achievement and their low rates of problems (Pong et al., 2010; Tseng, 2004). This suggests that cultural context is crucial to predicting the effects parenting will have on adolescents.

Latino parents in American society have also typically been classified as authoritarian. The Latino cultural belief system places a premium on the idea of *respeto*, which emphasizes respect for and obedience to parents and elders, especially the father (Calzada et al., 2010; Halgunseth et al., 2006). The role of the parent is considered to be enough to command authority, without requiring that the parents explain their rules to their children. Again, however, this does not mean that their parenting is authoritarian. Another pillar of Latino cultural beliefs is **familismo**, which emphasizes the love, closeness, and mutual obligations of Latino family life (Halgunseth et al., 2006). This hardly sounds like the aloofness and hostility characteristic of the authoritarian parent, and in fact studies confirm the positive effects of *familismo* on Latino adolescents (Gallegos-Castillo, 2006; Niemeyer et al., 2009).

familismo

Concept of family life characteristic of Latino cultures that emphasizes the love, closeness, and mutual obligations of family life.

his children effectively symbolizes and conveys the absolute nature of his authority within the family.

These features of the Indian family have important implications for the development of adolescents and emerging adults. The inherent authority of parents and the emphasis on respect for elders mean that parents expect obedience even from adolescents and emerging adults. Traditional Indian families include little of the explanation of rules and discussion of decisions that characterize the relationships between adolescents and parents in authoritative Western families. For parents to explain the reasons for their rules, or for young people to demand to take part in family decisions, would be considered an offense to the parents' inherent authority. This does not mean the parents are "authoritarian," in the scheme of parenting styles described by Western social scientists. On the contrary, warmth, love, and affection are known to be especially strong in Indian families (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012; Kapadia, 2008).

The authority of parents in Indian families also means that there are not the same expectations of autonomy for adolescents and emerging adults as there are in Western families (Larson et al., 2000; Seiter & Nelson, 2011). Indian adolescents spend most of their leisure time with their families, not with their friends. Dating and sexual relationships before marriage are almost nonexistent (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012). Most marriages are arranged by the parents, not chosen independently by the young people themselves. Emerging adults usually remain in their parents' homes until marriage.

What are the consequences of these family practices for the development of Indian adolescents and emerging adults? A Western reader may be tempted to regard the practices of Indian families as "unhealthy" because of their hierarchical, patriarchal quality and because of the way that the autonomy of young people is suppressed. However, it is probably more accurate to view Indian family socialization as having both costs and benefits, like other cultural forms of socialization (Arnett, 2006b). For young people in India, there are clearly costs in terms of individual autonomy. To be expected to be obedient to your parents even in your teens and 20s (and beyond), to be discouraged from ever questioning your parents' authority and judgment, and to have your parents control crucial life decisions in love and work clearly means that young people's autonomy is restricted in Indian families.

However, Indian family practices have clear benefits as well. Young people who grow up in a close, interdependent Indian family have the benefit of family support and guidance as they enter adult roles. Because they respect their parents' age and experience, they value the advice their parents provide about what occupation to pursue and whom to marry (Kapadia, 2008; Saraswathi & Oke, 2013). Having a strong sense of family interdependence also provides Indian young people with a strong family identity, which may make them less lonely and vulnerable as they form an individual identity. Indian adolescents have low rates of delinquency, depression, and suicide compared with Western adolescents (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012; Kakar, 1998).

The influence of globalization can be seen in Indian culture as in other traditional cultures. Western styles of dress, language, and music are popular among young Indians. In urban middle-class families, the traditional Indian pattern of parental authority is changing, and parents' relationships with their adolescents increasingly involve discussion and negotiation (Kapadia, 2008). Nevertheless, young Indians remain proud of the Indian tradition of close families, and they express the desire to see that tradition endure.

Attachments to Parents

7.9 Summarize the two main forms of infant attachment and the evidence for their influence on adolescent development.

"[My parents are] always there and I feel I can always go to them and they always say something that will make me feel better."

—17-YEAR-OLD GIRL (KONOPKA, 1985, P. 71)

"It's like if I get in some really, really bad trouble then my friends might get afraid, you know, and go away. But my parents will always be there."

—DEVON, AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT (JEFFRIES, 2004, P. 120)

We have noted that adolescents consistently state that their parents are among the most important figures in their lives, and that most young people maintain a sense of emotional closeness to their parents throughout adolescence and emerging adulthood. An influential theory describing emotional relationships between parents and children is **attachment theory**. This theory was originally developed by British psychiatrist John Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980), who argued that among humans as among other primates, attachments between parents and children have an evolutionary basis in the need for vulnerable young members of the species to stay in close proximity to adults who will care for and protect them. Bowlby's colleague, American psychologist Mary Ainsworth (1967, 1982), observed interactions between mothers and infants and described two

attachment theory

Theory originally developed by British psychiatrist John Bowlby, asserting that among humans as among other primates, attachments between parents and children have an evolutionary basis in the need for vulnerable young members of the species to stay in close proximity to adults who will care for and protect them.

Secure attachments to parents are related to adolescents' well-being in a variety of respects.

general types of attachment: **secure attachment**, in which infants use the mother as a "secure base from which to explore" when all is well, but seek physical comfort and consolation from her if frightened or threatened; and **insecure attachment**, in which infants are wary of exploring the environment and resist or avoid the mother when she attempts to offer comfort or consolation.

Although most of the early research and theory on attachment focused on infancy, both Bowlby and Ainsworth believed that the attachment formed with the **primary caregiver** (usually but not necessarily the mother) in infancy forms the foundation for attachments to others throughout a person's life. Bowlby quoted a phrase from Sigmund Freud to describe this concept, in which Freud stated that the relationship with the mother is "the prototype of all [future] love relations" (Freud, 1940/1964, p. 188). According to Bowlby (1969), in the course of interactions with the primary caregiver, the infant develops an **internal working model** that shapes expectations and interactions in relationships with others throughout life. This implies that in adolescence and emerging adulthood, the quality of relationships with others—from friends to teachers to romantic partners to the parents themselves—will all be shaped, for better or worse, by the quality of the attachments to parents experienced in infancy.

This is a provocative and intriguing claim. How well does it hold up in research? First, abundant research indicates that a secure attachment to parents *in adolescence* is related to favorable outcomes. Secure attachments to parents are related to a variety of aspects of adolescents' well-being, including self-esteem and psychological and physical health (Hershenberg et al., 2011). Adolescents who have secure attachments to parents tend to have closer relationships with friends and romantic partners (Bucx & Seiffge-Krenke, 2010). Security of attachment to parents in adolescence also has been found to predict a variety of outcomes in emerging adulthood, including educational and occupational attainment, psychological problems, quality of romantic relationships, and drug use (Allen et al., 2007; Mayseless & Scharf, 2007).

Another prediction of attachment theory involves the compatibility between autonomy and **relatedness** in adolescence. According to attachment theory, autonomy (being capable of self-direction) and relatedness (feeling close to parents emotionally) should be complementary rather than opposing dynamics in relations with parents. That is, in infancy as well as in adolescence, if children feel close to their parents and confident of their parents' love and concern, they are likely to be able to develop a healthy sense of autonomy from parents as they grow up (Allen et al., 2007). Rather than promoting prolonged dependence on parents, a secure attachment gives children the confidence to go out into the world, using the comfort of that attachment as a "secure base from which to explore."

This prediction from attachment theory is supported by research. Adolescents who are the most autonomous and self-reliant also tend to report close, affectionate relationships with their parents (Becker-Stoll et al., 2008). Adolescents who have trouble establishing autonomy in adolescence also tend to have more difficulty maintaining a healthy level of relatedness to parents. An imbalance between autonomy and relatedness (i.e., too little of one or both) tends to be related to

secure attachment

Type of attachment to caregiver in which infants use the caregiver as a "secure base from which to explore" when all is well, but seek physical comfort and consolation from her if frightened or threatened.

insecure attachment

Type of attachment to caregiver in which infants are timid about exploring the environment and resist or avoid the caregiver when she attempts to offer comfort or consolation.

primary caregiver

The person mainly responsible for caring for an infant or young child.

internal working model

In attachment theory, the term for the cognitive framework, based on interactions in infancy with the primary caregiver, that shapes expectations and interactions in relationships to others throughout life.

relatedness

The quality of being emotionally close to another person.

a variety of negative outcomes, such as psychological problems and drug use (Allen et al., 2007).

However, the studies just described do not really test the heart of attachment theory, which is the claim that attachments *in infancy* form the basis for all later relationships, including those in adolescence and emerging adulthood. What do studies indicate on this crucial issue? Many longitudinal studies on attachment have by now followed samples from infancy to adolescence, and they provide mixed support for the predictions of attachment theory (Grossman, Grossman, & Waters, 2005). Waters and colleagues (2000) reported that 72% of the children in their sample received the same attachment classification at age 21 as they did at 1 year of age. One study found that a prolonged separation from parents during infancy or early childhood predicted a less secure attachment to parents in adolescence, in accord with attachment theory, which asserts that early separation from parents can result in long-term difficulties in emotional development (Woodward, Fergusson, & Belsky, 2000).

Another study found that attachment classification in infancy predicted the quality of interactions with others at ages 10 and 15 (Sroufe, Carlson, & Schulman, 1993). When the children in the original infancy study reached age 10, the researchers invited them to attend a summer camp where their relations with peers could be observed. At age 10, the children who had been securely attached in infancy were judged to be more skilled socially, more self-confident, and less dependent on other campers. Five years later, the researchers arranged a camp reunion where the children could again be evaluated. At age 15, adolescents who had been securely attached in infancy were more open in expressing their feelings and were more likely to form close relationships with peers. However, in a more recent follow-up, these researchers found no continuity between security of attachment to parents in infancy and at age 19 (Sroufe et al., 2005; Weinfield, Sroufe, & Egeland, 2000). Furthermore, a meta-analysis that combined findings from 127 longitudinal studies of attachment concluded that the predictive power of infant attachment classification weakened with time and had mostly faded by late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Pinquart, Fuessner, & Ahnert, 2013).

In recent years, most attachment researchers have modified the claim that infant attachment is the foundation of all later relationships (Belsky & Nezworsky, 2015; Egeland & Carlson, 2004). Instead, they view infant attachment as establishing tendencies and expectations that may then be modified by later experiences in childhood, adolescence, and beyond. This view of attachment is also more bidirectional, viewing the quality of attachment as due not only to the behavior of the parent but to the temperament and behavior of the child as well.

Parent–Adolescent Conflict

7.10 Describe how conflict with parents changes during adolescence, and identify the main sources of the conflicts in the United States and around the world.

"My daughter is like two different people. Outside the house she's sweet, pleasant, and polite. But at home, forget it. The minute I tell her she can't do something or have something, she gets nasty."

—MOTHER OF A 16-YEAR-OLD GIRL (FABER & MAZLISH, 2005, P. 6)

"My father is very strict and had a great deal of rules when I was in high school, which usually could not be bent for anything. My father was very worried about the fact that I was getting older and interested in boys so much. This worrying led him to lay down strict rules which led to many arguments between us. He wouldn't let me date until I was 16—by this he meant 'don't even speak to a boy until you're 16!' He would hardly let me go anywhere."

—DANIELLE, AGE 19 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

Although children and adolescents typically develop attachments to their parents, the course of family life does not always run smoothly, and this seems to be especially true for families with adolescents. For a variety of reasons, adolescence can be a difficult time for relationships with parents.

The degree of parent–adolescent conflict should not be exaggerated. Early theories of adolescence, such as those of G. Stanley Hall (1904) and Anna Freud (1946), claimed that it was universal and inevitable that adolescents rebel against their parents and that parents and adolescents experience intense conflict for many years. Anna Freud (1946) even asserted that adolescents would not develop normally without this kind of turmoil in their relationships with their parents.

Few scholars on adolescence believe this anymore. Over the past few decades, numerous studies have shown that it is simply not true. In fact, adolescents and their parents agree on many of the most important aspects of their views of life and typically have a great deal of love and respect for one another (Moore et al., 2002; Smetana, 2005). Two studies in the 1960s were among the first and most important in dispelling the stereotype of pervasive and fierce conflict in parent–adolescent relationships (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Offer, 1969). Both studies found that the great majority of adolescents like their parents, trust them, and admire them. Both studies also found that adolescents and their parents frequently disagreed, but the arguments were usually over seemingly minor issues such as curfews, clothes, grooming, and use of the family car. These arguments usually did not seriously threaten the attachments between parents and their adolescents.

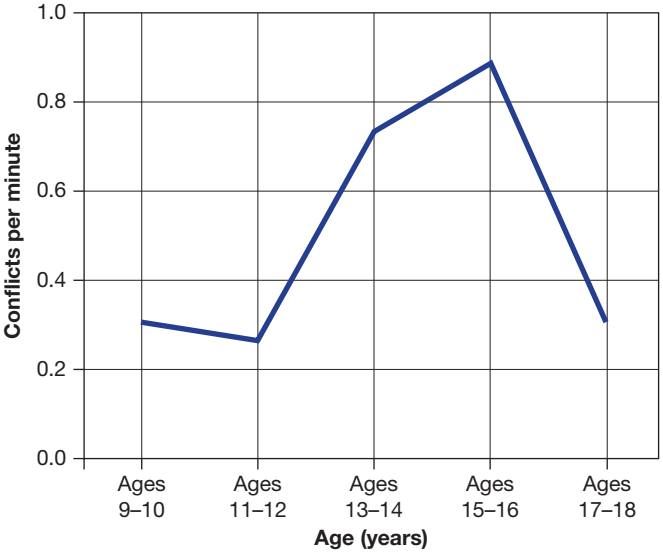
More recent studies confirm this pattern (Dykas et al., 2010; Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2005). These studies report that adolescents typically love and care about their parents and are confident that their parents feel the same about them. Like the earlier studies, recent studies find that arguments between parents and adolescents generally concern seemingly minor issues such as curfews, clothing, musical preferences, and the like (Smetana, 2005). Parents and adolescents may disagree and argue about these issues, but they usually agree on key values such as the importance of education, the value of hard work, and the desirability of being honest and trustworthy (Pratt et al., 2008).

However, let's not get carried away with the rosy portrait of family harmony, either. Studies also indicate that conflict with parents increases sharply in early adolescence, compared with preadolescence, and remains high for several years before declining in late adolescence (Laursen, Coy, & Collins, 1998; Van Doorn et al., 2011). **Figure 7.2** shows the pattern of conflict across adolescence, from a longitudinal study that observed mothers and sons in videotaped interactions on five occasions over 8 years (Granic, Dishion, & Hollenstein, 2003). A Canadian study found that 40% of adolescents reported arguments with their parents at least once a week (Sears et al., 2007). One analysis concluded that frequency of conflict between *typical* adolescents and their parents is higher than between *distressed* marital couples (Buchanan, Maccoby, & Dornbusch, 1991). Conflict in adolescence is especially frequent and intense between mothers and daughters (Branje, 2008; Hofer et al., 2013). Both parents and adolescents report more frequent conflict in early adolescence than before adolescence; by mid-adolescence, conflict with parents tends to become somewhat less frequent but more intense (Laursen et al., 1998). It is only in late adolescence and emerging adulthood that conflict with parents diminishes substantially (Arnett, 2015; Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015).

Conflict in adolescence is especially frequent and intense between mothers and daughters.

Figure 7.2 Observed conflicts per minute between mother and son in 30-minute videotaped interactions over an 8-year period.

SOURCE: Granic, Dishion, & Hollenstein (2003).



Perhaps as a consequence of these conflicts, parents tend to perceive adolescence as the most difficult stage of their children's development (Buchanan et al., 1990; Buchanan & Hughes, 2009). In a study in the Netherlands, 56% of Dutch parents viewed adolescence as the most difficult time to be a parent, compared to 5% for infancy and 14% for the toddler period (Meeus, 2006). Although midlife tends to be an especially fruitful and satisfying time for adults, for many of them the level of satisfaction in their relationships with their children diminishes when the children reach adolescence (Gladding, 2002). As conflict rises between parents and adolescents, closeness declines (Collins & Laursen, 2006; Hofer et al., 2013).

SOURCES OF CONFLICT WITH PARENTS Why do parents and adolescents argue more than they did earlier? Why would early adolescence be a time when conflict with parents is especially high? Part of the explanation may lie in the biological and cognitive changes of adolescence. Biologically, adolescents become bigger and stronger during puberty, making it more difficult for parents to impose their authority by virtue of their greater physical presence. Also, puberty means sexual maturity, which means that sexual issues may be a source of conflict—at least indirectly—in a way they would not have been in childhood (Arnett, 1999). Early-maturing adolescents tend to have more conflict with parents than adolescents who mature "on time," perhaps because sexual issues arise earlier (Collins & Laursen, 2006).

Cognitively, increased abilities for thinking abstractly and with more complexity make adolescents better arguers than younger children and make it more difficult for parents to prevail quickly in arguments with their children. According to psychologist Judith Smetana, conflict

may also reflect the different ways adolescents and their parents perceive and define the range of adolescents' autonomy (Rote & Smetana, 2015; Smetana, 1989, 2005, 2008). Parents frequently view issues of conflict as matters of parental authority, whereas adolescents regard these issues as matters of personal choice. Smetana's research indicates that, especially in early adolescence, parents and adolescents often disagree about who should have the authority over issues such as dress and hairstyles, choice of friends, and the state of order (or disorder) in the adolescent's bedroom (Rote & Smetana, 2015). Parents tend to see these as issues they should decide, or at least influence and set boundaries for; adolescents, however, tend to see the issues as matters of personal choice that should be theirs to decide by now. Perhaps the peak of conflict occurs in early adolescence because that is the time when adolescents are first pressing for a new degree of autonomy, and parents are adjusting to their adolescents' new maturity and struggling over how much autonomy they should allow. In the view of Smetana and other scholars on adolescents and families, conflict can be constructive and useful because it promotes the development of a new equilibrium in the family system that allows adolescents greater autonomy (Laursen & Collins, 2004; Steinberg, 2004).

"Parents want to keep their children safe, protected from all the dangers in the outside world. But teens are curious. They want a chance to explore the outside world. So it's no mystery why people in the same family, who love one another, could also irritate, annoy, and occasionally infuriate one another.'"

—ADELE FABER AND ELAINE MAZLISH, "HOW TO TALK SO TEENS WILL LISTEN AND LISTEN SO TEENS WILL TALK" (P. 79)

Although most parent–adolescent conflict is over apparently minor issues, some issues that seem trivial on the surface may in fact be substitutes for more serious underlying issues (Arnett, 1999). For example, most American parents and adolescents have limited communication about sexual issues. Especially in the era of AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections, it would be surprising indeed if most parents did not have some concerns about their adolescents' sexual behavior, yet they find it difficult to speak to their adolescents directly about sexual issues. As a result, they may say "You can't wear that to school" when they mean "That's too sexually provocative." They may say "I don't know if it's a good idea for you to date him" when they really mean "He has that lean and hungry look—I worry that he will want you to have sex, and I worry that you'll like the idea." And "You have to be home by 11:00" may mean "The movie ends at ten, and I don't want you to have time to have sex between the time the movie ends and the time you come home."

Sexual issues are not the only issues that may be argued about in this indirect way. "I don't like that crowd you're hanging around with lately" could mean "They look like the type who might use drugs, and I worry that they might persuade you to use them, too." Arguments about curfews may reflect parents' attempts to communicate that "The sooner you come in, the less likely it is that you and your friends will have drunk enough beer to put yourselves at risk for a terrible automobile accident."

Seen in this light, these arguments are not necessarily over trivial issues but may be proxies for arguments over serious issues of life and death (Arnett, 1999). Parents have legitimate concerns about the safety and well-being of their adolescents, given the high rates of adolescents' risky behavior (as we will see in Chapter 13), but they also know that in the American majority culture they are expected to loosen the reins substantially when their children reach adolescence. The result may be that they express their concerns indirectly, through what seem to be less serious issues.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Apply the idea of the custom complex to parent–child conflict in the American majority culture. How do the typical topics of conflict reflect certain cultural beliefs?

CULTURE AND CONFLICT WITH PARENTS Although the biological and cognitive changes of adolescence may provide a basis for parent–adolescent conflict, this does not mean that such conflict is universal and "natural." Biological and cognitive changes take place among adolescents in all cultures, yet parent–adolescent conflict is not typical in all cultures (Arnett, 1999). Cultures can take the raw material of nature and shape it in highly diverse ways. This is no less true for parent–adolescent conflict than for the other topics addressed in this text.

In traditional cultures, it is rare for parents and adolescents to engage in the kind of frequent, petty conflicts typical of parent–adolescent relationships in the American majority culture (Kapadia & Miller, 2005; Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). Part of the reason is economic. In traditional cultures, family members tend to rely on each other economically. In many of these cultures, family members spend a great deal of time together each day, working on family economic enterprises. Children and adolescents depend on their parents for the necessities of life, parents depend on children and adolescents for the contribution of their labor, and all family members are expected to assist one another routinely and help one another in times of need. Under such conditions, the pressure to maintain family harmony is intense because the economic interdependence of the family is so strong.

Watch ADOLESCENT CONFLICT WITH PARENTS ACROSS CULTURES

However, more than economics and the structure of daily life are involved in the lower levels of parent–adolescent conflict in traditional cultures. Levels of conflict are low in parent–adolescent relationships not only in nonindustrialized traditional cultures but also in highly industrialized traditional cultures, such as Japan and South Korea, as well as in the Asian American and Latino cultures that are part of American society (Calzada et al., 2010; Harwood et al., 2002).

In non-Western cultures, adolescents and their parents often depend economically on each other, which minimizes conflict. Here, a boy and his father in Bangladesh plow rice paddies together.

This indicates that even more important than economics are cultural beliefs about parental authority and the appropriate degree of adolescent independence. As discussed previously, the role of parent carries greater authority in traditional cultures than in the West, and this makes it less likely that adolescents in such cultures will express disagreements and resentments toward their parents (Arnett, 1999; Phinney et al., 2005).

THINKING CRITICALLY

How would you predict parent–adolescent conflict in traditional cultures will be affected by globalization?

This does not mean that adolescents in traditional cultures do not sometimes feel an inclination to resist or defy the authority of their parents (Phinney et al., 2005; Phinney & Ong, 2002). Like Western adolescents, they undergo biological and cognitive changes at puberty that may incline them toward such resistance. But socialization shapes not only the way people behave but their cultural beliefs, their whole way of looking at the world (Arnett, 2006b; Shweder et al., 2006). Someone who has been raised in a culture where the status and authority of parents and other elders are emphasized constantly in direct and indirect ways is unlikely at adolescence to question their parents' authority, regardless of their new biological and cognitive maturity. Such questioning is simply not part of their cultural beliefs about the way the world is and the way it should be. Even when they disagree with their parents, they are unlikely to mention it because of their feelings of duty and respect (Kapadia, 2008).

A key point in understanding parent–adolescent relationships in traditional cultures is that the independence that is so important to Western adolescents is not nearly as prized in non-Western cultures. In the West, as we have seen, regulating the pace of adolescents' autonomy is often a source of parent–adolescent conflict. However, parents and adolescents in the West agree that independence is the ultimate goal for adolescents as they move into adulthood (Aquilino, 2006). Individuals in the West are supposed to reach the point, during emerging adulthood, where they no longer live in their parents' household, no longer rely on their parents financially, and have learned to stand alone as self-sufficient individuals (Arnett, 1998, 2015). The pace of the adolescent's growing autonomy is a source of contention between parents and adolescents not because parents do not want their adolescents to become independent, but because the ultimate goal of self-sufficiency that both of them value requires continual adaptations and adjustments in their relationship as they move toward that goal. Increasing autonomy prepares adolescents for life in a culture where they will be expected to be capable of independence and self-sufficiency. The discussion, negotiation,

and arguments typical of parent–adolescent relationships in the West may also help prepare adolescents for participation in a politically diverse, democratic society.

Outside of the West, independence is not highly valued as an outcome of adolescent development (Levine & New, 2008; Russell et al., 2010). Financially, socially, and even psychologically, interdependence is a higher value than independence, not only during adolescence but throughout adulthood (Markus & Kitayama, 2003; Phinney et al., 2005). According to Schlegel and Barry (1991), in traditional cultures "independence as we know it would be regarded as not only egocentric but also foolhardy beyond reason" (p. 45) because of the ways that family members rely on each other economically. Just as a dramatic increase in autonomy during adolescence prepares Western adolescents for adult life in an individualistic culture, learning to suppress disagreements and submit to the authority of one's parents prepares adolescents in traditional cultures for an adult life in which interdependence is among the highest values and throughout life each person has a clearly designated role and position in a family hierarchy.

Leaving the Nest (and Perhaps Coming Back): Emerging Adults' Relationships with Parents

7.11 Explain why conflict with parents usually decreases from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

"In high school, I went out of my way to avoid conversations with my parents because I felt that a lot of things they wanted to know about didn't concern them. I find now that my parents know less about my life because I'm not at home. They don't ask me as many questions, so I enjoy having conversations with them."

—TARA, AGE 23 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

"In high school I was rude, inconsiderate, and got into many fights with my mom. Since coming to college I realize how much she means to me and how much she goes out of her way for me. I've grown to have a true appreciation for her."

—MATT, AGE 21 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 57)

"They're still my parents, but there's more—I don't know if friendship is the right word, but like I go out with them and just really enjoy spending time with them, and they're not in a parental role as much. It's not a disciplining role, it's just more of a real comfortable friendship thing."

—NANCY, AGE 28 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 58)

"Over the past year I have become very close with my dad. Before college there was a definite parent–child relationship with my father. Now he is more like a mentor or friend. Overall, the relationship between my parents and I has been a growing mutual respect."

—LUKE, AGE 20 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 58)

In most Western majority cultures, young people move out of their parents' home sometime during emerging adulthood. In the United States, leaving home typically takes place around ages 18 to 19 (Arnett, 2015; Whiteman et al., 2011). The most common reasons for leaving home stated by emerging adults are going to college, cohabiting with a partner, or simply the desire for independence (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999; Seiffge-Krenke, 2010).

When a young person leaves home, a disruption in the family system takes place that requires family members to adjust (Whiteman et al., 2011). As we have seen, parents generally adjust very well, and in fact report improved marital satisfaction and life satisfaction once their children leave (Arnett, 2015; Campbell et al., 2007; Gorchoff et al., 2008). What about the relationship between parents and emerging adults? How is it influenced by the young person's departure?

Typically, relationships between parents and emerging adults improve once the young person leaves home. In this case, at least, absence makes the heart grow fonder. Numerous studies have confirmed that emerging adults report greater closeness and fewer negative feelings toward their parents after moving out (e.g., Aquilino, 2006; Arnett, 2015; Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015; Whiteman et al., 2011). Furthermore, emerging adults who move out tend to get along better with their parents than those who remain at home. For example, Dubas and Petersen (1996) followed a sample of 246 young people from age 13 through age 21. At age 21, the emerging adults who had moved at least an hour away (by car) from their parents reported the highest levels of closeness to their parents and valued their parents' opinions most highly. Emerging adults who remained home had the poorest relations with their parents in these respects, and those who had moved out but remained within an hour's drive were in between the other two groups.

Relationships with parents tend to improve when emerging adults leave home.

What explains these patterns? Some scholars have suggested that leaving home leads young people to appreciate their parents more (Arnett, 2015; Katchadourian & Boli, 1985). Another factor may be that it is easier to be fond of someone you no longer live with. Once emerging adults move out, they no longer experience the day-to-day friction with their parents that inevitably results from living with others. They can now control the frequency and timing of their interactions with their parents in a way they could not when they were living with them. They can visit their parents for the weekend, for a holiday, or for dinner, enjoy the time together, and still maintain full control over their daily lives. As a 24-year-old woman in my research put it, "I don't have to talk to them when I don't want to, and when I want to, I can" (Arnett, 2015, p. 49).

Watch AN EMERGING ADULT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PARENTS

In the United States, although most emerging adults move out of their parents' home in their late teens, a substantial proportion (about one-fourth) stay home through their early 20s (Whiteman et al., 2011). Staying at home is more common among Latinos, Blacks, and Asian Americans than among White Americans (Fuligni & Witkow, 2004). The reason for this appears to be their greater emphasis on family closeness and interdependence, and less emphasis on being independent as a value in itself. For example, one emerging adult in my research (Arnett, 2015) lived with her Chinese American mother and Mexican American father throughout her college years at the University of California–Berkeley. She enjoyed the way staying home allowed her to remain in close contact with them. "I loved living at home. I respect my parents a lot, so being home with one of them was actually one of the things I liked to do most," she said. "Plus, it was free!" (Arnett, 2015, p. 60). For Latinos and Asian Americans, an additional reason for staying home is specific to young women, and concerns the high value placed on virginity before marriage.

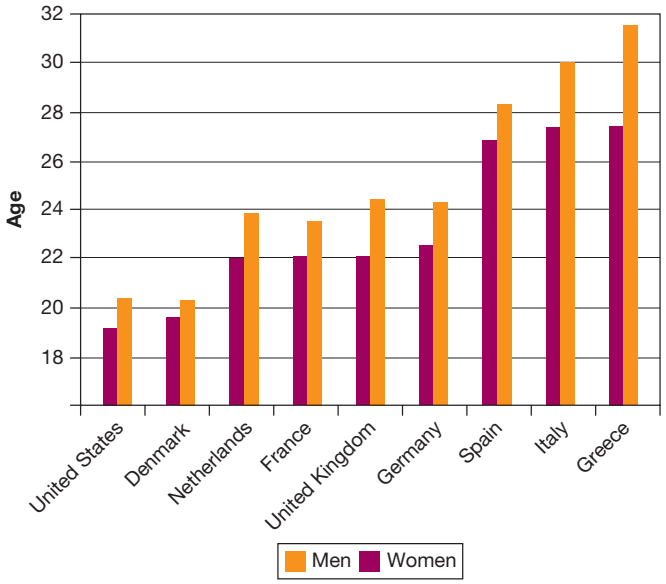
About 40% of American emerging adults "return to the nest" at least once after they leave (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015). There are many reasons why emerging adults sometimes move home again (Arnett, 2015; Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). For those who left home for college, moving back home may be a way of bridging their transition to postcollege life after they graduate or drop out. It gives them a chance to decide what to do next, be it graduate school, a job near home, or a job farther away. For those who left home for independence, some may feel that the glow of independence dims after a while as the freedom of doing what they want when they want becomes outweighed by the burden of taking care of a household and paying all their own bills. An early divorce or a period of military service are other reasons emerging adults give for returning home (Goldscheider & Goldscheider, 1999). Under these circumstances, too, coming home may be attractive to young people as a transition period, a chance to get back on their feet before they venture into the world again.

Emerging adults and their parents react in a range of ways when emerging adults move back home (Arnett, 2015). For some, the return home is welcome and the transition is managed easily. A successful transition home is more likely if parents recognize the change in their children's maturity and treat them as adults rather than adolescents. For others, however, the return home is a bumpy transition. Parents may have come to enjoy having the nest all to themselves, without children to provide for and feel responsible for. Emerging adults may find it difficult to have parents monitoring them daily again, after a period when they had grown used to managing their own lives. In my research (Arnett, 2015), after Mary moved home she was dismayed to find that her mother would wait up for her when she went out with her boyfriend, just like it was high school all over again. They did not argue openly about it, but it made Mary feel "like she was sort of 'in my territory' or something" (p. 59). For many emerging adults, moving back home results in ambivalence. They are grateful for the support their parents provide, even as they resent returning to the subordinate role of a dependent child (White, 2002). Perhaps because of this ambivalence, the return home tends to be brief, with two-thirds of emerging adults moving out again within one year (Aquilino, 2006).

In European countries, emerging adults tend to live with their parents longer than in the United States, especially in southern and eastern Europe (Douglass, 2005, 2007). **Figure 7.3** shows the patterns in various European countries, as compared to the United States (Iacovou & Skew, 2011). A number of practical reasons explain why European emerging adults stay home longer. European students are more likely than American students to continue to live at home while they attend university, at a time when they are not making money to pay their own rent. European

Figure 7.3 Median age of leaving home, selected developed countries.

SOURCE: Adapted from Iacovou & Skew (2011).



emerging adults who do not attend university may have difficulty finding or affording an apartment of their own. Also important are European cultural values that emphasize mutual support within the family while also allowing young people substantial autonomy. Young Europeans find that they can enjoy a higher standard of living by staying at home than by living independently, and at the same time enjoy substantial autonomy (Kins et al., 2009). Italy provides a good case in point (Krause, 2005). Ninety-four percent of Italians ages 15 to 24 live with their parents, the highest percentage in the European Union (EU). However, only 8% of them view their living arrangements as a problem—the lowest percentage among EU countries. Many European emerging adults remain at home contentedly through their early 20s, by choice rather than necessity.

There is more to the changes in relationships with parents from adolescence to emerging adulthood than simply the effects of moving out, staying home, or moving back in. Emerging adults also grow in their ability to understand their parents (Fingerman & Yahirun, 2015). As we have seen, adolescence is in some ways an egocentric period, and adolescents often have difficulty taking their parents' perspectives. They sometimes cast a pitiless gaze on their parents, magnifying their deficiencies and becoming easily irritated by their imperfections. As emerging adults mature and begin to feel more adult themselves, they become more capable of understanding how their parents look at things. They come to see their parents as persons and begin to realize that their parents, like themselves, have a mix of qualities, merits as well as faults.

Parents change, too, in how they view their children and how they relate to them. Their role as monitor of their children's behavior and enforcer of household rules diminishes, giving way to a more relaxed and amiable relationship. The changes in parents and their emerging adult children allow them to establish a new intimacy, more open than before, with a new sense of mutual respect. They begin to relate to each other as adults, as friends, as equals, or at least as near-equals. There are exceptions, of course. Some parents find it difficult to let their "baby" grow up, and some emerging adults are reluctant to accept the responsibilities of becoming self-sufficient adults. For the most part, however, both parents and emerging adults are able and willing to adjust to a new relationship as near-equals (Arnett & Fishel, 2014).

In summary, studies in both the United States and Europe show that emerging adults can maintain or enhance the closeness they feel to their parents even as they become more autonomous. This is similar to the pattern we have already seen for adolescents. For both adolescents and emerging adults, autonomy and relatedness are complementary rather than opposing dimensions of their relationships with their parents.

Historical Change and the Family

To gain a complete understanding of adolescents' and emerging adults' family relationships today, it is necessary to understand the historical changes that are the basis for current patterns of family life. Many of the changes that have taken place in Western societies over the past two centuries have had important effects on families. Let's take a brief look at these changes, considering how each has affected adolescents' and emerging adults' family lives. We will focus on the American example, but similar changes have taken place in other developed countries in the past two centuries and are taking place today in economically developing countries. We will first examine changes over the past two centuries, then focus on changes during the past 50 years.

Patterns Over Two Centuries

7.12 Summarize the main changes that have taken place in adolescents' family lives in Western countries over the past 200 years.

Three of the changes that have influenced family life over the past two centuries are a lower birth rate, longer life expectancy, and a movement from predominantly rural residence to predominantly urban residence. In contrast to

young people today, young people of 200 years ago tended to grow up in large families; in 1800, women in the United States gave birth to an average of *eight* children (Harevan, 1984)! It was much more common then for children to die in infancy or early childhood, but nevertheless, adolescents who were among the eldest children were much more likely to have responsibility for younger children than they are today, when the average number of births per woman is just two (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016). In this respect, adolescents' family lives 200 years ago in the West were like the lives of adolescents in many traditional cultures today (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011; Lloyd, 2005).

Longer life expectancy is another change that has affected the way young people experience family life. Up until about 1900, the average human life expectancy was about 45 (Kett, 1977); now it is in the mid-70s and still rising (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016). Because of the lower life expectancy in earlier times, marriages frequently ended in the death of a spouse in young or middle adulthood (Hetherington, Arnett, & Hollier, 1986). Thus, adolescents frequently experienced the death of a parent and the remarriage of their widowed parent.

Increased urbanization has also resulted in changes in family life. Up until about 200 years ago, most people lived and worked on a family farm. As recently as 1830, nearly 70% of American children lived in farm families (Hernandez, 1997). By 1930, this figure had dropped to 30%, and today it is less than 2%. This means that the majority of adolescents 200 years ago would have grown up in a rural area in a farm family, with their daily lives structured around farm work and spent almost entirely with their families. As people moved off the farms, they migrated increasingly to the cities. Emerging adults often led the way, leaving their farm families to head for the bright lights of the big city (Kett, 1977). This meant new opportunities for education and employment, as well as greater opportunities for premarital sex, alcohol use, and other temptations of urban life (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Between 1830 and the present, the proportion of farm families fell from about 70% to less than 2%.

affective functions

Emotional functions of the family, pertaining to love, nurturance, and attachment.

Table 7.3 The Changing Functions of the Family

Function	Performing Institution, 1800	Performing Institution, 2000
Educational	Family	School
Religious	Family	Church/Synagogue
Medical	Family	Medical profession
Economic Support	Family	Employer
Recreational	Family	Entertainment industry
Affective	Family	Family

Each of these changes has had effects on young people's family lives. Overall, we can say that the range of functions the family serves has been greatly reduced, many of them taken over by other social institutions (Coleman, 1961). The family in our time has mainly emotional or **affective functions**—the family is supposed to provide its members with love, nurturance, and affection above all else.

Table 7.3 shows some of the functions the family once served and the institutions that now serve those functions. As you can see, the only one of those functions that still remains within the family is the affective function. Although the family also contributes in the other areas, the main context of those functions has moved out of the family. Most young people living in developed countries do not rely on their parents to educate them, treat their medical problems, make a place for them in the family business, or provide recreation. Rather, young people look to their parents mainly for love, emotional support, and some degree of moral guidance (Oudekerk, Allen, Hessel, & Molloy, 2015).

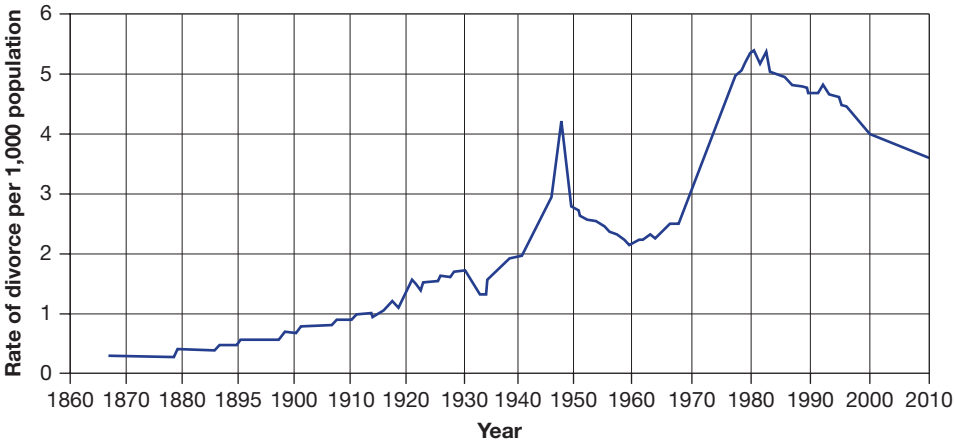
The Past 50 Years

7.13 Name the main changes that have taken place in adolescents' family lives in Western countries over the past 50 years.

Family life today not only is much different than it was 200 years ago, but it also has changed dramatically in the past 50 years. During this time, the most dramatic changes have been the rise in the divorce rate, the rise in the proportion of children in single-parent households, and the rise in the prevalence of dual-earner families. Once again, let us look at each of these changes with an eye to their implications for development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

RISE IN THE DIVORCE RATE Fifty years ago divorce was relatively rare in American society, compared with the present. The rate of divorce actually declined between 1950 and 1960 (**Figure 7.4**). However, between 1960 and 1975 the divorce rate more than doubled, before declining slightly between 1980 and the present. Americans have one of the highest divorce rates in the world (Cherlin, 2009). The current rate is so high that nearly half of the current generation of young people are projected to experience their parents' divorce by the time they reach their late teens (Marcassa, 2013). Furthermore, over three-fourths of those who divorce eventually remarry, with the result that over one-fourth of young people spend some time in a stepfamily by the time they reach age 18 (Sweeney et al., 2009). Within American society, the divorce rate is especially high among African Americans. Also, people with a high school education or less have a much higher rate of divorce than people with a college degree or more (Hymowitz, Carroll, Wilcox, & Kaye, 2013).

Figure 7.4 Changes in U.S. divorce rate.



RISE IN THE RATE OF SINGLE-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS The rise in the divorce rate has contributed to a simultaneous rise in the rate of single-parent households. Although most divorced parents remarry, they have a period between marriages as single parents. In about 90% of divorces, it is the mother who is the **custodial parent**—that is, the parent who lives in the same household as the children following the divorce (Anderson & Greene, 2011).

In addition to the rise in single-parent households through divorce, there has been an increase in the proportion of children born outside of marriage. This increase has occurred for both White and Black families in American society, but especially for Black families. Currently, about 40% of White children and 70% of Black children are born to single mothers (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016). Combining the rates of divorced single-parent households and the rates of single-parent, never-married households, only 20% of Blacks and 40% of Whites grow up through age 18 living with both of their biological parents (Cherlin & Seltzer, 2014).

RISE IN THE RATE OF DUAL-EARNER FAMILIES In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the rise of industrialization took most employment outside of the home and farm into factories, larger businesses, and government organizations. It was almost exclusively men who obtained this employment; women were rarely employed in the economic enterprises of industrialization. During the 19th century, their designated sphere became the home, and their designated role was the cultivation of a family life that their husband and children would experience as a refuge from the complex and sometimes bruising world of industrialized societies (Lasch, 1979).

This trend changed about 50 years ago with the rise of **dual-earner families**, as mothers followed fathers out of the home and into the workplace. Over the past 50 years, employment among women with school-aged children has increased steadily, as shown in **Figure 7.5**. Mothers of adolescents are more likely than mothers of younger children to be employed outside of the home (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016). Part of the increase is related to the increase in rates of divorce and single parenthood discussed earlier, which have often left the mother as the only source of the family's income. Mothers in nondivorced families may also work to help the family maintain an adequate income (Dunn & O'Brien, 2013).

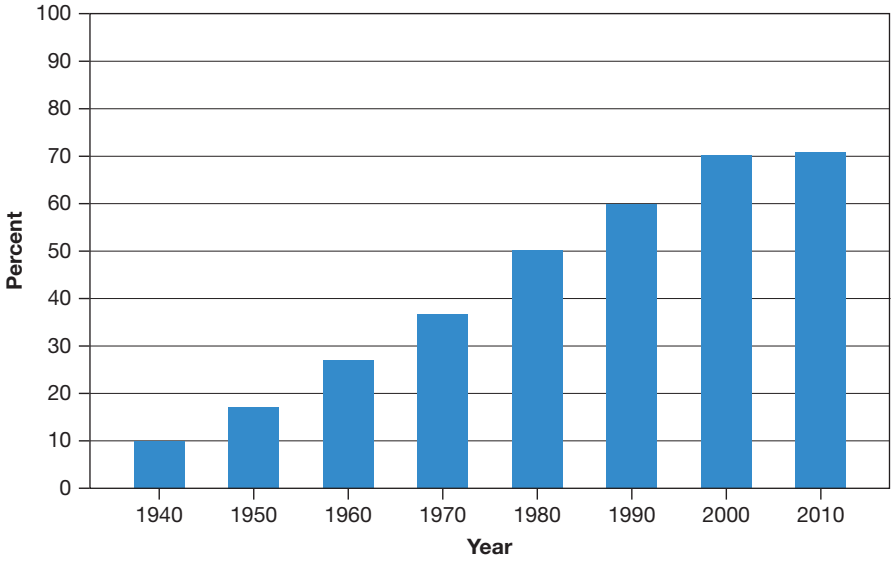
Of course, noneconomic reasons are often involved as well. Many educational and occupational opportunities have opened up to women in the past 50 years that had been denied to them before. Research indicates that most employed mothers would continue to work even if they had enough money (Dunn & O'Brien, 2013). Women in professional careers as well as restaurant servers and factory workers generally report that they are committed to their jobs, enjoy having a work role as well as family roles, and desire to continue to work.

custodial parent
The parent who lives in the same household as the children following a divorce.

dual-earner family
A family in which both parents are employed.

Figure 7.5 Proportion of children and adolescents with mothers in the labor force, 1940–2010.

SOURCE: Hernandez, 1997; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2012.



Effects of Divorce, Remarriage, Single Parenthood, and Dual-Earner Families

Now that we have reviewed the historical background of the current American family, let's take a look at how divorce, remarriage, single parenthood, and dual-earner families are related to young people's behavior and to their perceptions of their family lives.

Divorce

7.14 Distinguish between family structure and family process, and use the concept of family process to explain variability in adolescents' responses to divorce.

"When I was 15 my parents separated. I continued to live with my mother but would visit my father on Sunday. During that time we would do something 'entertaining,' like go to a movie, which relieved the pressure from us to actually interact…. My parents are now divorced and my father calls me every Sunday night. We talk about school, my job, and things in the news. But when I need advice or just want to talk, I always call my mother. She is more aware of my everyday life and I feel very comfortable with her. With my father, on the other hand, our relationship is more forced because he is not up-to-date on my life and hasn't been for some time."

—MARILYN, AGE 21 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

"My parents were divorced, so the money was pretty thin. My father was a psycho and didn't pay child support. When I was in junior high I wanted everything that the other kids had—Liz Claiborne purses, designer clothes, etc. I would pester my mother for money constantly, sometimes to the point where she would be in tears because she wanted to give me things but couldn't afford to do so."

—DAWN, AGE 20 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

Because the rate of divorce is so high and has risen so dramatically in the past 50 years in many countries, scholars have devoted a great deal of attention to investigating the effects of divorce. Across a wide range of countries, studies consistently find that young people whose parents have divorced are at higher risk for a wide variety of negative outcomes compared with young people in nondivorced families, in areas including behavior problems, psychological distress, and academic achievement (Amato & Anthony, 2014; Breivik & Olweus, 2006). With regard to behavior problems, adolescents whose parents have divorced have higher rates of drug and alcohol use and tend to initiate sexual intercourse at an earlier age, compared with adolescents in nondivorced families (Fomby & Sennott, 2013). With regard to psychological distress, adolescents with divorced parents are more likely to be depressed and withdrawn (Meeus, 2006). Those who feel caught in a loyalty conflict between their parents are especially likely to be anxious and depressed following the divorce (Amato, 2007). Adolescents in divorced families also are more likely to report having psychological problems and more likely to receive mental health treatment (Gullotta & Blau, 2008). With regard to academic achievement, young

Exposure to conflict between parents leads to a variety of problems in children and adolescents.

Historical Focus

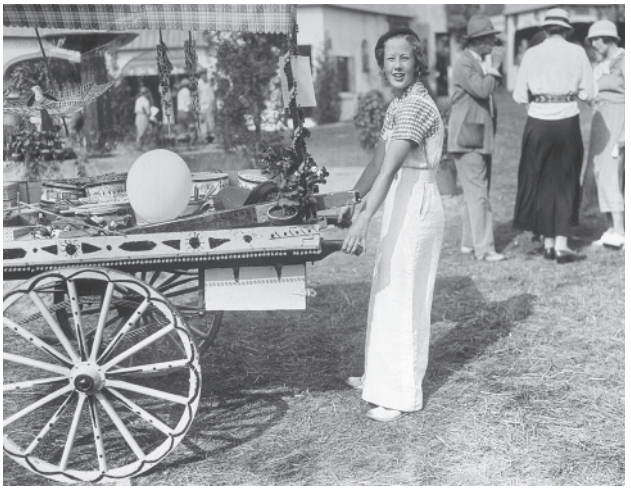
ADOLESCENTS' FAMILY LIVES IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The Great Depression was the most severe economic cataclysm of the 20th century. It began with a plunge in the American stock market in 1929 and soon spread around the world. In the United States by 1932, at the depth of the Depression, stocks had dropped to just 11% of their 1929 value, thousands of companies had collapsed, thousands of banks had failed, and hundreds of thousands of families had been evicted from their homes (Manchester, 1973). One-third of adult men were unemployed, and homelessness and malnutrition were rampant. The average family suffered a decline in income of 40% (Elder, 1974/1999).

What sort of effects did these historical events have on adolescents' development? Sociologist Glen Elder and his colleagues have analyzed longitudinal data from a study that followed families beginning in the early 1930s (Elder, 1974/1999; Elder, Caspi, & van Nguyen, 1986). Known as the Oakland Growth Study, the project followed the families of 167 adolescents born in 1920–1921, from 1932 when the adolescents were 11 to 12 years old until 1939 when they were 18 to 19 years old. Later follow-ups took place in the 1950s and again in the 1960s. All the families were White, and slightly more than half were middle-class before the Depression.

The families varied greatly in how much they suffered economically during the Depression, and many of the scholars' comparisons concerned "deprived" versus "nondeprived" families. Most deprived families suffered income declines of half or more of their 1929 income. The nondeprived families suffered a loss averaging about 20% of their 1929 income—certainly substantial, but not as devastating as in the deprived families.

Economic difficulties affected adolescents' family lives in a variety of ways. The economic upheaval of the Depression put a considerable strain on family relationships, especially in deprived families. Many of the fathers in the deprived families were frustrated and ashamed because of their inability to find work and support their families, and their relationships with their wives and children often deteriorated as a result. Fathers often became more punitive toward their children and more prone to anger and irritability toward their wives as well as their children. The angrier and more punitive the fathers became, the more their children were likely to suffer declines in social and psychological well-being.



During the Great Depression, adolescents often took part-time jobs to help their families. Here, a Connecticut girl in 1933.

For other family members, the effects of economic deprivation were more complex and were surprisingly positive in many ways. As the father's status in deprived families declined, the mother's often rose. On average, the mother in deprived families was viewed by her adolescent children as more powerful, supportive, and attractive than the father.

Economic deprivation tended to bring adult responsibilities into the lives of adolescents at an early age. By age 14 or 15, adolescents in deprived families were more likely than those in nondeprived families to be employed in part-time jobs—about two-thirds of boys in deprived families and nearly half of girls were employed by that age. For example, one boy in Elder's study washed dishes in the school cafeteria after school, then supervised the work of six newspaper delivery boys. Adolescent girls often worked as baby-sitters or as clerks in local stores. Adolescents' earnings were usually contributed to the family's needs. Deprived families also required more household work from adolescents, especially girls, in part because mothers in these families were more likely to be employed. Adolescents from deprived families tended to marry earlier than adolescents from nondeprived families.

The effects of early family responsibilities were generally positive. Adolescents who were employed displayed more responsible use of money and more energetic and industrious behavior compared with those who were not. In general, adolescents in deprived families felt that they played an important role in the lives of their families. Although they were required to take on responsibilities at an early age, those responsibilities were clearly important and meaningful to their families.

However, some negative effects were seen as well, especially for adolescent girls in deprived families. Girls in deprived families showed greater moodiness, lower social competence, and greater feelings of inadequacy compared with girls in nondeprived families. These effects were especially strong for girls who felt rejected by their fathers. Girls in deprived families were also less likely than other girls to take part in social activities such as dating, in part because of their greater household responsibilities.

Taken together, the results of Elder's study show the complex interactions that take place between historical events and adolescents' family lives. The study also shows that even under conditions of extreme adversity, many adolescents are highly resilient and will thrive despite—or even because of—the adversity.

people from divorced families tend not to do as well in school as their peers, and they are less likely to attend college than young people from nondivorced families (Fomby & Sennott, 2013; Frisco et al., 2007).

In general, adolescents show fewer negative effects of parental divorce than younger children do (Klaff, 2007), perhaps because adolescents are less dependent on their parents, spend more time with their peers outside of the family household, and have greater cognitive capacities to understand and adapt to what is happening. However, even many years after the divorce, the painful memories and feelings linger for many adolescents and emerging adults (Cartwright, 2006; Laumann-Billings & Emery, 2000). In emerging adulthood, the effects of parental divorce are evident in greater problems in forming close romantic relationships (Aquilino, 2006; Herzog & Cooney, 2002; Wallerstein, Lewis, & Blakeslee, 2000). As they anticipate a possible marriage of their own, emerging adults from divorced families tend to be somewhat wary of entering marriage, but especially determined to avoid having a divorce of their own (Arnett, 2015; Darlington, 2001). Nevertheless, the risk of divorce is higher for young people from divorced families (Amato, 2007).

Although the findings on the effects of divorce are consistent, a great deal of variability exists in how adolescents and emerging adults respond to and recover from their parents' divorce. Knowing an adolescent is from a divorced family does not, by itself, make it possible to state with confidence whether she or he is thriving or struggling. To say that a young person's parents are divorced tells us only about **family structure**. *Family structure* is the term scholars use to refer to the outward characteristics of the family—whether the parents are married, how many adults and children live in the household, whether there is a biological relationship between the family members (e.g., in stepfamilies), and so on. However, in recent years scholars studying divorce have focused primarily on **family process** (Emery et al., 2014; Klaff, 2007)—that is, the quality of family members' relationships, the degree of warmth or hostility between them, and so on. So it is important to go beyond the simple question—Why does divorce have negative effects on children and adolescents?—to the more complex and enlightening question—How does divorce influence family process in ways that, in turn, influence children and adolescents?

family structure

The outward characteristics of a family, such as whether or not the parents are married.

family process

The quality of relationships among family members.

Perhaps the most important aspect of family process with regard to the effects of divorce on children and adolescents is exposure to conflict between parents (Emery et al., 2014). Divorce involves the dissolution of a relationship that is, for most adults, at the heart of their emotional lives and their personal identities (Cherlin, 2009). Because the marriage relationship carries such a large freight of hopes and desires, it rarely sinks without numerous explosions occurring along the way. Living in the household where the divorce is taking place, children and adolescents will likely be exposed to their parents' hostility and recriminations before, during, and after the divorce, which is often painful, stressful, and damaging (Walper & Beckh, 2006).

Watch DIVORCE AND ADOLESCENCE

In nondivorced families, too, parents' conflict has damaging effects on children's development (Bradford et al., 2004; Emery, 1999). In fact, numerous studies have found that adolescents and emerging adults in high-conflict nondivorced households have poorer adjustment than adolescents and adults in low-conflict divorced households (Musick & Meier, 2010; Walper & Beckh, 2006). Longitudinal studies that include data before and after divorce indicate that adolescents' problems after divorce often began long before the divorce, as a consequence of high conflict between their parents (Peris & Emery, 2005; Ruschena et al., 2005). Thus, it is exposure to parents' conflicts, not simply the specific event of divorce, that is especially damaging to children and adolescents.

A second important aspect of family process to consider with regard to the effects of divorce is that divorce affects parenting practices. Divorce is highly stressful and painful to most of the adults who experience it (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1996), and not surprisingly it affects many aspects of their lives, including how they carry out their role as parents. The burdens fall especially on mothers.

As the sole parent in the household, the mother has to take on all the parenting that was previously shared with the father and often has increased employment responsibilities now that the father's income no longer comes directly into the family—not to mention handling by themselves the leaky roof, the sick pet, the disabled car, and all the other typical stresses of daily life.

So it is understandable that mothers' parenting tends to change following divorce, usually for the worse. Especially in the first year following divorce, mothers tend to be less affectionate, more permissive, and less consistent in their parenting than they were before the divorce took place or than they will be after a few years have passed (Zhou et al., 2008). Adolescents in divorced families have greater freedom than adolescents in nondivorced families in matters such as how to spend their money and how late to stay out, but younger adolescents especially may find it to be more freedom than they can handle wisely.

Another way parenting may change after divorce is that the mother may rely on the adolescent as a confidant (Afifi et al., 2007; Silverberg-Koerner et al., 2004). This is a mixed blessing for adolescents. They may enjoy becoming closer to their mothers while at the same time finding it difficult to hear about their parents' marital troubles and their mothers' difficulties in the aftermath of the divorce. Emerging adults may be able to handle this role better.

As for relations with fathers, in most families children's contact with their father declines steadily in the years following divorce (Amato & Dorius, 2010). By age 15, American adolescents in divorced families live an average of 400 miles away from their fathers, and almost half have not seen their father in over a year (Hetherington & Kelly, 2002). Even when divorced fathers and adolescents remain in close proximity, fathers complain that it often becomes difficult to arrange meetings as adolescents become increasingly involved in activities of their own. Also, divorced fathers are frequently the target of young people's resentment and blame following divorce (Amato & Dorius, 2010). Children often feel pressured to take sides when their parents divorce, and because mothers are usually closer to their children before the divorce, children's sympathies and loyalties are more often with the mother than with the father. Thus, young people in divorced households tend to have more negative feelings and fewer positive feelings toward their fathers compared with young people in nondivorced families (Kenyon & Koerner, 2008).

A third factor in considering the effects of divorce on young people is the increase in economic stress that typically results from divorce (Jeynes, 2002; Klaff, 2007). With the father's income no longer coming directly into the household, money is often tight in mother-headed households following divorce. In the aftermath of divorce, the income in mother-headed families decreases by an average of 40% to 50%. The problems children and adolescents exhibit following divorce may be due in part to these economic problems (Koerner et al., 2011).

THINKING CRITICALLY

In addition to the factors mentioned here, can you think of other things that might influence adolescents' responses to divorce, for better or worse?

Several factors help to ameliorate the negative effects of divorce on adolescents. Adolescents who maintain a good relationship with their mothers tend to function well in the aftermath of divorce (Emery et al., 2014). Also, when divorced parents are able to maintain a civil relationship and communicate without hostility, their children and adolescents are less likely to exhibit the negative effects of divorce (Sbarra & Emery, 2008). A related factor of importance is consistency of parenting between the separate households of the mother and the father. If parents maintain consistency with each other in parenting—which they are more likely to do if they are communicating well—their adolescents benefit (Pruett & Donsky, 2011).

Of course, maintaining communication and consistency is not easy between two parents who have experienced a divorce and often harbor hostile feelings toward one another (Hetherington & Kelly, 2002). In recent decades, **divorce mediation** has grown as a way of minimizing the damage to children and adolescents that may result from heightened parental conflict during and after divorce (Emery et al., 2014; Sbarra & Emery, 2008). In divorce mediation, a professional mediator meets with divorcing parents to help them negotiate an agreement regarding economic support for the mother and a visitation schedule for the father that both will find acceptable. Research has shown that mediation can settle a large percentage of cases otherwise headed for court and lead to remarkably improved relationships between divorced parents and their children, as well as between divorced parents, even 12 years after divorce (Emery et al., 2005).

Just as in divorced families, adolescents in never-married, single-parent households are at greater risk for a variety of problems, including low school achievement, psychological problems such as depression and anxiety, and behavioral problems such as substance use and early initiation of sexual activity (Breivik, Olweus, & Endresen, 2009). However, just as in divorced families, family process is at least as important as family structure. Many never-married single parents have relationships with their

divorce mediation

An arrangement in which a professional mediator helps divorcing parents negotiate an agreement that both will find acceptable.

adolescent children that are characterized by love, mutual respect, and mutual support, and adolescents in these families tend to do as well as, or better than, adolescents in two-parent families.

Also, looking at family structure only in terms of the parents can be misleading. As noted earlier in the chapter, African Americans have a long tradition of extended family households, in which one or more grandparents, uncles, aunts, or cousins also live in the household (Parent et al., 2013). An extended family structure has been found to provide important assistance to single-parent African American families, through the sharing of emotional and financial support and parenting responsibilities. Extended family members not only provide direct support to adolescents, but also help adolescents indirectly by supporting the single parent, which enhances her parenting effectiveness (Oberlander et al., 2007).

Remarriage

7.15 Explain why adolescents often respond negatively to parents' remarriage even though it benefits the mother in many ways.

"For a while [my stepfather] tried, I always call it 'tried to be my dad,' you know, but it wasn't in a good way, it was in a bad way. I felt like he was trying to boss me around or something, and I didn't feel he had any right to. It had just been me and mom all that time and I didn't like somebody else coming in. So I guess right from the beginning we just never really got along. We kind of avoided each other as much as possible."

—LEANNE, AGE 23 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 69)

"[My stepfather] is a very wonderful man. He always has been, but we just didn't appreciate him. But I think that would be the same for any kid. Really, I don't know that you appreciate your parents until you're older and can look back and think 'Wow. They were pretty incredible.'"

—LILLIAN, AGE 24 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 70)

In the light of the factors that seem to be most strongly related to adolescents' problems following divorce—parental conflict, disruptions in parenting, and economic stress—you might think that the mother's remarriage would greatly improve the well-being of adolescents in divorced families. (I focus here on mothers' remarriage because it is usually the mother who has custody of the children.) The mother and her new husband have just chosen to get married, so presumably they are getting along well. The mother's parenting could be expected to become more consistent now that she is happier in her personal life. She is not on her own as a parent anymore now that she has her new husband to help her with parenting and daily household tasks. As for economic stress, presumably it eases now that the stepfather's income comes into the family.

Despite these favorable prospects, studies find that adolescents typically take a turn for the worse when their mothers remarry. In general, adolescents in stepfamilies have a greater likelihood of a variety of problems compared with their peers in nondivorced families, including depression, anxiety, and conduct disorders (Jeynes, 2007). The academic achievement of adolescents in stepfamilies tends to be lower than in nondivorced families, and in some studies lower than in divorced families, too (Tillman, 2007). Adolescents in stepfamilies are also more likely to be involved in delinquent activities, compared with adolescents in nondivorced families but also compared with adolescents in divorced families (Holmes et al., 2009).

Furthermore, although following divorce adolescents tend to have fewer problems than younger children, following remarriage the reverse is true—adolescents have more problems adjusting to remarriage compared with younger children (Anderson & Greene, 2013). Adolescent girls tend to have an especially negative reaction to their mothers' remarriage, in part because girls develop a closer relationship with their mothers following divorce and this closeness is disrupted by the mother's remarriage (Hetherington & Kelly, 2002; Stoll et al., 2005).

Why do adolescents often respond unfavorably to their mother's remarriage? Scholars who have studied remarriage emphasize that, although remarriage may seem as though it should be positive for children and adolescents, it also represents another disruption of the family system, another stressful change that requires adjustment (Anderson & Greene, 2013). The toughest time for families after divorce tends to be 1 year following the divorce (Hetherington & Kelly, 2002). After that, family members usually begin to adjust, and their functioning typically improves substantially after 2 years have passed. Remarriage disrupts this new equilibrium.

With remarriage, family members have to adapt to a new family structure and integrate a new person into a family system that has already been stressed and strained by divorce. The precarious quality of this integration is illustrated by the finding in one study that many stepfathers and adolescents did not mention each other when listing their family members, even 2 years following the remarriage (Hetherington, 1991)! Adolescents and their mothers often experience "divergent realities" when the stepfather enters the family, with the mother happier because of her new husband's love and support but the adolescent regarding him as an unwelcome intruder (Silverberg-Koerner et al., 2004; Stoll et al., 2005).

With remarriage as with divorce, adolescents' responses are diverse, and the influence of family process as well as family structure must be recognized. A key family process issue is the extent to which the stepfather

attempts to exercise authority over the adolescent (Moore & Cartwright, 2005). A stepfather who attempts to remind an adolescent that the curfew hour is 11:00 p.m. or that it is the adolescent's turn to do the laundry may well receive the withering retort, "You're *not* my father!" Younger children are more likely to accept a stepfather's authority, but adolescents tend to resist or reject it.

Relationships between stepparents and adolescents must overcome a number of other hazards in addition to the issue of the stepfather's authority (Ganong, Coleman, & Jamison, 2011). Establishing an attachment to a stepparent can be difficult at an age when adolescents are spending less time at home and becoming more peer oriented. Adolescents (and younger children as well) may also have divided loyalties and may fear that establishing an attachment to the stepfather amounts to a betrayal of their father. Also, because adolescents are reaching sexual maturity, they may find it difficult to welcome their mother's new marriage partner into the household. They are more likely than younger children to be aware of the sexual relationship between their mother and stepfather, and they may be uncomfortable with this awareness.

All of these considerations present a formidable challenge for stepfathers and adolescents as they attempt to establish a good relationship. However, many stepfathers and adolescents do meet these challenges successfully and establish a relationship of warmth and mutual respect (Anderson & Greene, 2013; Ganong et al., 2011). Also, in emerging adulthood relationships with stepparents often improve substantially (Arnett, 2015). Just as with parents, emerging adults come to see their stepparents more as persons than simply as stepparents. Emerging adults and stepparents get along much better once they do not live in the same household and can control (and limit) the amount of contact they have.

Dual-Earner Families

7.16 Identify the variables that influence adolescents' response to both parents working.

With both parents gone from the household for at least part of a typical day in most Western families, and with parents so important in the socialization of their children and adolescents, scholars have turned their attention to the questions: What happens when both parents are employed? What are the consequences for adolescents' development?

For the most part, few substantial effects have been found on adolescents from living in a dual-earner family as compared with a family where only one parent is employed (Crouter & McHale, 2005; Galambos, 2004). For example, the ESM studies indicate that no differences exist between dual-earner families and families in which the mother is not employed, in terms of both the quantity and the quality of time that mothers spend with their adolescents (Richards & Duckett, 1994).

Most American adolescents today live in a dual-earner family.

The number of hours worked by the parents is an important variable in some studies. Adolescents, both boys and girls, are at higher risk for various problems if both parents work full-time than if one parent works just part-time (Schneider & Waite, 2005). The risks are especially high for adolescents who are unsupervised by parents or other adults on a daily basis for several hours between the time school ends and the time a parent arrives home from work. These adolescents tend to have higher rates of social isolation, depression, and drug and alcohol use (Voydanoff, 2004).

Another key variable in considering the effects of dual-earner families is the quality of the relationships between the parents and the adolescent. Adolescents in dual-earner families are more likely to function well if parents maintain monitoring from a distance, for example, by having their children check in with them by phone (Waizenhofer et al., 2004). If parents can manage to maintain adequate levels of demandingness and responsiveness even when both of them are working, their adolescents generally function well. The amount of time parents spend with adolescents appears to be less important than being engaged and accessible to adolescents when they are together (Milkie, Nomaguchi, & Denny, 2015).

Problems in Family Functioning

Although parents' divorce and remarriage can be sources of distress for adolescents, some adolescents suffer far more serious difficulties in their family life. Physical and sexual abuse are especially destructive. Sometimes as a

consequence of abuse, sometimes as a consequence of family dysfunction or poverty, some adolescents leave home at a young age and become "runaways" or "street children."

Physical and Sexual Abuse in the Family

7.17 Describe the causes and consequences of physical and sexual abuse.

Although most adolescents and emerging adults generally have good relationships with their parents, some young people are subject to physical or sexual abuse. Rates of abuse in American society are difficult to establish because this is an area in which social desirability bias is especially strong—physical and sexual abuse involves behaviors that most families would not readily disclose to others. However, studies indicate that physical abuse is more likely to be inflicted on adolescents than on younger children (Wang & Kenny, 2014). Fathers are more likely than mothers to be physically abusive (Sunday et al., 2008). Sexual abuse typically begins just before adolescence and then continues into adolescence (Smallbone et al., 2013). In the following sections we look first at physical abuse, then at sexual abuse.

PHYSICAL ABUSE What leads parents to inflict physical abuse on their adolescent children? One well-established finding is that physical abuse of children and adolescents is often promoted by family stresses or problems in the parents' lives. Abuse is more likely to occur in poor than in middle-class families, in large than in small families, and in families in which parents have problems such as depression, poor health, or alcohol abuse (Mersky et al., 2009). Abusive parents also tend to be poorly skilled at parenting and at coping with life stresses.

Physical abuse is related to a variety of difficulties in the lives of adolescents. Abused adolescents tend to be more aggressive in interactions with peers and adults (Wolfe et al., 2001). This may occur as a result of modeling their behavior after the aggressive behavior displayed by their parents, although it is also possible that passive genotype → environment interactions are involved (i.e., that abusing parents may pass down genes to their children that contribute to aggressiveness). Abused adolescents are more likely than other adolescents to engage in antisocial behavior and substance use (Hamburger et al., 2008). They are also more likely than other adolescents to be depressed and anxious, to perform poorly in school, and to have difficulty in their peer relationships (Naar-King et al., 2002). However, these consequences are not inevitable; many abused adolescents are surprisingly resilient and grow up to be normal adults and nonabusive parents (Kaufman, 2008).

SEXUAL ABUSE The causes of sexual abuse by parents are quite different from the causes of physical abuse. Physical abuse is more commonly inflicted on boys than on girls, whereas sexual abuse is usually inflicted on girls by their brothers, fathers, or stepfathers (Angold & Costello, 2006; Moore et al., 2010). Unlike physically abusive parents, sexually abusive fathers are usually not aggressive, but rather tend to be insecure and socially awkward around adults (Nevid et al., 2003). Because they feel inadequate in their relationships with adults—including, usually, their wives—they prefer to seek sexual satisfaction from children, who are easier for them to control (Haugaard, 1992). Sexual abuse usually results from motives such as these, rather than being an expression of affection that got out of control. On the contrary, fathers who abuse their adolescent daughters tend to have been detached and distant from them when they were younger. Sexual abuse is more likely to be committed by stepfathers than by fathers, perhaps because there is no biological incest taboo between stepfathers and their stepdaughters (Wodarski & Johnson, 2015).

The effects of sexual abuse tend to be even more profound and pervasive than the effects of physical abuse. Parental sexual abuse constitutes an ultimate breach of trust—rather than providing care and protection, the parent has exploited the child's need for nurturance and protection for the sake of his own needs. Consequently, many of the effects of parental sexual abuse are evident in the victim's social relationships. Adolescents who have been sexually abused tend to have difficulty trusting others and forming stable intimate relationships (Cherlin et al., 2004). During the period of sexual abuse and for many years afterward, many victims of sexual abuse experience depression, high anxiety, and social withdrawal (Berget et al., 2003; Kendall-Tackett, Williams, & Finkelhor, 2001). Adolescent victims may react with one extreme or the other in their sexual behavior, becoming either highly avoidant of sexual contacts or highly promiscuous (Kendall-Tackett et al., 2001). Other consequences of sexual abuse include substance abuse, higher risk for a variety of psychological disorders, and suicidal thoughts and behavior (Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010; Pérez-Fuentes et al., 2013).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Explain the effects of sexual abuse in terms of attachment theory.

Although sexual abuse is among the most harmful things a parent can do to a child, one-third of sexually abused children demonstrate few or no symptoms (Kendall-Tackett et al., 2001; Pérez-Fuentes et al., 2013). Support from

the mother after a father's or stepfather's sexual abuse has been disclosed is especially important to girls' recovery from sexual abuse; daughters cope far better if their mothers believe their account of the abuse and comfort and reassure them, rather than rejecting or blaming them (Houck et al., 2010). Psychotherapy can also contribute to the girl's recovery (Mason & Lodrick, 2013).

Leaving Early: Runaways and "Street Children"

7.18 Distinguish running away from home in developed countries from becoming "street children" in developing countries.

In developed countries, adolescents who leave home before reaching legal adulthood are often said to be "running away from home." In developing countries, these adolescents are often known as "street children." Runaways often leave home to abuse or severe family dysfunction, whereas street children often take to the streets due to family poverty.

RUNNING AWAY FROM HOME

"I skipped out of school two days and my dad found out and he just gave it to me with his belt. I had bruises all over my hands and all over my legs. And my mother couldn't do anything about it and she was upset with me at the time, so that Friday I ran away."

—15-YEAR-OLD GIRL (KONOPKA, 1985, P. 78)

For some adolescents, family life becomes unbearable to them for one reason or another, and they run away from home. It is estimated that about 1 million adolescents run away from home each year in the United States (Whitbeck, 2009). About one-fourth of these adolescents are not so much runaways as "throwaways"—their parents have forced them to leave home (Gullotta, 2003). In any case, about 80% to 90% of adolescents who leave home remain within 50 miles of home, often staying with a friend or relative, and return within a week (Whitbeck, 2009). Adolescents who stay away from home for weeks or months, or who never return at all, are at high risk for a wide variety of problems (Rosenthal & Rotheram-Borus, 2005).

Not surprisingly, adolescents who run away from home have often experienced high conflict with their parents, and many have experienced physical or sexual abuse from their parents (Chen et al., 2004; Thrane et al., 2006). For example, in one study of runaway adolescents in Toronto, 73% had experienced physical abuse and 51% had experienced sexual abuse (McCarthy, 1994). Other family factors related to running away from home include low family income, parental alcoholism, high conflict between parents, and parental neglect of the adolescent (Whitbeck, 2009). Characteristics of the adolescent also matter. Adolescents who run away are more likely than other adolescents to have been involved in criminal activity, to use illegal drugs, and to have had problems at school (Mallet et al., 2005). They are also more likely to have had psychological difficulties such as depression and emotional isolation, and they are more likely to be gay or lesbian (Keuroghlian, Shtasel, & Bassuk, 2014).

Although leaving home often represents an escape from a difficult family life, running away is likely to lead to other problems. Adolescents who run away from home tend be highly vulnerable to exploitation. Many of them report being robbed, physically assaulted, sexually assaulted, and malnourished (Tyler, Hoyt, & Whitbeck, 2000; Tyler et al., 2004; Whitbeck, 2009). In their desperation they may seek money through "survival sex," including trading sex for food or drugs, or becoming involved in prostitution or pornography (Tyler et al., 2004). A study of 390 runaway adolescent boys and girls demonstrated the many problems they may have (McCarthy & Hagan, 1992). Nearly half had stolen food, and over 40% had stolen items worth over $50. Forty-six percent had been jailed at least once, and 30% had provided sex in exchange for money. Fifty-five percent had used hallucinogenic drugs, and 43% had used cocaine or crack. Other studies have found that depression and suicidal behavior are common among runaway adolescents (Votta & Manion, 2004; Whitbeck et al., 2004; Yoder et al., 1998). In one study that compared homeless adolescents to other adolescents, the homeless adolescents were 13 times as likely to report feeling depressed, and 38% of them had attempted suicide at least once (Rohde et al., 2001).

Many urban areas have shelters for adolescent runaways. Typically, these shelters provide adolescents with food, protection, and counseling (Keuroghlian, et al., 2014). They may also assist adolescents in contacting their families, if the adolescents wish to do so and if it would be safe for them to go home. However, many of these shelters lack adequate funding and have difficulty providing services for all the runaway adolescents who come to them.

"STREET CHILDREN" AROUND THE WORLD The United States is far from being the only country where adolescents can be found living on the streets of urban areas. Street children, many of them adolescents, can be found in virtually every country in the world. It is estimated that the total number of street children worldwide is around 150 million (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014). Many street children are homeless, but others roam the streets during the day and return to their families to sleep most nights. The main forces leading adolescents to the street vary in world regions, from family dysfunction in the West, to poverty in Asia and Latin America, to poverty, war, and family breakdown (due to AIDS) in Africa. Worldwide,

street children are at high risk for substance abuse, mental health problems, infectious diseases, and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014; Woan, Lin, & Auerswald, 2013). In this section, we examine the lives of street children in three countries: India, Brazil, and Kenya.

In India, it is estimated that there are more than 11 million street children (Sinha & Burke, 2014; Mathur et al., 2009; Verma, 1999). In addition to poverty, reasons for living on the street include overcrowded homes, physical abuse, and parental substance abuse. About half of Indian street children are homeless; of those who are homeless, four out of five have families who are homeless as well. Most street children work, as beggars, vendors, shoe shiners, or car cleaners. Street children have high rates of a variety of diseases such as cholera and typhoid, and they are vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse. They are sought as prostitutes by men who believe they are less likely than older prostitutes to have AIDS. They report frequent conflicts with their parents over low earnings, disobedience, and watching movies (a very popular form of recreation in India). However, the majority of Indian street children also report feeling loved and supported by their families. Furthermore, they typically form gangs with other street children, and gang affiliation provides a sense of identity, belonging, and mutual support. Amid their stressful and difficult lives, they find time for play and recreation. Far from being discouraged and despondent, most street children in India show remarkable resilience and report enjoying "the thrill of street life and freedom of action and movement" (Verma, 1999, p. 11).

In Brazil, street children are numerous in every major city (de Carvalho et al., 2006; Diversi, Moraes Filho, & Morelli, 1999; Mello et al., 2014). Many are driven to the streets by poverty, and they go there seeking food, money, or clothes. Some return home in the evening, bringing to their families what they have collected on the streets. Others return home rarely, if at all. Many experience a gradual transition from home to street, going to the streets for a few hours at a time at first, then for longer periods as they make friends with other street children, returning home for shorter and shorter periods. Their daily lives are a struggle for survival, as they are constantly trying to find food, a place to bathe, and a place to sleep, while being harassed by drug dealers and police. They are viewed by their society as "little criminals" and "future thieves," and many of them do engage in crime, drug use, and prostitution in response to their desperate condition. As Diversi and colleagues (1999) observed, "The need for money or clothes may seem more real in the decision to have sex with strangers than the hypothetical possibility that they might get pregnant or contract a venereal disease; stealing a watch that will give them $5 in exchange, especially when their stomachs are growling or they are craving a drug that will temporarily free them from the depressive consciousness of their condition, will likely outweigh the hypothetical notion of a cold cell in the event that they get caught" (p. 31).

Daily life is a struggle for adolescents who live on the street. Here, boys in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Street children are also abundant in the African country of Kenya (Kaime-Atterhög & Ahlberg, 2008; Njoroge, Komen, Kathuri, & Elias, 2013). In their study of street children in Kenya, Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff (1999) draw a distinction between street boys and street girls. In Kenya as in most non-Western countries, street boys far outnumber street girls. Aptekar and Ciano-Federoff (1999) found that street boys typically maintain contact with their families, often continuing to live with them and bringing most of their money home, especially in single-mother families. The boys demonstrate impressive resourcefulness, forming friendships, taking advantage of aid programs, and developing cognitive skills (for example, buying cheap items in one place and selling them in another for a slight profit). In contrast, street girls have often left home to avoid sexual abuse, and once on the street they typically have no contact with their families, nor do they form friendships with other girls. On the street, they are evaluated mainly in sexual terms: If they are considered unattractive they are shunned, and if they are viewed as attractive they are forced into prostitution. Often, the leaders of street boy gangs take several street girls as "wives," providing them with food and protection from other boys in return for sex.

Overall, street children across the world often exhibit remarkable resilience and manage to develop cognitive skills, make friends, and maintain supportive family relationships in the face of extremely difficult conditions (Aptekar & Stoecklin, 2014). However, they are at high risk for serious problems ranging from diseases to substance abuse to prostitution, especially girls, and their prospects for adult life are grim indeed.

Summing Up

7.1 Describe the family systems principles of disequilibrium and subsystems.

Subsystems are relationships between two persons within the family, for example, mother and father or adolescent and younger sibling. The family systems approach is based on two key principles: that each subsystem influences the other subsystems in the family and that a change in any family member or subsystem—such as when parents reach midlife, adolescents reach puberty, or emerging adults leave home—results in a period of disequilibrium that requires adjustments.

7.2 Summarize general patterns of parents' development in midlife and how these patterns influence their relations with adolescents and emerging adults.

For most parents, their children's development during adolescence and emerging adulthood overlaps with their own development during midlife. Studies have found that, for most people in most respects, midlife is an especially satisfying and enjoyable time of life. People's personalities also tend to become more flexible and adaptive when they reach midlife. Studies also suggest that adolescents' growing autonomy may be welcomed by most parents because it gives parents more time to enjoy their own lives.

7.3 Identify the five common patterns of sibling relationships in adolescence.

In the caregiver relationship, one sibling serves parental functions for the other. In the buddy relationship, siblings treat each other as friends. They try to be like one another, and they enjoy being together. A critical relationship between siblings is characterized by a high level of conflict and teasing. In a rival relationship, siblings compete against each other and measure their success against one another. In a casual relationship between siblings, the relationship between them is not emotionally intense, and they may have little to do with one another.

7.4 Explain why relations with extended family members are often especially close for adolescents in traditional cultures.

In traditional cultures, young men generally remain in their family home after marriage, and young women move into their new husband's home. Consequently, children in these cultures typically grow up in a household that includes not only their parents and siblings but also their grandparents, and often their uncles, aunts, and cousins as well. Because grandparents in traditional cultures often live in the same household as their children and grandchildren, adolescents tend to be as close to their grandparents as to their parents. Within American society, adolescents are closer to grandparents in minority cultures than in White families, although in White families the maternal grandfather's role often becomes more important in the aftermath of divorce.

7.5 Summarize the parenting styles model, and explain how the styles represent custom complexes.

The two key dimensions of parenting styles are demandingness and responsiveness. Authoritative parents are high in demandingness and high in responsiveness. Authoritarian parents are high in demandingness but low in responsiveness. Permissive parents are low in demandingness and high in responsiveness. Disengaged parents are low in both demandingness and responsiveness. Parenting styles are custom complexes in the sense that they reflect cultural values concerning the degree to which it is desirable for adolescents to become more independent.

7.6 Outline how research has shown parenting styles to be related to aspects of adolescents' development.

Authoritative parenting, which combines high demandingness with high responsiveness, has generally been found to be related to positive outcomes for adolescents in the American majority culture. Studies of non-Western cultures indicate that a parenting style that combines responsiveness with a stricter form of demandingness is most common in those cultures.

7.7 Explain how theory and research on reciprocal effects, differential parenting, and nonshared environments complicate claims of the effects of parenting on adolescents.

Adolescents not only are affected by their parents but also affect their parents in return. Scholars refer to this principle as reciprocal or bidirectional effects between parents and children. Research involving siblings indicates that adolescent siblings *within the same family* often give different accounts of what their parents are like toward them. This may be as a result of differential parenting, meaning that parents' behavior often differs toward siblings within the same family. In addition, differential parenting results in nonshared environmental influences, meaning that the siblings experience quite different family environments, and the consequences of these differences are evident in adolescents' behavior and psychological functioning.

7.8 Identify the limitations of applying the American parenting styles model to other cultures, and the distinctive practices of Asian and Latino cultures that are not included in this model.

The American ideal of authoritative parenting is rare in the rest of the world because it emphasizes explanation and negotiation in relationships with adolescents, whereas in most cultures the role of parent carries an authority that is not to be questioned. Parent–adolescent relationships are often close in traditional cultures because parents and children work alongside each other on a daily basis, but their closeness may not be expressed openly. In Asian cultures, the belief in filial piety promotes adolescents' obedience to their parents, and in Latino cultures the concept of *respeto* signifies the obligation of adolescents to comply with their parents' authority.

7.9 Summarize the two main forms of infant attachment and the evidence for their influence on adolescent development.

The two general types of attachment are: *secure attachment*, in which infants use the mother as a "secure base from which to explore" when all is well, but seek physical comfort and consolation from her if frightened or threatened; and *insecure attachment*, in which infants are wary of exploring the environment and resist or avoid the mother when she attempts to offer comfort or consolation. According to attachment theory, attachments formed in infancy are the basis for relationships throughout life. Although this claim appears to be overstated, studies of attachment involving adolescents and emerging adults indicate that attachments to parents are related to young people's functioning in numerous ways and that autonomy and relatedness in relationships with parents are compatible rather than competing qualities.

7.10 Describe how conflict with parents changes during adolescence, and identify the main sources of the conflicts in the United States and around the world.

Research shows that conflict between parents and children tends to be highest during early adolescence, and many American parents experience their children's adolescence as a difficult time. Major sources of conflict include puberty, which raises issues of possible sexual activity, and adolescents' cognitive development, which makes them better at arguing their point of view. Also, parents often fear for their adolescents' well-being, which leads to conflicts over the extent of adolescents' autonomy. Parent–adolescent conflict tends to be lower in traditional cultures because of the greater economic interdependence of family members and because the role of parent in those cultures holds greater authority.

7.11 Explain why conflict with parents usually decreases from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

Emerging adults who move away from home tend to be closer emotionally to their parents because they no longer experience the conflicts that occur from sharing the same household. Whether they live with their parents or not, emerging adults are better than adolescents at taking their parents' perspective and seeing them as people and not merely as parents.

7.12 Summarize the main changes that have taken place in adolescents' family lives in Western countries over the past 200 years.

Smaller family size today means that adolescents have fewer sibling relationships and are less likely to have responsibilities for taking care of younger siblings. Longer life expectancy today means that adolescents are less likely to experience the death of a parent. Increased urbanization today means that adolescents are unlikely to grow up on a family farm and more likely to live in cities, where there are more opportunities. Families once had functions in many aspects of adolescents' lives, from education to leisure, but today their function is mainly affective (love, support, and nurturance).

7.13 Name the main changes that have taken place in adolescents' family lives in Western countries over the past 50 years.

Rates of divorce more than doubled from 1960 to 1975 before declining slightly in recent decades. Today about half of Americans experience their parents' divorce by age 18, with the rate much higher when the parents have relatively low education. Single parenthood has also risen in the past 50 years, and currently 40% of White children and 70% of Black children are born to single mothers. In 1940, only 10% of mothers worked outside the home, but by 2010 the rate was over 70%.

7.14 Distinguish between family structure and family process, and use the concept of family process to explain variability in adolescents' responses to divorce.

Parents' divorce tends to be related to negative outcomes for adolescents, including behavioral problems, psychological distress, problems in intimate relationships, and lower academic performance. However, there is considerable variation in the effects of divorce, and the outcomes for adolescents depend not just on family structure but on family process. Family structure refers to the outward characteristics of the family—whether the parents are married, how many adults and children live in the household, whether there is a biological relationship between the family members (e.g., in stepfamilies), and so on. Family process refers to the quality of family members' relationships, the degree of warmth or hostility between them, and so on. Following

divorce, adolescents are less likely to experience negative effects if parents can maintain a civil relationship.

7.15 Explain why adolescents often respond negatively to parents' remarriage even though it benefits the mother in many ways.

Adolescents tend to respond negatively to their parents' remarriage, but a great deal depends on family process, not just family structure. Mothers and adolescents may have become close during the period following divorce, and the stepfather's entry to the family may disrupt that closeness. The extent of the stepfather's authority over his stepchildren is the major source of disagreement and conflict. However, many stepfathers and adolescents have healthy relationships.

7.16 Identify the variables that influence adolescents' response to both parents working.

Dual-earner families have become much more common since World War II. For today's adolescents, having two parents who work tends to be unrelated to most aspects of their functioning. However, some studies have found some negative effects for adolescents in families where both parents work full-time.

7.17 Describe the causes and consequences of physical and sexual abuse.

Physical abuse of adolescents is more likely in families where the parents have a variety of problems, including poverty and alcohol abuse. Adolescents who are physically abused tend to be more aggressive than other adolescents, more likely to engage in criminal behavior, and more likely to do poorly in school, among other problems. Sexual abuse in families takes place most commonly between daughters and their fathers or stepfathers, who are often incompetent in their relationships with adults. Sexual abuse has a variety of negative consequences, especially in girls' abilities to form intimate emotional and sexual relationships.

7.18 Distinguish running away from home in developed countries from becoming "street children" in developing countries.

Running away from home is most common among adolescents who have experienced family problems such as physical or sexual abuse, high conflict, or parents' alcoholism. Adolescents who stay away from home for more than a week or two are at high risk for problems such as physical assault, substance use, and suicide attempts. In developing countries, adolescents who are "street children" are usually on the street due to poverty. They sometimes return home to their families to sleep. They are at risk for many of the same problems as adolescents who have run away from home in developed countries, but many of them are strikingly resilient.

Key Terms

family systems approach, p. 190
dyadic relationship, p. 190
disequilibrium, p. 190
midlife crisis, p. 191
caregiver relationship, p. 192
buddy relationship, p. 192
critical relationship, p. 192
rival relationship, p. 192
casual relationship, p. 192
parenting styles, p. 197
demandingness, p. 197
responsiveness, p. 197
authoritative parents, p. 197
authoritarian parents, p. 197
permissive parents, p. 197
disengaged parents, p. 198
autonomy, p. 198
reciprocal effects, p. 199
bidirectional effects, p. 199
differential parenting, p. 200
nonshared environmental influences, p. 200
familismo, p. 202
attachment theory, p. 203
secure attachment, p. 204
insecure attachment, p. 204
primary caregiver, p. 204
internal working model, p. 204
relatedness, p. 204
affective functions, p. 212
custodial parent, p. 213
dual-earner families, p. 213
family structure, p. 216
family process, p. 216
divorce mediation, p. 217

Chapter 8

Friends and Peers

Learning Objectives

8.1 Summarize the shift in adolescence in the balance between friendships and family relationships in developed countries.

8.2 Explain how the balance between friendships and family relationships is distinctive in developing countries.

8.3 Explain why friends are the sources of more intense emotions than parents are.

8.4 Describe the role that intimacy plays in adolescents' friendships and how it changes with age.

8.5 Connect adolescents' cognitive development to the rising importance of intimacy in friendship and explain why intimacy is more central to girls' friendships.

8.6 Identify the ways friendships change from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

8.7 Identify the similarities that draw adolescents together into friendships.

8.8 Summarize the research on friends' influence on risk behavior, and explain why "influence" is difficult to determine.

8.9 Name the different ways adolescent friends support each other and how that support influences their development.

8.10 Distinguish between cliques and crowds and describe their separate functions.

8.11 Explain why sarcasm and ridicule are common in adolescent cliques, and give examples of cultural variations.

8.12 Define relational aggression, and explain why it is more common among girls in adolescence.

8.13 Describe how the functions and importance of crowds change during the course of adolescence and into emerging adulthood.

8.14 Outline the various cultural forms crowds can take.

8.15 Explain how popularity in adolescence is measured, and identify the main characteristics that are sources of popularity.

8.16 Identify the reasons why popularity and unpopularity are difficult to change and the characteristics of effective intervention programs for unpopularity.

8.17 Define bullying, and describe its prevalence and consequences across countries.

8.18 Identify the components of youth cultures, and explain why they develop.

8.19 Name the purposes of slang in adolescence, and give examples.

8.20 Explain how technology is important to the distinctiveness of youth culture.

"My friends really like me. So I like myself a lot when I'm around my friends. My best friend Sharon and I try to figure things out together, and it brings us closer. But if we spend too much time thinking about how the other kids might not like us, we both get confused and depressed."

—12-YEAR-OLD GIRL (HARTER, 2015, P. 73)

"[My best friend] is like a brother. I could tell him anything, anything. If I ask him to keep it a secret, he will keep it a secret. If I need him, I know he's going to be there. When I talk about problems, he'll give me ideas or things to do."

—16-YEAR-OLD BOY (WAY, 2004, P. 176)

ACROSS THE LIFESPAN, FRIENDS ARE AN ESSENTIAL part of life for most people. At all ages, we value friends as people we can both have fun with and be serious with. We look for friends who understand us, in part based on common interests and experiences. We rely on friends to be gentle with us when we make mistakes and to support us and prop up our confidence when we are in doubt or afraid.

Friendship is of special value and importance during adolescence and emerging adulthood. These are periods of life in which the emotional center of young people's lives is shifting from their immediate families to persons outside the family (Tanner, 2006). This does not mean that parents cease to be important. As described in the previous chapter, the influence of parents remains prominent in many ways throughout adolescence, and attachments to parents remain strong for most emerging adults as well. Nevertheless, in most cultures the influence of parents diminishes as young people become more independent and spend less and less of their time at home. Eventually, most young people in Western societies move away from home and, at some point, form an enduring romantic partnership. However, during their teens and early 20s few adolescents or emerging adults have yet formed a romantic partnership that will endure into adulthood. Friends provide a bridge between the close attachments young people have to their family members and the close attachment they will eventually have to a romantic partner.

During adolescence, it is not only close friends who become important but also the larger world of peers. It is necessary to distinguish *peers* from *friends* because the two terms are sometimes erroneously believed to be the same. Peers are simply people who have certain aspects of their status in common. For example, Louis Armstrong and Wynton Marsalis are peers because they are generally considered to be two of the greatest trumpet players who ever lived. When social scientists use the term *peers*, they usually are referring to the more concrete aspects of status, especially age. So, for our purposes, peers are people who are about the same age. For adolescents, peers consist of the large network of their same-age classmates, community members, and coworkers. In developed countries, adolescents typically attend large middle schools and high schools with a complex peer culture. These schools are usually much larger than the primary schools they attended as children. In their schools, group hierarchies are established, with some adolescents clearly understood to be high in status and others clearly viewed as having low status. Being an adolescent in these societies means, in part, learning to navigate through this school-based peer culture.

In this chapter we will consider both close relationships with friends and social relationships in the larger peer culture. We will begin by examining friendships. First, adolescents' relationships with friends and family will be compared and contrasted. Then we will explore various developmental changes that take place in friendships from middle childhood through adolescence, with a special focus on intimacy as a key quality of adolescent

friendships. We will also examine the factors involved in choosing friends, particularly the similarities that draw adolescent friends to one another. This will be followed by a discussion of "peer pressure," or "friends' influence" as it will be discussed here. There will also be a section on friends and leisure activities in emerging adulthood.

In the second half of the chapter, we will examine larger peer social groups, including cliques and crowds. This section will feature a discussion of popularity and unpopularity in adolescence, including bullying. Finally, we will explore the idea of a common "youth culture" with values and styles that set it apart from the ways of adults.

Friendships are especially important during adolescence and emerging adulthood.

A Shift from Family to Friends

As they develop from middle childhood to adolescence, most people experience a shift in the balance between their family and friends. In both developed countries and developing countries, time with family diminishes and time with friends expands. Emotionally, too, friends become the source of more intense emotions, both positive and negative.

"A faithful friend is the medicine of life."

—ECCLESIASTES 6:16

From Family to Friends in Developed Countries

8.1 Summarize the shift in adolescence in the balance between friendships and family relationships in developed countries.

In the previous chapter we talked about how, in the American majority culture, the amount of time spent with family decreases from childhood to adolescence, while the amount of conflict with parents increases. Parents remain important figures in the lives of adolescents, but the level of warmth and closeness between parents and their children typically declines (Hofer et al., 2013). As they move through their teens, American adolescents move steadily away from the social world of their families.

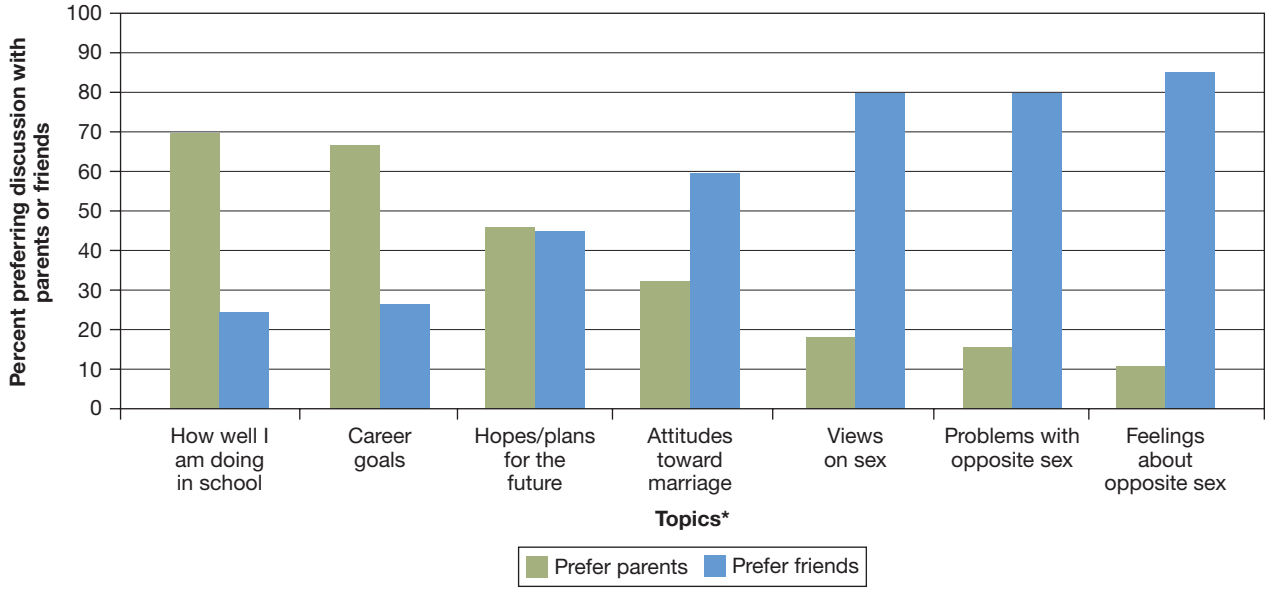
As they move away from their parents, adolescents become increasingly involved with their friends. We have noted that from the age of 6 or 7, children in most countries spend the better part of a typical day in school with their peers. However, during adolescence, young people increasingly spend time with other young people their age not only at school but in their leisure time after school, in the evenings, on weekends, and during the summer and other breaks from school.

The Experience Sampling Method (ESM) studies testify to the change in proportion of time spent with friends and parents that occurs during adolescence (Larson et al., 1996). As noted in Chapter 7, the amount of time spent with family decreases by about half from fifth to ninth grade, then declines even more steeply from ninth through 12th grade (Larson et al., 2002). In contrast, time spent with same-sex friends remains stable, and time with other-sex friends increases (Richards et al., 2002). Another study found similar results, using a slightly different method (Buhrmester & Carbery, 1992). Adolescents ages 13 to 16 were interviewed daily over a 5-day period about how much time they spent in interactions with parents and friends. The average with parents was 28 minutes per day, whereas the average with friends was 103 minutes per day—almost four times as great. By now, using social media is one of the key ways that adolescent friends stay in contact. In a study of 42 developed countries, an average of 57% of 15-year-olds said they had daily social media contact with friends, across countries (World Health Organization, 2012).

Relationships with family and friends during adolescence change not only in quantity but also in quality. Adolescents indicate that they depend more on friends than on their parents or siblings for companionship and intimacy (Brown & Bakken, 2011; Nickerson & Nagle, 2005; Updegraff, McHale, & Crouter, 2002). Friends become increasingly important during adolescence—the source of adolescents' happiest experiences, the people with whom they feel most comfortable, the ones they feel they can talk to most openly (Richards et al., 2002). A Dutch study found that 82% of adolescents named spending free time with friends as their favorite activity (Meeus, 2006).

Figure 8.1 Percentage of adolescents preferring to discuss topics with friends or parents.

SOURCE: Youniss & Smollar (1985), p. 294.



*Choices do not necessarily add up to 100 percent because some participants gave no response.

One classic study comparing the quality of adolescents' relationships with friends and parents was carried out by Youniss and Smollar (1985), who surveyed more than a thousand adolescents ages 12 to 19. Over 90% of these adolescents indicated that they had at least one close friend "who means a lot to me." In addition, the majority (about 70%) agreed with each of these statements:

> My close friend understands me better than my parents do.
>
> I feel right now in my life that I learn more from my close friends than I do from my parents.
>
> I'm more myself with my close friends than with my parents.

Youniss and Smollar (1985) also asked adolescents to indicate whether they would prefer parents or friends as the ones they would go to for discussion of various issues. The results are shown in **Figure 8.1**. Parents were preferred for issues related to education and future occupation, but for more personal issues friends were preferred by large margins.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think many adolescents find it more difficult to be close to their parents than to their friends? Is this phenomenon cultural or developmental, or both?

In another study comparing orientations to parents and friends, young people in fourth grade, seventh grade, 10th grade, and college were asked to indicate which relationships provided them with the most emotional support (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992). For the fourth graders, parents were their main sources of support. However, for the seventh graders—moving into adolescence—same-gender friends were equal to parents as sources of support, and for the 10th graders same-gender friends had surpassed parents. For the college students—now in emerging adulthood—the pattern changed again. By that time, romantic partners were the main sources of support.

European studies comparing relationships with parents and friends show a pattern similar to American studies (De Goede et al., 2009). For example, a study of Dutch adolescents (ages 15 to 19) asked them with whom they "communicate about themselves, about their personal feelings, and about sorrows and secrets" (Bois-Reymond & Ravesloot, 1996). Nearly half of the adolescents named their best friend or their romantic partner, whereas only 20% named one or both parents (only 3%, their fathers). Studies in other European countries confirm that adolescents tend to be happiest when with their friends and that they tend to turn to their friends for advice and information on social relationships and leisure, although they tend to come to parents for advice about education and career plans (Hurrelmann, 1996).

Although the direct influence of parents diminishes during adolescence, parents shape their adolescents' peer relationships in a variety of indirect ways. Through parents' choices of where to live, where to send their adolescents to school (e.g., public versus private school), and

where to attend religious services (or whether to attend at all), parents influence the peer networks their adolescents are likely to experience and the pool of peers from which adolescents are likely to select their friends (Knoester et al., 2006). Also, parents often engage in active management of their adolescents' friendships by encouraging the friendship or communicating disapproval (Mounts, 2004; Tilton-Weaver & Galambos, 2004). In addition, parents influence adolescents' personalities and behavior through their parenting practices, which in turn affect adolescents' friendship choices (Laird et al., 2008). For example, in one study of 3,700 adolescents (Brown et al., 1993), adolescents with parents who encouraged academic achievement and who monitored their adolescents' activities were found to have higher grades and lower levels of illicit drug use; grades and illicit drug use were in turn related to adolescents' choices of friends.

Family and Friends in Traditional Cultures

8.2 Explain how the balance between friendships and family relationships is distinctive in developing countries.

As in the West, adolescence in traditional cultures entails less involvement with family and greater involvement with peers. Schlegel and Barry (1991), in their cross-cultural analysis, reported that this pattern is typical in cultures worldwide:

> At all stages of life beyond infancy, from the rough-and-tumble play group of childhood to the poignant, ever-diminishing cluster of aged cronies, persons of similar ages congregate. Such groups take on special meaning in adolescence, when young people are temporarily released from intense identification with a family. In childhood, people depend for their very life on the natal family; in adolescence, they are neither so dependent as they were nor so responsible as they will be. It is then that peer relations can take on an intensity of attachment that they lack at other stages of the life cycle. (p. 68)

Although this pattern applies widely around the world, an important difference between Western cultures and the traditional cultures described by Schlegel and Barry (1991, 2015) is that traditional cultures are more likely to have substantial gender differences in adolescents' relationships with peers and family. Specifically, in traditional cultures, involvement with peers and friends tends to be much greater for boys than for girls (French, 2015). Adolescent girls spend more time with same-sex adults than boys do; they have more contact and more intimacy with their mothers than boys do with either parent, and they also have more contact with their grandmothers, aunts, and other adult females than boys do with adult males. Among the Maya of Mexico, for example, adolescent girls spend their days in the household among adult women, learning cooking, sewing, and embroidery, whereas boys work alone or in groups in the fields during the day and congregate with each other in the village in the evening (Chinas, 1991). However, Schlegel and Barry stress that for both male and female adolescents in traditional cultures more of their time is spent with their families than in the West, where schooling takes adolescents away from their families and into a peer society for the better part of each day.

Even in traditional cultures where most adolescents attend school, the social and emotional balance between friends and family remains tilted more toward family than it does for adolescents in the West. For example, in India adolescents tend to spend their leisure time with family rather than friends, not because they are required to do so but because of collectivistic Indian cultural values and because they enjoy their time with family (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012). Among Brazilian adolescents, emotional support is higher from parents than friends (Van Horn & Cunegatto, 2000). In a study comparing adolescents in Indonesia and the United States, Indonesian adolescents rated their family members higher and their friends lower on companionship and enjoyment, compared to American adolescents (French et al., 2001). Nevertheless, friends were the primary source of intimacy in both countries. Thus, it may be that adolescents in non-Western countries remain close to their families even as they also develop greater closeness to their friends during adolescence, whereas in the West closeness to family diminishes as closeness to friends grows.

In traditional cultures, adolescent boys spend more time with friends than adolescent girls do. Here, boys on the island of Mauritania play together.

Time with Friends: Higher Highs, Lower Lows

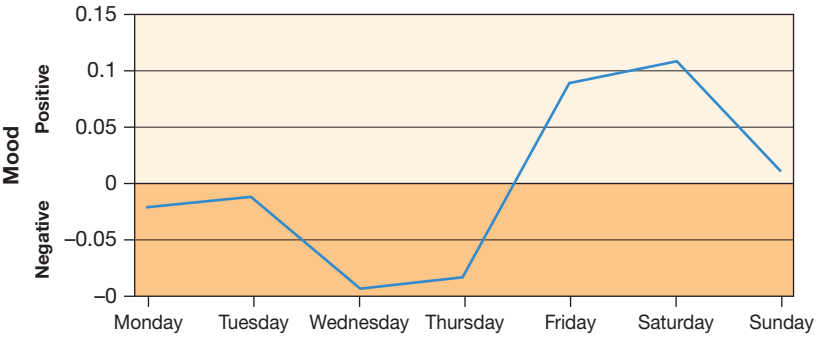
8.3 Explain why friends are the sources of more intense emotions than parents are.

In the ESM studies, adolescents report that their happiest moments take place with friends, and they are generally much happier with friends than with family. Larson and Richards (1994) describe two principal reasons for this. One is that in a close friend adolescents find someone who mirrors their own emotions. One seventh-grade girl described her friend by saying, "She feels the same about the same things, and she understands what I mean. Mostly, she is feeling the same things. . . . And if she doesn't, she'll say 'Yeah, I understand what you're talking about'" (Larson & Richards, 1994, p. 92). This girl and her friend both took part in an ESM study, and when they were "beeped" while together their moods were usually the same, usually highly positive. This is in sharp contrast to adolescents' moods with parents, as we saw in the previous chapter. Adolescents often experience negative moods when with parents, and there is often a deep split in moods between the parent who is enjoying their time together and the adolescent who feels low and would like to be somewhere else.

A second reason that adolescents enjoy their time with friends so much more than their time with parents, according to Larson and Richards (1994), is that adolescents feel free and open with friends in a way they rarely do with parents. Perhaps this is the essence of friendship—friends accept and value you for who you really are. For adolescents, sometimes this means being able to talk about their deepest feelings, especially about their budding romantic relationships. Sometimes it means getting a little crazy, goofing off, letting loose with adolescent exuberance. Larson and Richards (1994) described an escalating dynamic of manic joy they sometimes captured in "beeped" moments, when adolescents would be feeding on each other's antics to their increasing delight. In one episode, a group of boys were hanging around in one of their backyards when they started spraying each other with a hose, taunting each other and laughing. In another episode, adolescent girls at a sleepover were found dancing on the pool table, laughing and hugging each other. As **Figure 8.2** shows, shared enjoyment among adolescent friends is especially high on weekend nights, which Larson and Richards (1998) call "the emotional high point of the week" for adolescents (p. 37).

Figure 8.2 This graph of mood changes among ninth- to 12th-grade American adolescents shows that their moods are most positive on the weekends, when they are most likely to be spending leisure time with friends.

SOURCE: Larson & Richards (1998).



Of course, adolescent friendships are not only about emotional support and good times. In the ESM studies, friends are also the source of adolescents' most negative emotions—anger, frustration, sadness, and anxiety (Brendgen et al., 2015). Adolescents' attachments to friends and their strong reliance on friends leave them vulnerable emotionally. They worry a great deal about whether their friends like them and about whether they are popular enough. Larson and Richards (1994) observed that "Triangles, misunderstandings, and conflicting alliances were a regular part of the social lives of the [adolescents] we studied" (p. 94). For example, when one boy showed up an hour and a half late to meet his friend, the friend angrily rejected him and avoided him for days. During this time the boy spent much of his time alone, feeling guilty—"I'll just think about it and I'll get upset" (p. 95)—until they reconciled. Overall, however, positive feelings are much more common with friends than with family during adolescence, and enjoyment of friends increases steadily through the adolescent years (Richards et al., 2002). Other studies, using other methods, report similar findings (Way, 2011).

Development of Friendships in Adolescence: The Rising Importance of Intimacy

We have seen that friends become more important in adolescence than they have been before adolescence. But what is it about development from late childhood to adolescence that makes friends increasingly important? And how is friendship quality different in adolescence than in late childhood?

Intimacy in Adolescent and Emerging Adult Friendships

8.4 Describe the role that intimacy plays in adolescents' friendships and how it changes with age.

"When I was younger [my friends and I] just played. Now we talk over things and discuss problems. Then it was just a good time. Now you have to be open and able to talk."

—15-YEAR-OLD BOY (YOUNISS & SMOLLAR, 1985, P. 105)

"I feel close to my friends when I've had troubles and stuff. I've been able to go to them and they'll help me. Last spring I let my friend know all about me, how my family was having trouble and stuff. I felt close to her and like she would keep this and not tell anyone else about it."

—13-YEAR-OLD GIRL (RADMACHER & AZMITIA, 2006, P. 428)

"A time I felt really close to a friend was my senior trip to Mexico. There was one night, my friend and I were in our hotel room just hanging out and smoking a Cuban cigar. And we ended up talking about a lot of stuff: our lives, our plans, what we hoped for the future. I felt especially close to him because I don't usually open up. Sharing is difficult for me."

—YOUNG MAN, AGE 19 (RADMACHER & AZMITIA, 2006, P. 440)

Probably the most distinctive feature of adolescent friendships, compared with friendships in late childhood, is intimacy. **Intimacy** is the degree to which two people share personal knowledge, thoughts, and feelings. Adolescent friends talk about their thoughts and feelings, confide hopes and fears, and help each other understand what is going on with their parents, their teachers, and peers to a far greater degree than younger children do.

Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) was the first theorist to develop ideas on the importance of intimacy in adolescent friendships. In Sullivan's view, the need for intimacy with friends intensifies in early adolescence. Around age 10, according to Sullivan, most children develop a special friendship with "a *particular* member of the same sex who becomes a chum or close friend" (Sullivan, 1953, p. 245, emphasis in original). Children at this age become cognitively capable of a degree of perspective taking and empathy they did not have earlier in childhood, and this new capacity enables them to form friendships in which they truly care about their friends as individuals rather than simply as play partners.

intimacy

The degree to which two people share personal knowledge, thoughts, and feelings.

Over the next few years, during early adolescence, a relationship with a friend enhances development in a variety of ways. Friends promote further development of perspective taking, as they share their thoughts. Their mutual attachment gives them the motivation to try to see things from one another's point of view. Also, friends provide honest evaluations of each others' merits and faults. This contributes to identity formation because adolescents develop a more accurate self-evaluation of their abilities and personalities.

Watch INTIMACY IN ADOLESCENT FRIENDSHIPS

Video

Since Sullivan described his theory, numerous scholars have presented research supporting his assertion of the importance of intimacy in adolescent friendships, across cultures (Berndt, 2004; French 2015). We have already noted how adolescents tend to rely more on their friends than on their parents for confiding important personal information, especially as it pertains to romantic and sexual issues. Also, adolescents are more likely than younger children to disclose personal information to their friends (French, 2015; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2006). When adolescents are asked what they would want a friend to be like or how they can tell that someone is their friend, they tend to mention intimate features of the relationship. They state, for example, that a friend is someone who understands you, someone you can share your problems with, someone who will listen when you have something important to say (Noack & Buhl, 2005). Younger children are less likely to mention these kinds of features and more likely to stress shared activities—we both like to play basketball, we ride bikes together, we play computer games, and so on. Adolescents also describe their friends as the ones who help them work through personal problems (such as conflicts with parents or the

Friendships in late childhood tend to be based on shared activities, whereas adolescents are more likely to rely on friends for intimacy and support.

end of a romance) by providing emotional support and advice (Radmacher & Azmitia, 2006).

Adolescents rate trust and loyalty as more important to friendship than younger children do (Carlo et al. 2011). Adolescents describe their friends as the ones who will not talk behind their backs or say nasty things to others about them. This is related to the emphasis on intimacy. If you are going to open up your heart to someone and reveal things you would not reveal to anyone else, you want to be especially sure that they would not use that knowledge against you. In fact, when adolescents explain why a close friendship has ended, they most often mention some form of breaking trust as the reason—failing to keep a secret, breaking promises, lying, or competing over a romantic partner (Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Let's take a closer look at two studies that show the development of intimacy in adolescent friendships, one that looks at differences between late childhood and early adolescence and another that examines differences from early adolescence to emerging adulthood. In one study (Diaz & Berndt, 1982), pairs of best friends in fourth grade (late childhood) and eighth grade (early adolescence) were asked to provide information about each other's background characteristics (birth date, telephone number, etc.), preferences (favorite sport, favorite subject in school, etc.), and thoughts and feelings (what the friend worries about, gets mad about, etc.). Late childhood best friends knew as much as the early adolescent best friends about each other's background characteristics, but early adolescent friends knew more about each other's preferences, thoughts, and feelings.

"To make a friend, close one eye. To keep a friend, close the other eye."

—JEWISH PROVERB

In another study (Radmacher & Azmitia, 2006), early adolescents (ages 12 to 13) and emerging adults (ages 18 to 20) described a time when they felt especially close to a friend. Emerging adults' accounts contained more self-disclosure and fewer shared activities, compared to early adolescents. Among the emerging adults (but not the early adolescents) there was a gender difference. Self-disclosure promoted emotional closeness for young women, whereas for young men shared activities were usually the basis of feeling emotional closeness. We explore gender differences in more detail in the next section.

Explaining the Importance of Intimacy: Cognition and Gender

8.5 Connect adolescents' cognitive development to the rising importance of intimacy in friendship and explain why intimacy is more central to girls' friendships.

One way of explaining the increased importance of intimacy in adolescents' friendships is in terms of cognitive changes (Mayseless & Scharf, 2007). Recall from Chapter 3 that thinking becomes more *abstract* and *complex* during adolescence. As we discussed, these advances influence not only how adolescents solve problems but also how they understand their social relationships, that is, their social cognition. Greater ability for abstract thinking makes it possible for adolescents to think about and talk about more abstract qualities in their relationships—affection, loyalty, and trust, for example. Greater ability for complex thinking can be applied to adolescents' social relationships. Adolescents are newly aware of all the complex webs and alliances and rivalries that exist in human relationships, and friends are the ones they can talk to about it all—who just broke up with whom, who had

a really embarrassing moment in math class, how to get a good grade out of the new English teacher, and so on. Talking about these social cognitive topics promotes the kind of exchange of personal knowledge and perspectives that constitutes intimacy.

Also consider that many events are taking place as part of puberty and sexual maturity that lend themselves to the development of intimacy between friends. We have seen how much difficulty adolescents have talking to their parents about sexual issues. Friends are much preferred (Friedman et al., 2009). Momentous things are happening—changes in the body, first romances, first kisses, and so on. Sharing personal thoughts and feelings about these topics promotes intimacy between friends.

Gender is also important in the development of intimacy in adolescent friendships. Although both boys and girls go through the cognitive changes of adolescence to a similar degree, and both go through puberty and sexual maturity, there are consistent gender differences in the intimacy of adolescent friendships, with girls tending to have more intimate friendships than boys (Bauminger et al., 2008; Degges-White & Borzumato-Gainey, 2011). Girls spend more time than boys talking to their friends, and they place a higher value on talking together as a component of their friendships. Girls also rate their friendships as higher in affection, helpfulness, and nurturance, compared with boys' ratings of their friendships. And girls are more likely than boys to say they trust and feel close to their friends (Wissink et al., 2009). In contrast, boys are more likely to emphasize shared activities as the basis of friendship, such as sports or hobbies (French, 2015; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2006).

What explains these gender differences? As we saw in Chapter 5 on gender, from early in life, girls are more likely than boys to be encouraged to express their feelings openly (Bussey & Bandura, 2004; Way, 2011). Boys who talk openly about how they feel risk being called a "wimp," a "wuss," or some other unflattering term. This is even truer in adolescence than earlier because with puberty and sexual maturity both males and females become more conscious of what it means to be a male and what it means to be a female. Engaging in intimate conversation is usually associated with being female, so adolescent girls may cultivate their abilities for it whereas adolescent boys may be wary of moving too much in that direction.

Nevertheless, intimacy does become more important to boys' friendships in adolescence, even if not to the same extent as for girls. In one study of African American, Latino, and Asian American boys from poor and working-class families, Niobe Way (2011) reported themes of intimacy that involved sharing secrets, protecting one another physically and emotionally, and disclosing feelings about family and friends.

Friendships in Emerging Adulthood

8.6 Identify the ways friendships change from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

In general, far more research has been done on relationships with friends and peers in adolescence than in emerging adulthood. Nevertheless, friendships may be especially important in emerging adulthood for a number of reasons (Barry et al., 2015). Emerging adults typically leave home, and we might expect that attachments and activities with friends would rise in importance once young people no longer experience family relations as part of their daily environment. Similarly, because most emerging adults are unmarried, having no marriage partner as a source of support might be expected to give them a greater incentive than married persons to seek contacts with friends.

Intimacy is a key component of emerging adult friendships, as it is in adolescence and in later stages of adulthood (Ueno & Adams, 2006). However, there are also ways that emerging adult friendships differ from adolescent friendships. Intimacy is important to friendships in all life stages from adolescence onward, but its importance rises from adolescence to emerging adulthood (Radmacher & Azmitia, 2006).

Another way friendships change with age is that emerging adults are more likely than adolescents to have other-sex friendships (Barry et al., 2015). In one study, emerging adults from age 18 through the mid-20s were asked to keep close records of their social activities for 2 weeks, noting any social interaction that lasted at least 10 minutes (Reis et al., 1993). With age, emerging adults interacted more with other-sex friends and less with same-sex friends.

Friends spend a large amount of their leisure time together in emerging adulthood.

Other-sex friendships in emerging adulthood sometimes include a sexual element; "friends with benefits," in the American phrase. This kind of friendship most often takes place between two former romantic partners, but it can also occur when one person is interested in a possible romantic relationship but the other is not (Halpern-Meekin et al., 2013). Misunderstandings are common in these friendships, because in only 25% do friends discuss the "ground rules" for the relationship, such as emotional rules (e.g., not becoming too emotionally attached), communication rules (i.e., guidelines for honesty and talking with each other), and sex rules (e.g., condoms and monogamy) (Claxton & van Dulmen, 2015).

Another way friendships and romantic relationships intersect in emerging adulthood is that the importance of friendships tends to decline as romantic relationships develop (Barry et al., 2009; Carbery & Buhrmester, 1998). When they are not in a romantic relationship, emerging adults tend to rely on their friends for support and social activities. However, as they develop a romantic relationship that is enduring and serious, they increasingly invest their time and emotions into the romantic relationship, and have less available for their friends (Meeus et al., 2007). Consequently, for most emerging adults, friends are more important in the early part of emerging adulthood, when an enduring romantic relationship has not yet developed, and less important later in emerging adulthood as they progress toward a long-term commitment to a romantic partner (Barry et al., 2015).

THINKING CRITICALLY

How do romantic relationships influence friendships in emerging adulthood?

Becoming Friends and Becoming Like Friends

Adolescents are around peers for most of the day in school and work settings, but relatively few of those peers become their friends. What determines how adolescents become friends, and how do they influence each other once a friendship is established?

Choosing Friends

8.7 Identify the similarities that draw adolescents together into friendships.

Why do people become friends? For adolescents, as for children and adults, one of the key reasons identified in many studies is *similarity*. People of all ages tend to make friends with people who are similar to them in age, gender, and other characteristics (Dijkstra et al., 2013; Rubin et al., 2008). Similarities important in adolescent friendships include educational orientation, media and leisure preferences, participation in risk behavior, and ethnicity.

Adolescent friends tend to be similar in their educational orientations, including their attitudes toward school, their levels of educational achievement, and their educational plans (Berndt, 1996; Brown, 2004; French, 2015). During emerging adulthood, too, in the college setting there are often groups of friends who study a lot together and seem serious about getting a good education, and other groups of friends who party a lot together and seem intent on having a good time. You may have friends who expect you to study with them the night before the big biology exam, or you may have friends who would prefer to party or watch TV, biology exam or not. Adolescents and emerging adults tend to prefer as friends people who would make the same choice as they would in this kind of situation (Popp et al., 2008).

Another common similarity in adolescent friendships is in preferences for media and leisure activity. Adolescent friends tend to like the same kinds of music, wear the same styles of clothes, and prefer to do the same things with their leisure time (Mathur & Berndt, 2006). These similarities make relations between friends smoother and help them avoid conflict. An adolescent who is a devoted fan of hip-hop is likely to be more interested in becoming friends with another adolescent who also loves hip-hop than with an adolescent who considers hip-hop to be obnoxious noise. If one adolescent likes to play computer games during leisure time and another prefers to play sports, the two are unlikely to become friends.

A third common similarity among adolescent friends is in risky activities. Adolescent friends tend to resemble each other in the extent to which they drink alcohol, smoke cigarettes, try drugs, drive dangerously,

In adolescence and emerging adulthood, friends tend to be similar in educational goals.

get in fights, shoplift, vandalize, and so on (Cheadle et al., 2013; Hoffman et al., 2007; Stone et al., 2000). Adolescents engage in these risk behaviors to varying degrees—some on a regular basis, some now and then, some not at all. Because adolescents usually take part in risk behavior with friends, they tend to choose friends who resemble themselves in willingness to participate. We will examine this aspect of adolescent friendships in the next section.

Although ethnic similarity between friends is typical at all ages, adolescence is a time when ethnic boundaries in friendships often become sharper. During childhood ethnicity is related to friendship, but not strongly. However, as children enter adolescence, friendships become less interethnic, and by late adolescence they are generally ethnically segregated (Kao & Joyner, 2004). This has been found to be true in Europe and Israel as well as the United States (Kruse et al., 2016; Titzmann et al., 2007).

Why would this be so? One factor may be that as they grow into adolescence, young people become increasingly aware of interethnic tensions and conflict in their societies, and this awareness fosters mutual suspicion and mistrust. Similarly, as adolescents begin to form an ethnic identity, they may begin to see the divisions between ethnic groups as sharper than they had perceived them before. As noted in Chapter 6, for some adolescents, part of forming an ethnic identity is rejecting associations with people of other ethnicities (Phinney, 2000; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Titzman, 2014).

Ethnic similarity in adolescent friendships also reflects ethnic segregation in schools and neighborhoods.

Cultural Focus

INTERETHNIC FRIENDSHIPS AMONG BRITISH GIRLS

In Europe, a considerable proportion of young people's interactions with peers takes place through youth clubs. Time in school is focused solely on education. Extracurricular activities such as sports teams, dances, and parties are sponsored by youth clubs rather than schools. In most Western European countries, a majority of young people belong to at least one youth club (Kokko et al., 2009).

Helena Wulff (1995) studied interracial friendships among adolescent girls in a youth club in a working-class section of London, England. Wulff, a Swedish anthropologist, used interviews as the main method of her research, along with observations of the girls in the youth club. She focused especially on the friendships among 20 Black and White girls ages 13 to 16. The Black girls were the English-born daughters of immigrants from former British colonies such as Jamaica and Nigeria. Wulff was especially interested in exploring the interethnic friendships among the girls, which she noticed were common at the club.

In many ways, the friendships among the girls had little to do with ethnicity and were similar to the friendships described among adolescent girls in the United States and other countries. Their most common activity together was talking, mostly about boys and about male celebrities they admired (e.g., singers, actors). They also talked a great deal about aspects of appearance—the latest hairstyles, clothes, cosmetics, and jewelry. Other favorite shared activities were listening to recorded music and dancing in their bedrooms and at parties and teen nightclubs. They occasionally took part in risky activities together such as shoplifting or smoking marijuana.

Although they spent a great deal of time together enjoying shared activities, when they spoke to Wulff about their friendships the girls emphasized not shared activities but the importance of intangible qualities, especially trust. A friend, they told Wulff, is "someone you can share things with, like problems, and also someone you can trust," as well as "someone you can talk to, tell secrets and all that and you know they won't … tell anybody else" (Wulff, 1995, p. 68). Again, this is highly similar to the perspective reported in studies of American adolescent friends.

Interethnic friendships are common among British girls.

However, the girls were also conscious of ethnic issues and explicitly addressed those issues in their friendships. They were well aware that racism and ethnic inequality are pervasive in British society. In reaction to this, and in resistance to it, they deliberately emphasized Black elements in their youth styles, taking "an interesting revenge against the low-class position of most Blacks" (Wulff, 1995, p. 71). Thus, they listened especially to predominantly Black forms of music such as reggae, ska, and "jazzfunk." Some—Whites as well as Blacks—wore their hair in a mass of thin plaits most often worn by Blacks. They mixed Black and White components in their clothing and their jewelry. In the various aspects of their common style, according to Wulff (1995), "the concern with and the search for ethnic equality run through them all … they cultivated their own aesthetic of ethnic equality through their youth styles" (pp. 72–73).

The peers that adolescents meet in their schools and neighborhoods tend to be from their own ethnic group, so this is the group from which they draw their friends (Kruse et al., 2016; Mouw & Entwistle, 2008). For adolescents who are recent immigrants to a new culture, it can be comforting to find friends who share their ethnicity (Titzman, 2014).

"To like and dislike the same things, that is indeed true friendship."

—SALLUST, CA. 50 B.C.

Because ethnic segregation tends to exist throughout societies, ethnic segregation in friendships does not end when adolescence ends. In college and throughout adulthood, interethnic friendships are fairly uncommon (Oliver & Ha, 2008; Pratsinakis et al., 2015). So, the ethnic segregation in adolescents' friendships reflects the patterns of the society they live in. Nevertheless, as shown in the Cultural Focus box, some young people do form interethnic friendships.

Friends' Influence: Risk Behavior

8.8 Summarize the research on friends' influence on risk behavior, and explain why "influence" is difficult to determine.

"Like I don't think I've ever been pressured into doing anything. I mean, someone will ask and I'll say no or yes or whatever. Then they'll just go, "OK." I mean, people make it sound like, oh, everyone gets pressured into smoking when it's really, well they just make it sound so drastic. It's really not. It's more like you're just scared they'll make fun of you, or like you want to fit in, that's why you do it.'"

—14-YEAR-OLD GIRL (NICHTER ET AL., 1997, P. 291)

One of the topics involving adolescents' peer relationships that has received the most attention is peer pressure. Scholars on adolescence have devoted considerable theoretical and research attention to it, and the general public (at least in the United States) believes that peer pressure is a central part of adolescence, something all adolescents have to learn to deal with in the course of growing up (Berndt, 1996; Brown et al., 2008).

Friends' influence is a more accurate term than *peer pressure* for the social effects adolescents experience. Remember the difference between friends and peers: Peers are simply the more or less anonymous group of other people who happen to be the same age as you are; friends are emotionally and socially important in a way that peers are not. When people talk about peer pressure, what they really mean is friends' influence. When we think of an adolescent girl standing around with a group of other adolescents as they pass around a joint, and we imagine them handing it to her expecting her to take a puff, we assume that the people she is hanging around with are her friends, not merely her peers. If we overhear an argument between an adolescent boy who wants to get his navel pierced and his parents who regard that as a bizarre notion, and he says "everybody else is doing it!" we can probably guess he means every one of his friends, not everybody else in his entire school. Friends can have a substantial influence on adolescents, but the effects of the entire peer group are weak (Brown et al., 2008).

What do you think of first when you think of how adolescents are influenced by their friends? Often, the assumption is that the influences of adolescent friends are negative. The influence of friends is often blamed for adolescents' involvement in a wide range of risk behaviors, including alcohol and other drug use, cigarette smoking, and delinquent behavior (Brown et al., 2008; Dishion et al., 2008).

Actually, however, evidence suggests that the influence of friends is important not only in encouraging adolescents to participate in risk behavior but also in *discouraging* risk behavior, as well as in supporting them emotionally and helping them cope with stressful life events (Brown, 2004; French, 2015). Both types of friends' influence—the type that pertains to risk behavior and the type that pertains to support—appear to follow a similar developmental pattern, rising in strength in early adolescence and peaking in the mid-teens, then declining in late adolescence (Allen et al., 2007; Brown & Larson, 2009).

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

What has been your experience with friends' influence? Has it ever led you to do something you wish you had not done? To what extent has it been positive or negative?

A correlation exists between the rates of risk behaviors that adolescents report for themselves and the rates they report for their friends. This is true for alcohol use, cigarette use, use of illegal drugs, sexual behavior, risky driving practices, and criminal activity (Dishion et al., 2008; Gaughan, 2006; Liao et al., 2013). But what does this mean exactly? Because a correlation exists between the behavior adolescents report and the behavior they report for their friends, can we conclude that adolescents' participation in these behaviors is *influenced* by their friends? Not on the basis of a correlation alone. As we discussed in Chapter 1, one of the simplest and most important principles of statistics is that *correlation does not imply causation*. Just because two events happen together does not mean

that one causes the other. Unfortunately, this principle is often overlooked in the conclusions drawn from studies of similarities among adolescent friends.

There are two good reasons to question whether the correlations in these studies reflect causation (Arnett, 2007b). One is that, in most studies, reports of both the adolescents' behavior and the behavior of their friends come from the adolescents themselves. However, numerous studies that have obtained separate reports of behavior from adolescents and their friends indicate that adolescents generally perceive their friends as more similar to themselves than they actually are (according to the friends' reports) in their alcohol use, cigarette use, use of illegal drugs, and sexual attitudes (Brown & Larson, 2009; Prinstein & Wang, 2005). Perhaps because of egocentrism, adolescents perceive more similarity between themselves and their friends than is actually the case, which inflates the correlations in the risk behavior they report for themselves and their friends.

The second, and perhaps even more important, reason for doubting that correlation can be interpreted as causation in studies of risk behavior among adolescents and their friends is **selective association**, the principle that most people (including adolescents) tend to choose friends who are similar to themselves (la Haye et al., 2013; Popp et al., 2008). As we discussed previously, friends tend to be similar to one another in a variety of ways, and this is in part because people *seek out* friends who are similar to themselves. Thus, the correlation between adolescents' risk behavior and their friends' risk behavior might exist partly or even entirely because they have selected each other as friends on the basis of the similarities they have in common, including risk behavior, not because they have influenced each other in their risk behavior. In friendships, the old cliché is true—birds of a feather flock together (Brown & Larson, 2009).

Adolescent friends tend to have similar levels of alcohol use, cigarette use, and substance use. Is this similarity the result of peer pressure or selective association?

Fortunately, several longitudinal studies have been conducted on risk behavior that help to unravel this issue. These studies indicate that both selection and influence contribute to similarities in risk behavior among adolescent friends. That is, adolescents are similar in risk behavior before they become friends, but if they stay friends they tend to become even more similar, increasing or decreasing their rates of participation in risk behavior so that they more closely match one another. This pattern has been found to be true for cigarette use (Hoffman et al., 2007), alcohol use (Popp et al., 2008), other drug use (la Haye et al., 2013), delinquency (Dobkin et al., 1995), and aggressive behavior (Botvin & Vitaro, 1995).

As noted, evidence also suggests that friends can influence each other not only toward participation in risk behavior but also *against* it (Buckley & Chapman, 2016). It depends on who your friends are, and some adolescents are adamantly against risk behavior. In one study, adolescents who did not smoke indicated that they believed their friends would disapprove if they started smoking (Urberg, Shyu, & Liang, 1990), and in another, adolescents were more likely to report that their friends pressured them *not* to use alcohol than to use it (Keefe, 1994). In a study that compared various areas of friends' influence, adolescents rated pressure to participate in risk behavior as the *weakest* of five areas of possible influence, well below pressure to participate in school activities and to conform to styles of dress and grooming (Clasen & Brown, 1985). This study also found that pressure against participation in risk behavior was more common than pressure in favor of it.

This is not meant to dismiss entirely the role of friends' influence in encouraging risk behavior in adolescence. No doubt, friends' influence does occur for some adolescents for some types of risk behavior on some occasions. But we must not exaggerate this influence, and we should interpret the research on this topic carefully. Friends' influence is one part of the story of some adolescents' participation in risk behavior, but it is only one part, and the closer you look at it the smaller it seems.

Friends' Influence: Support and Nurturance

8.9 Name the different ways adolescent friends support each other and how that support influences their development.

"When I was 13, I met my closest friend right now and he really helped me to become who I want to become. Up until that time, I'd kind of been thinking, "Well, I don't really like this, so why am I

selective association

The principle that most people tend to choose friends who are similar to themselves.

Watch FRIENDS' INFLUENCE AND RISK BEHAVIOR

doing it?" but continued to do it, like just dressing to impress everyone I met. But in meeting my friend, we helped each other a lot to become who we are right now."

—ETHAN, AGE 18 (CHU, 2004, P. 95).

Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) tended to emphasize the positive over the negative aspects of adolescents' friendships. In Sullivan's view, intimate friendships in adolescence are important for building self-esteem. These friendships also help adolescents develop their social understanding, according to Sullivan, as they compare their own perspective with their friends' perspective. More recently, Thomas Berndt (1996, 2004) specified four types of support that friends may provide to each other in adolescence:

- **Informational support** is advice and guidance in solving personal problems, such as those involving friends, romantic relationships, parents, or school. Because of their similar ages, adolescents are often going through similar experiences. This is particularly true of friends because they tend to choose one another partly on the basis of their similarities. Intimate friendships give adolescents a source of support because they can talk about their most personal thoughts and feelings with someone they believe will accept and understand them.
- **Instrumental support** is help with tasks of various kinds. Adolescent friends support each other by helping with homework, assisting with household chores, lending money, and so on.
- **Companionship support** is being able to rely on each other as companions in social activities. Did you ever experience the anxiety, in your teens, of having no friend to go with to the school dance, or the big basketball game, or a much-discussed party? Adolescent friends support each other by being reliable companions for these kinds of events, as well as for more routine daily events—having someone to eat with at lunch or someone to sit with on the bus, and so on.
- **Esteem support** is the support adolescent friends provide by congratulating their friends when they succeed and encouraging them or consoling them when they fail. Adolescents support their friends by being "on their side" whether things go well or badly.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Give an example of each of the four types of friendship support described in this section, from your own experience.

What sort of effects do these kinds of support have on adolescents' development? Longitudinal studies in this area have found supportive friendships to lead to higher self-esteem and lower depressive symptoms as well as improvements in academic performance (Altermatt & Pomerantz, 2005; Crosnoe et al., 2003). However, longitudinal studies have also found that supportive friendships have a mixed relation to risk behavior, sometimes decreasing risk behavior (Laird et al., 2005) and sometimes increasing it (Miller-Johnson et al., 2003; Wills et al., 2004) when friends participate in risk behavior as one of the activities they enjoy together.

Although adolescent friendships are usually with members of their own gender, platonic (nonromantic) friendships among adolescent boys and girls may be of special importance as sources of support in some cultures. One study examined adolescent friendships among Mexican-origin immigrants in the United States (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005). Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, the study found that the

informational support
Between friends, advice and guidance in solving personal problems.

instrumental support
Between friends, help with tasks of various kinds.

companionship support
Between friends, reliance on each other as companions in social activities.

esteem support
The support friends provide each other by providing congratulations for success and encouragement or consolation for failure.

adolescents often relied on their friends to cope with emotionally challenging situations. Adolescent boys especially benefited from having a girl as a source of emotional support, perhaps because the boys could express their feelings more openly in a friendship with a girl. Platonic friendships are becoming more common in many cultures as gender roles become less rigid (Grover et al., 2007).

Adolescents' Social Groups

So far we have focused on close friendships. Now we turn to larger groups of friends and peers.

Cliques and Crowds

8.10 Distinguish between cliques and crowds, and describe their separate functions.

Scholars generally make a distinction between two types of adolescent social groups: cliques and crowds. **Cliques** are small groups of friends who know each other well, do things together, and form a regular social group (Brown & Braun, 2013). Cliques have no precise size—3 to 12 is a rough range—but they are small enough so that all the members of the clique feel they know each other well, and they think of themselves as a cohesive group. Sometimes cliques are defined by distinctive shared activities—for example, working on cars, playing music, playing basketball—and sometimes simply by shared friendship (a group of friends who eat lunch together every school day, for example).

Crowds, in contrast, are larger, reputation-based groups of adolescents who are not necessarily friends and do not necessarily spend much time together (Brown et al., 2008; Brown & Braun, 2013). A review of 44 studies on adolescent crowds concluded that five major types of crowds are found in many schools (Sussman et al., 2007):

- *Elites* (also called populars, preppies). The crowd recognized as having the highest social status in the school.
- *Athletes* (also called jocks). Sports-oriented students, usually members of at least one sports team.
- *Academics* (also called brains, nerds, geeks). Known for striving for good grades and for being socially inept.
- *Deviants* (also called druggies, burnouts). Alienated from the school social environment, suspected by other students of using illicit drugs and engaging in other risky activities.
- *Others* (also called normals, nobodies). Students who do not stand out in any particular way, neither positively nor negatively; mostly ignored by other students.

Within each of these crowds, of course, there are cliques and close friends. However, the main function of crowds is not to provide a setting for adolescents' social interactions and friendships. Crowds mainly serve the function of helping adolescents to locate themselves and others within the secondary school social structure (Brown & Braun, 2013). In other words, crowds help adolescents define their own identities and the identities of others. Knowing that others think of you as a brain has implications for your identity; it means you are the kind of person who likes school, does well in school, and perhaps has more success in school than in social situations. Thinking of someone else as a druggie tells you something about that person (whether or not it is accurate)—he or she uses drugs, of course, probably dresses unconventionally, and does not seem to care much about school.

Members of both cliques and crowds tend to be similar to each other in the same way that friends are—age, gender, and ethnicity, as well as educational attitudes, media and leisure preferences, and participation in risky activities (Brown et al., 2008; Brown & Braun, 2013; Meeus, 2006; Miller-Johnson & Costanzo, 2004). Crowds, however, are not so much groups of friends as social categories, so their characteristics differ in important ways from friendships and cliques, as we will explore later. First, we examine one of the distinctive characteristics of adolescent cliques.

Sarcasm and Ridicule in Cliques

8.11 Explain why sarcasm and ridicule are common in adolescent cliques, and give examples of cultural variations.

Recall from Chapter 3 that the cognitive changes of adolescence, particularly the increased capacity for complex

In American high schools, athletes form one of the most visible crowds.

cliques

Small groups of friends who know each other well, do things together, and form a regular social group.

crowds

Large, reputation-based groups of adolescents.

thinking, make adolescents capable of appreciating and using sarcasm more than they did before adolescence. Sarcasm—and a sharper form of sarcasm, ridicule—plays a part in adolescent friendships and clique interactions (Rockwell, 2006). In one study, Gavin and Furman (1989) studied young people in fifth through 12th grades and found that critical evaluations of one another were a typical part of the social interactions in adolescent cliques. Sarcasm and ridicule were included in what they called "antagonistic interactions." Such interactions were common among the adolescents they studied. Antagonistic interactions were directed both at members within the group and at those outside the group and were more common in early and middle adolescence than in late adolescence.

The authors of the study suggested a number of possible reasons for these kinds of interactions. One function of antagonistic interactions is that they promote the establishment of a dominance hierarchy—higher-status members dish out more sarcasm and ridicule than they take. Also, antagonistic interactions serve to bring nonconformist group members into line and reinforce clique conformity, which helps to buttress the cohesiveness of the group. If an adolescent boy comes to school wearing a shirt with monkeys on it (as a friend of mine once did), and all his clique friends laugh at him all day (as we did), he will know better than to wear that shirt again (he didn't) if he wants to remain part of their clique.

Another study found that the ability to understand sarcasm appears just as adolescence begins, around age 10 (Glenwright & Pexman, 2010). In middle childhood, at ages 5 and 6, children understood that sarcasm was not meant literally, but they had difficulty discerning the speakers' intentions. However, by age 10, the early adolescents understood that sarcasm was intended to be aggressive and was often "mean."

Schlegel and Barry (1991) describe an interesting variation on the use of sarcasm and ridicule in traditional cultures. They provide several examples of cultures where groups of adolescent boys use sarcasm and ridicule to enforce conformity to cultural standards of behavior and punish those who violate them. Their uses of sarcasm and ridicule are directed not just toward other adolescents but toward adults.

The Mbuti Pygmies of Africa, for example, consider it improper to be argumentative. People who violate this prohibition are likely to find themselves awakened early the next morning by a group of adolescent boys making loud noises, climbing on their hut and pounding on the roof, tearing off leaves and sticks. Among the Hopi in the American Southwest, when a man is known to be visiting a woman at night while her husband is away, the adolescent boys of the village publicize and punish his adultery by leaving a trail of ashes during the night between his house and hers for everyone to see the next morning.

In a historical example, Gillis (2013) describes how in various parts of Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, groups of unmarried males in their teens and early 20s had an unwritten responsibility for enforcing social norms. Using profane songs and mocking pantomimes, they would publicly mock violators of social norms—the adulterer, the old man who had married a young bride, the widow or widower who had remarried a bit hastily following the death of a spouse. In Gillis's description, "a recently remarried widower might find himself awakened by the clamor of the crowd, an effigy of his dead wife thrust up to his window and a likeness of himself, placed backward on an ass, drawn through the streets for his neighbors to see" (Gillis, 2013, p. 30).

Thus, in some culturally approved circumstances, young people are given permission to do what under other circumstances would be seen by adults as intolerable, even criminal behavior (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). Allowing young people to use sarcasm and ridicule in a socially constructive way enforces community standards and saves the adults the trouble of doing so.

Relational Aggression

8.12 Define relational aggression, and explain why it is more common among girls in adolescence.

"At a gathering one day, I happened to kiss a boy that one of my friends had a crush on. By the next day it was all over school and Emily, my friend who had the crush, had ordered all of the other girls not to talk to me. They made a Web page about me that said mean, untrue things, such as that I was a lesbian, that I had had sex with at least 20 guys, and that I was pregnant. As I walked down the halls at school, the girls would scream 'SLUT!,' 'WHORE!,' and many other hurtful words. . . . I went home every day and cried, begging my mom to let me switch schools. My mother dismissed the problem as 'girls being girls' and figured that as we neared high school the girls would grow out of this 'phase' and become more mature. They didn't. The name-calling and slandering and spreading of rumors went on as my eating disorder grew progressively worse. At last my mother realized the seriousness of the situation and allowed me to transfer to a Catholic school my junior year."

—SIMMONS, 2004, PP. 24–25

Among cliques of adolescent girls, a phenomenon related to sarcasm and ridicule has been identified in recent years. **Relational aggression** is the term for behavior that includes

relational aggression
A form of nonphysical aggression that harms others by damaging their relationships, for example by excluding them socially or spreading rumors about them.

not only sarcasm and ridicule but gossiping, spreading rumors, snubbing, and excluding others from the clique (Voulgaridou & Kokkinos, 2015). In short, relational aggression is nonphysical aggression that harms others by damaging relationships. We have discussed, in Chapter 5, how physical aggression often becomes a problem for adolescent boys as they learn the gender role requirements of being a man. However, some scholars assert that if the definition of aggression includes relational aggression as well, then adolescent boys and girls are about equal in their aggressive behavior (Crick & Rose, 2000). Boys engage in relational aggression, too, but it has been found to be more common among girls (Coyne et al., 2006). For example, in one study of 11- and 14-year-old adolescents in the United States and Indonesia, relational aggression behaviors such as relationship manipulation, social ostracism, and spreading malicious rumors were more common among girls than boys in both countries (French, Jansen, & Pidada, 2002). A study in South Korea found a similar gender difference among girls and boys in middle school (Jeong et al., 2015).

Why do girls exhibit more relational aggression than boys? According to some scholars in this area, girls resort to relational aggression because their gender role prohibits more direct expressions of disagreement and conflict (Crick & Rose, 2000; Underwood, 2003). They *experience* anger, but they are not allowed to ***express*** it openly, even in a verbal form. Consequently, for girls aggression often takes the more covert and indirect form of relational aggression. Relational aggression can also be a way of asserting dominance. Studies have shown that high-status adolescent girls are more likely than other girls to be high in relational aggression (Cillesen & Rose, 2005; Rose et al., 2004).

Being the target of relational aggression is associated with feelings of depression and loneliness (Voulgaridou & Kokkinos, 2015). Relational aggression is also associated with negative outcomes for the aggressors. Adolescents and emerging adults who use relational aggression are prone to problems such as depression and eating disorders (Storch et al., 2004; Voulgaridou & Kokkinos, 2015).

Developmental Changes in Crowds

8.13 Describe how the functions and importance of crowds change during the course of adolescence and into emerging adulthood.

"In middle school either you were considered a nerd and nobody liked you, or else you were hanging out with the cheerleaders and the football players and stuff like that, and that was the most important thing. Then when you get into high school, it doesn't really matter any more because people don't care whether they're not in the popular crowd."

—ELLEN, AGE 17 (KINNEY, 1993, P. 28).

If you think back, you can probably remember the different crowds that existed in your high school. Now think of your primary school, say, fifth grade. Most likely you find it harder to name any crowds from primary school. Crowd definition and membership seem to become important in adolescence, and not before (Brown & Braun, 2013; Cotterell, 2013). This may be partly because of the cognitive changes of adolescence (Brown & Klute, 2003; Sussman et al., 2007). Crowd labels are abstract categories, each with some abstract defining characteristics—degree of popularity, attitudes toward school, and so on—and the capacity for abstract thinking is one of the cognitive advances of adolescence. As noted earlier, crowds may also become more important in adolescence because identity issues become important. Adolescents are more concerned than younger children with asking questions about who they are—and who others are. Crowds help adolescents ascribe definite characteristics to themselves and to others as they grow through the process of identity formation in adolescence.

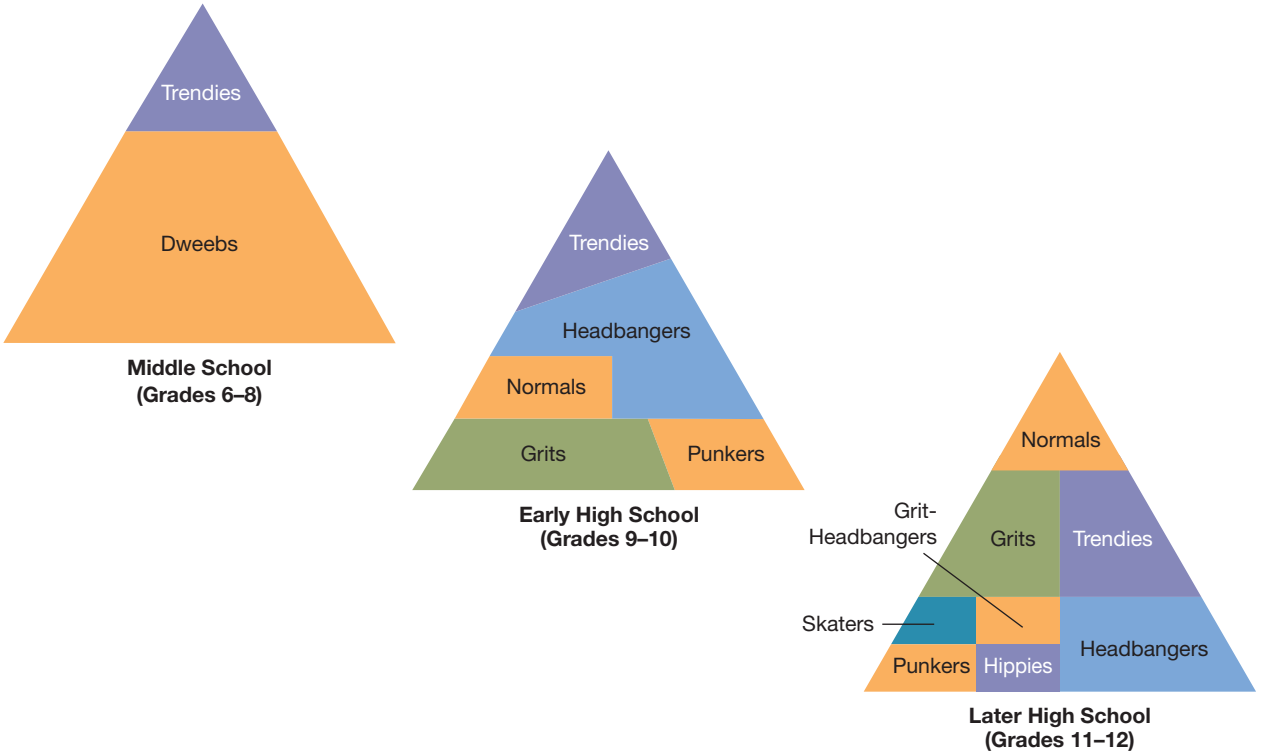
Although the focus on crowds in adolescence reflects developmental characteristics such as cognitive changes and identity formation, the cultural basis of crowds is also important. In developed countries, the fact that most adolescents remain in school at least until their late teens and the fact that these schools are almost always strictly age-graded makes crowd definition especially important. Spending so much time around peers on a daily basis elevates the importance of peers as social reference groups; that is, as groups that influence how adolescents think about how they compare to others (Brown et al., 2008). Also, crowds are especially likely to exist in large secondary schools where a crowd structure is useful in helping adolescents make sense of a complex social context (Brown & Braun, 2013). In the many cultures around the world where adolescents spend most of their time with family members or with groups of mixed ages, crowds have no relevance to their lives.

For adolescents in American society, however, crowds are an important part of their social lives, especially in early to mid-adolescence. Bradford Brown and David Kinney and their colleagues (Brown & Braun, 2013; Brown, Mory, & Kinney, 1994; Kinney, 1993, 1999; Sussman et al., 2007) described how crowd structure changes during adolescence, becoming more differentiated and more influential from early to mid-adolescence, then less hierarchical and less influential from mid- to late adolescence (see **Figure 8.3**).

Kinney (1993, 1999) and Brown (Brown & Braun, 2013) have also noted changes in the role and importance of crowds through adolescence. As crowds become more differentiated in mid-adolescence, they also become more

Figure 8.3 Changes in crowd structure during adolescence.

SOURCE: Brown, Mory, & Kinney (1994).



central to adolescents' thinking about their social world. Among Kinney's ninth graders, nearly all agreed about their school's crowd structure, and their perceptions of the influence of these crowds was very high. By 11th grade, however, the significance of crowds had begun to diminish, and the adolescents saw them as less important in defining social status and social perceptions. This finding parallels studies of friends' influence, which report friends' influence to be most intense during mid-adolescence, diminishing in the later high school years (Brown et al., 2008).

Scholars on adolescence generally see this pattern as reflecting the course of identity development (Brown & Klute, 2003; Varenne, 1982). During early to mid-adolescence, identity issues are especially prominent, and crowd structures help adolescents define themselves. The distinctive features of the crowd they belong to—the clothes they wear, the music they like best, the way they spend their leisure time, and so on—are ways for adolescents to define and declare their identities. By late adolescence, when their identities are better established, they no longer feel as great a need to rely on crowds for self-definition, and the importance of crowds diminishes. By that time, they may even see crowds as an impediment to their development as individuals. As they grow to adopt the individualism of the American majority culture, membership in any group—even a high-status one—may be seen as an infringement on their independence and uniqueness.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think adolescents resist identifying themselves as part of a particular crowd, even though they routinely apply crowd labels to others?

Nevertheless, both self-reported and other-reported crowd membership are related to a variety of other characteristics in the United States and Europe (Brown & Braun, 2013; Delsing et al., 2007; Sussman et al., 2007; Verkooijen et al., 2007). Deviants tend to be highest in risk behaviors (such as substance use and delinquency) and lowest in school performance and social acceptance; Academics tend to be lowest in risk behavior and (of course) highest in school performance; and Elites tend to be highest in social acceptance and in between the other groups on risk behaviors and school performance.

There is also evidence that adolescents use their beliefs about the characteristics of specific crowds to make judgments about the adolescents in that crowd. In one study (Horn, Killen, & Stangor, 1999), ninth-grade American adolescents were asked whether it was acceptable to punish a group of students (e.g., "jocks," "brains") for a transgression (e.g., damaging school property at a dance). The

results showed that, even when there was no evidence of who had actually committed the transgression, students were more likely to believe it was acceptable to punish the entire group if the transgression was consistent with stereotypical perceptions of the group being blamed. For example, it was more acceptable to punish the jocks for damaging school property than to punish them for breaking into the school computer system. This indicates that adolescents' crowd beliefs influence their social and moral judgments regarding the people they perceive to be part of these groups.

In developed countries, the end of formal education marks a key transition in friendships and peer relationships, usually at some point in the late teens or early 20s. The school is the main arena for adolescents' relationships, and the end of educational training removes young people from a setting where most of their daily social interactions are with people their own age. In the workplaces most young people enter following the end of their education, age-grading either does not exist or is much less intense. Also, a hierarchy of social authority already exists in workplaces, so the anxiety adolescents experience about finding a place in a highly ambiguous and unstructured social hierarchy is no longer as much of an issue.

In a classic study now more than 50 years old, Australian sociologist Dexter Dunphy (1963) described developmental changes in the structure of adolescent cliques and crowds. In the first stage, during early adolescence, according to Dunphy, adolescents' social lives mostly take place within same-sex cliques. Boys hang around other boys and girls hang around other girls, each of them enjoying their separate activities apart from the other sex. In the second stage, a year or two later, boys and girls become more interested in one another, and boys' and girls' cliques begin to spend some of their leisure time near each other, if not actually doing much interacting across the gender gap. Picture the setting of a party, or a school dance, or the food court of a local mall, with small groups of adolescent boys and adolescent girls watching each other, checking each other out, but rarely actually speaking to members of the other clique.

In the third stage, the gender divisions of cliques begin to break down as the clique leaders begin to form romantic relationships. The other clique members soon follow, in the fourth stage (around the mid-teens), and soon all cliques and crowds are mixed-gender groups. In the fifth and final stage, during the late teens, males and females begin to pair off in more serious relationships, and the structure of cliques and crowds begins to break down and finally disintegrates.

Does Dunphy's model still work 50 years later? Probably more at the early stages than at the later stages. Current research does confirm that early adolescents spend most of their time with same-sex friends and that gradually these cliques of same-sex friends begin to spend time together in larger mixed-sex cliques and crowds (Brown & Braun, 2013; Connolly, Furman, & Konarski, 2000). However, whether the model holds beyond these early stages is questionable. As we have noted, the median age of marriage has risen dramatically since 1960. At that time, the median marriage age in most developed countries was only about 20 for women and 22 for men (Arnett, 2015), meaning that most females were married or engaged just two years beyond high school. Now the median marriage age is close to 30, meaning that for most people marriage is far off during the high school years.

Thus, Dunphy's model of ending up in committed intimate pairings by the end of high school probably applies more to his time, when marriage took place relatively early, than to our time, when most people marry much later. Most young people in the West have a series of romantic relationships, not just in high school but for many years after. Although many of them will have had at least one romantic relationship by the end of high school, they are likely to maintain membership in a variety of same-sex and mixed-sex groups not just through high school but well into emerging adulthood. As **Figure 8.4** illustrates, ESM studies have found that the amount of time adolescents spend in other-sex groups or pairs increases from grade 9 through grade 12, but even in grade 12 more time is spent with same-sex friends than with other-sex friends (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Little research has taken place on clique and crowd composition after high school. Based on your observations and experience, what hypothesis would you propose about peer group relations in emerging adulthood?

Cultural Variations in Crowds

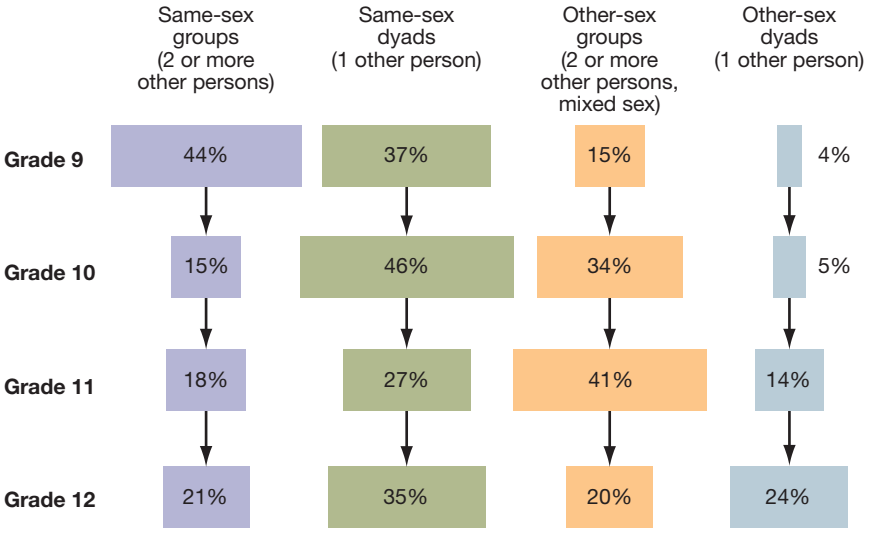
8.14 Outline the various cultural forms crowds can take.

Research on adolescent crowds shows important cultural variations, both within the United States and in other parts of the world.

CROWDS IN AMERICAN MINORITY CULTURES Research on crowds in American minority cultures has revealed some interesting similarities and differences compared with the patterns in the American majority culture (Brown et al., 2008; Brown & Mounts, 1989; Way et al., 2013). With respect to similarities, scholars have found that

Figure 8.4 Amount of time adolescents spend in same-sex and other-sex groups or pairs.

SOURCE: Csikszentmihalyi & Larson (1984).



in high schools with mostly non-White students, the same kinds of crowds exist as among White adolescents—Elites, Athletes, Academics, and so on. This makes sense because students in these schools would experience the same age-grading, the same cognitive changes, and the same identity issues that contribute to the formation of crowds among White adolescents. For minority adolescents, too, crowds serve as reference groups and as a way to establish a status hierarchy.

An interesting difference applies, however, to high schools that have multiethnic populations. In these high schools, adolescents tend to see fewer crowd distinctions in other ethnic groups than they do in their own. To non-Asians, for example, all Asian American students are part of the Asian crowd, whereas the Asian students themselves distinguish among Asian Elites, Asian Athletes, and so on. Also of interest is that in multiethnic high schools there tends to be little crossing of ethnic boundaries in crowd membership, just as with clique membership and friendships. However, one exception to this rule is that adolescent boys with a common interest in sports—the Athletes—are more likely than other adolescents in high school to form a multiethnic crowd (Damico & Sparks, 1986).

CROWDS ACROSS CULTURES Although crowds as found in Western secondary schools do not really exist in traditional cultures, many traditional cultures do have a distinct social group of young people.

Traditional cultures often have one adolescent peer crowd in the community, rather than diverse crowds with different attributes and statuses. The adolescent peer crowd in traditional cultures is also less strictly age-graded—adolescents of a variety of ages may be part of the adolescent peer crowd. Still, it could be called a peer crowd in the sense that it is a group of adolescents who spend time together on a daily basis and have a sense of themselves as being a distinct group with a distinct group identity.

In some traditional cultures, the center of adolescent social life is a separate dwelling, a **dormitory** where the community's adolescents sleep and spend their leisure time (Schlegel & Barry, 2015). In most cases, they do not spend all their time there—adolescents typically work alongside their parents and have their meals with their families. The dormitory is a place for relaxing and having fun with other adolescents.

Often, this fun includes sexual experimentation. The adolescents sleep in the dormitory, and this setting provides the opportunity for their first sexual experiences. Even if there are separate dormitories for boys and girls, they may visit one another for sexual adventures. As Schlegel and Barry (1991) put it, the dorm is like an "extended slumber party as American teenagers know it, but often with the addition of sexual play" (p. 70). Adolescent dormitories are common in cultures in Africa, southern Asia, and the Pacific islands.

Another arrangement found in some traditional cultures is a **men's house**, a dormitory where adolescent boys sleep along with adult men who are widowed or divorced. Married men may also spend time there during the day. The men's house serves a function similar to that of the adolescent dormitory—as a place to sleep and enjoy leisure—but it is not limited to adolescents. Rather than being a setting for an adolescent peer crowd, it is a setting mainly for male pursuits and for adult men to socialize adolescent boys into the male gender role, teaching them the kinds of things that men do with their spare time.

dormitory

In some traditional cultures, a dwelling in which the community's adolescents sleep and spend their leisure time.

men's house

In some traditional cultures, a dormitory where adolescent boys sleep and hang out along with adult men who are widowed or divorced.

Research Focus

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION OF ADOLESCENT CROWDS

One fruitful way that adolescent crowds have been studied is through **participant observation** (Hodkinson, 2005). This research method involves taking part in various activities with the people you are interested in studying. As the scholar, you participate in the activities, but you also use that participation as an opportunity to observe and record the behavior of others.

Participant observation is related to the ethnographic method we discussed in Chapter 1, which is typically used by anthropologists. However, anthropologists using ethnographic methods usually live among the people they are studying. Participant observation does not go quite that far—the scholar takes part in many activities with the group of interest, but without actually living among them on a daily basis. Nevertheless, participant observation shares many of the strengths of the ethnographic method. Both methods allow the scholar to observe the behavior of people in action, as it actually occurs, rather than relying on later memories of behavior as questionnaires and interviews do.

One of the scholars who has done participant observation of adolescent crowds is the sociologist David Kinney of Central Michigan University. For several years, Kinney's research involved blending in with adolescent crowds in high schools and observing their behavior. He also conducted interviews with adolescents to supplement his observations.

Kinney's participant observation research has provided some of the best information we have on the composition of adolescent crowds and how they change from middle school through high school (e.g., Kinney, 1993, 1999). For example, he has observed how crowds in middle school tend to be divided simply into the popular crowd (trendies) and the unpopular crowd (dweebs), whereas in high school the crowds tend to be more diverse and defined by common interests and styles (e.g., skaters, headbangers).

Kinney obtains permission from school officials first, of course. For the most part, the adolescents know he is not "one of them," and he does not attempt to hide that fact. However, effective participation does require blending into the social setting as thoroughly as possible, and Kinney takes steps to achieve that goal:

> I attempted to carve out a neutral identity for myself at the school by making and maintaining connections with students in a wide variety of peer groups and by being open to their different viewpoints. . . . I also distanced myself from adult authority figures by dressing in jeans and casual shirts and by emphasizing my status as a college student writing a paper about teenagers' high school experiences. (Kinney, 1993, p. 25)

Of course, participant observation of adolescents is easier for someone who looks young, as Kinney did when he began his research as a graduate student. An older scholar, gray-haired and clearly a long way from adolescence, would be more conspicuous and would have a more difficult time being accepted by adolescents as a participant in their activities. As a young scholar, Kinney was able to "hang out" with various adolescent crowds, not just in school but at sports events, dances, and parties, and have them accept and even enjoy his presence.

Watch PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION OF ADOLESCENT CROWDS

THINKING CRITICALLY

Compare and contrast the peer relations of young people in the "dormitory" of traditional cultures with the peer relations of emerging adults in American college dormitories.

participant observation
A research method that involves taking part in various activities with the people being studied and learning about them through participating in the activities with them.

Popularity and Unpopularity

For adolescents, experiencing a daily environment among peers means being subject to constant social evaluation. According to researchers, one important aspect of this evaluation is judgments of how popular or unpopular adolescents are.

What Makes Some Adolescents Popular?

8.15 Explain how popularity in adolescence is measured, and identify the main characteristics that are sources of popularity.

"I'm not as popular as a lot of other kids. To be really popular, you have to look a certain way, have the right body image, and wear the right clothes to be accepted. At our school, it's the jocks who are looked up to. I don't really care what other kids think anymore, at least I try to convince myself that I don't."

—17-YEAR-OLD GIRL (HARTER, 2015, P. 118).

A consistent finding in studies on peer crowds is that adolescents agree that certain of their peers are popular, and certain others are unpopular. The popular, high-status crowds go by various names, including jocks, trendies, and (naturally) populars. The unpopular, low-status crowds have their characteristic names, too: nerds, geeks, dirties, and druggies (Brown & Klute, 2003; Horn, 2003; Sussman et al., 2007).

In addition to this research on crowd popularity, a great deal of research has been done at the individual level, investigating what makes some adolescents popular and others unpopular. Typically, this research has used a method known as **sociometry**, which involves having students rate the social status of other students (McElhaney et al., 2008). Students in a classroom or a school are shown the names or photographs of other students and asked about their attitudes toward them. They may be asked directly who is popular and who is unpopular, or whom they like best and whom they like least. Another approach is more indirect, asking students whom they would most like and least like to be paired with on a class project or to have as a companion for social activities. In addition to the popularity ratings, students may rate the other students on characteristics hypothesized to be related to popularity and unpopularity, such as physical attractiveness, intelligence, friendliness, and aggressiveness.

Sociometric research has revealed some aspects of adolescent popularity that are consistent with popularity at other ages and some aspects that are especially prominent in adolescence. Physical attractiveness and social skills are factors related to popularity at all ages (Becker & Luthar, 2007). High intelligence also tends to be related to popularity, not to unpopularity, despite the negative crowd labels applied to nerds and geeks. What stigmatizes the nerds and geeks and makes them unpopular is not high intelligence but the perception that they lack social skills and focus on academics to the exclusion of a social life (Brown & Braun, 2013; Meijs et al., 2010). Overall, however, social intelligence and general intelligence are correlated—being intelligent usually goes along with being better at figuring out what people want and how to make them like you.

At all ages, including adolescence, the qualities most often associated with popularity and unpopularity can be grouped under the general term **social skills** (Cotterell, 2013; Rodkin et al., 2013; Wentzel, 2014). People who are well liked by others tend to be friendly, cheerful, good-natured, and humorous (Becker & Luthar, 2007; Hartup, 1996). They treat others with kindness and are sensitive to others' needs. They listen well to others (that is, they are not simply wrapped up in their own concerns) and communicate their own point of view clearly (Zavala et al., 2008). They participate eagerly in the activities of their group and often take the lead in suggesting group activities and drawing others in to participate. They manage to be confident without appearing conceited or arrogant (Hartup, 1996). In all of these ways, they demonstrate the skills that contribute to social success.

Unpopular adolescents, by contrast, tend to lack social skills. Scholars who have studied popularity and unpopularity in childhood and adolescence tend to distinguish between two types of unpopularity, reflecting different types of deficiencies in social skills (Parker & Asher, 1987; Zettergren, 2007). **Rejected adolescents** are actively disliked by their peers, usually because others find them to be excessively aggressive, disruptive, and quarrelsome. They tend to ignore what others want and respond to disagreements with selfishness and belligerence (Prinstein & LaGreca, 2004). These are the adolescents mentioned in sociometric ratings as peers who are disliked and whom other adolescents do *not* want as team members or companions. **Neglected adolescents** do not make enemies the way rejected adolescents do, but they do not have many friends either. They are the nobodies, the ones who are barely noticed by their peers. They have difficulty making friendships or even normal peer contacts, usually because they are shy and withdrawn, and they avoid

sociometry
A method for assessing popularity and unpopularity that involves having students rate the social status of other students.

social skills
Skills for successfully handling social relations and getting along well with others.

rejected adolescents
Adolescents who are actively disliked by their peers.

neglected adolescents
Adolescents who have few or no friends and are largely unnoticed by their peers.

group activities. In sociometric ratings, they are rarely mentioned as either liked or disliked—other adolescents have trouble remembering who they are. Both types of unpopular adolescents lack the social skills necessary to be accepted by others and establish durable relationships.

One interesting line of research indicates that rejected adolescents' deficits in social skills are based on a deficit of social cognition, at least for males. According to the findings of this research, aggressive boys have a tendency to interpret other boys' actions as hostile even when the intention is ambiguous. Kenneth Dodge and his colleagues came to this conclusion after showing videotapes to children and adolescents depicting ambiguous situations (Dodge, 1983, 1993; Dodge et al., 2013; Lansford et al., 2006; Prinstein & Dodge, 2008). For example, one boy would be shown bumping into another boy who was holding a drink, causing the boy to drop the drink. Boys who had been named as aggressive by their teachers and peers were more likely to see the bump as a hostile act intended to spill the drink, whereas other boys were more likely to see it as an accident. According to Dodge, this is a problem of **social information processing**. Part of lacking social skills, for rejected boys, is seeing the world as filled with potential enemies and being too quick to retaliate aggressively when events take place that could be interpreted as hostile. To put it another way, having social skills means, in part, giving others the benefit of the doubt and avoiding the tendency to interpret their actions as hostile when they may not be hostile after all.

Aggressiveness is not always a source of unpopularity in adolescence, however. Researchers have noted that some adolescents are high in aggressiveness but also high in social skills (de Bruyn & Cillesen, 2006; Pakaslahti, Karjalainen, & Keitikangas-Jaervinen, 2002; Wentzel, 2014). They are classified as **controversial adolescents**, because they tend to generate mixed responses among their peers. Rather than being consistently popular or unpopular, they may be strongly liked as well as strongly disliked, by different people and by the same people on different occasions. One study found that friendships with controversial adolescents were high in intimacy and fun but also in physical and relational aggression (Hawley et al., 2007). Another study reported that controversial adolescents were more likely than popular adolescents to be the leader of a deviant peer group (Miller-Johnson et al., 2003).

Neglected adolescents lack the social skills necessary for making friends.

Can Unpopularity Be Changed?

8.16 Identify the reasons why popularity and unpopularity are difficult to change, and the characteristics of effective intervention programs for unpopularity.

Popularity and unpopularity tend to be consistent from childhood through adolescence. Exceptions do exist, of course, but in general popular children become popular adolescents and unpopular children remain unpopular as adolescents. This may be partly because of stability in the qualities that contribute to popularity and unpopularity, such as intelligence and aggressiveness. We have seen, in Chapter 3, that intelligence in childhood is highly correlated with intelligence in adolescence. Aggressiveness, which is such a distinguishing quality of rejected children, also tends to be consistent from childhood to adolescence (Cillessen & Rose, 2005). The quality of the family environment influences the development of social skills, and this is true in adolescence as well as childhood (Dodge et al., 2013).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Would you expect popularity and unpopularity to be more important or less important among adolescents in traditional cultures compared with adolescents in industrialized societies? Why?

In addition, scholars in this area emphasize that both popularity and unpopularity in adolescence have a certain self-perpetuating quality (Dodge et al., 2003). Children who are popular are reinforced every day in their popularity. Other kids like them, are glad to see them, and want

social information processing
The interpretation of others' behavior and intentions in a social interaction.

controversial adolescents
Adolescents who are aggressive but who also possess social skills, so that they evoke strong emotions both positive and negative from their peers.

to include them in what they are doing. This kind of reinforcement strengthens their confidence in their popularity and also gives them daily opportunities to continue to develop the kinds of social skills that made them popular in the first place. Thus, it makes sense that popular children tend to become popular adolescents.

Unfortunately, unpopularity is also self-perpetuating (Prinstein & LaGreca, 2004; Wentzel, 2014). Children and adolescents who are unpopular develop a reputation with their peers as unpleasant and hard to get along with (in the case of rejected children) or submissive and weak (in the case of neglected children). These reputations, once developed, can be hard to break. Children and adolescents who have learned to see certain peers as unpopular may continue to view them negatively even if their behavior changes, because they are used to thinking of them that way (Coie & Dodge, 1997). For both rejected and neglected children, being unpopular makes it less likely that they will be included in the kinds of positive social exchanges that would help them develop better social skills.

Although unpopularity is often self-perpetuating, this is not always the case. Many of us can remember a period in childhood or adolescence when we felt unpopular—rejected or neglected or both. If we are lucky, we grow out of it. We develop social skills, or we develop new interests and abilities that lead to new social contacts with others who have similar interests, or we move to a new classroom or a new school where we can start fresh. Whatever the reasons, many of the young people who are unpopular during late childhood and early adolescence go on to have more satisfying friendships in adolescence and beyond.

Adolescents who remain unpopular, however, suffer a number of negative consequences. Overall, a correlation exists between unpopularity and such consequences as depression, behavior problems, and academic problems (Gorman et al., 2011; Faris & Felmlee, 2014). Rejected children and adolescents are at greater risk for problems than neglected children and adolescents (Bierman, 2004; Wentzel & Asher, 1997). For rejected children, the aggressiveness that is often the basis of their rejection is also the basis of their other problems (Prinstein & LaGreca, 2004). They tend to end up becoming friends with other aggressive adolescents, and they have higher rates of aggression-related problems such as conflicts with peers, teachers, and parents (Bierman, 2004). They are also more likely than their peers to drop out of school (Zettergren, 2003). Neglected children tend to have a different set of problems in adolescence, such as low self-esteem, loneliness, depression, and alcohol abuse (Choukas-Bradley & Prinstein, 2014).

Responding to the problems associated with unpopularity, educators and psychologists have devised a variety of intervention programs intended to ameliorate unpopularity and its effects. Because social skills are the primary basis of both popularity and unpopularity, interventions for unpopularity tend to focus on learning social skills (Bierman, 2004; Choukas-Bradley & Prinstein, 2014; Ladd et al., 2002). For rejected children and adolescents, this means learning how to control and manage anger and aggressiveness. In one program (Weissberg, Caplan, & Harwood, 1991), adolescents were taught to follow a sequence of six steps when they felt themselves losing control:

1. Stop, calm down, think before you act.
2. Go over the problem and say or write down your feelings.
3. Set a positive goal for the outcome of the situation.
4. Think of possible solutions that will lead toward that goal.
5. Try to anticipate the consequences of the possible solutions.
6. Choose the best solution and try it out.

In this intervention, the adolescents who took part improved their abilities to generate constructive solutions to problem situations, and their teachers reported improvement in their social relations in the classroom following the intervention.

For neglected adolescents, interventions are designed to teach the social skills involved in making friends. Typically, adolescents are taught (through instruction, modeling, and role-playing) how to enter a group, how to listen in an attentive and friendly way, and how to attract positive attention from their peers (Bierman, 2004; Choukas-Bradley & Prinstein, 2014; Repinski & Leffert, 1994). These programs generally report a modest degree of success in improving adolescents' relations with their peers.

Bullying

8.17 Define bullying and describe its prevalence and consequences across countries.

An extreme form of peer rejection in adolescence is **bullying**. There are three components to bullying (Olweus, 2000; Wolak et al., 2007): *aggression* (physical or verbal); *repetition* (not just one incident but a pattern over time); and *power imbalance* (the bully has higher peer status than the victim). The prevalence of bullying rises through middle childhood and peaks in early adolescence, then declines substantially by late adolescence (Pepler et al., 2006). Bullying is an international phenomenon, observed in many countries in Europe (Dijkstra et al., 2008; Undheim & Sund, 2010), Asia (Ando et al., 2005; Hokoda et al., 2006), and North America (Pepler et al., 2008; Volk et al., 2006). In a landmark study of bullying among over 100,000 adolescents ages 11 to 15 in 28 countries around the world,

bullying
In peer relations, the aggressive assertion of power by one person over another.

self-reported prevalence rates of being a victim of bullying ranged from 6% among girls in Sweden to 41% among boys in Lithuania, with rates in most countries in the 10–20% range (Due et al., 2005). Across countries, in this study and many others, boys are consistently more likely than girls to be bullies as well as victims.

Bullying has a variety of negative effects on adolescents' development. In the 28-country study of adolescent bullying, victims of bullying reported higher rates of a wide range of problems, including physical symptoms such as headaches, backaches, and difficulty sleeping, as well as psychological symptoms such as loneliness, helplessness, anxiety, and unhappiness (Due et al., 2005). Many other studies have reported similar results (Luk et al., 2010; Olweus, 2000). Not only victims but bullies are at high risk for problems (Klomek et al., 2007). A Canadian study of bullying that surveyed adolescents for 7 years beginning at ages 10 to 14 found that bullies reported more psychological problems and more problems in their relationships with parents and peers than nonbullies did (Pepler et al., 2008).

Who bullies, and who is bullied? Victims tend to be low-status adolescents who are rejected by their peers (Garandeau et al., 2014; Sentse et al., 2007; Veenstra et al., 2007). Other adolescents are reluctant to come to their defense because of their low status. The social status of bullies is more complex. Sometimes they are high-status adolescents who bully as a way of asserting and maintaining their high status—the "controversial" adolescents described previously in the chapter (Dijkstra et al., 2008); sometimes they are middle-status adolescents who go along with bullying by high-status adolescents to avoid being targeted as a victim (Olthof & Goossens, 2008); and sometimes they are low-status adolescents who look for a victim so there will be someone who is even lower in status than they are (Juvonen & Graham, 2014). About one-fourth of bullies are also victims (Solberg, Olweus, & Endresen, 2007).

A recent variation on bullying is **cyberbullying** (also called *electronic bullying*), which involves bullying behavior via e-mail, the Internet, or mobile phones (Kowalski, 2008). A Swedish study of 12- to 20-year-olds found an age pattern of cyberbullying similar to what has been found in studies of "traditional" bullying, with the highest rates in early adolescence and a decline through late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Slonje & Smith, 2008). In a study of nearly 4,000 adolescents in grades 6 to 8 in the United States, 11% reported being victims of a cyberbullying incident at least once in the past 2 months; 7% indicated that they had been cyberbullies as well as victims during this time period; and 4% reported committing a cyberbullying act (Kowalski & Limber, 2007). Notably, half of the victims did not know the bully's identity, a key difference between cyberbullying and other bullying. However, so far there is no commonly accepted definition of cyberbullying and in research it usually involves only a single incident (Thomas et al., 2015). Consequently, it does not meet the criterion of repetition required in the standard definition of traditional bullying and might be better termed *online harassment*. This is an area that has just begun to be researched, so it will be worth watching for further developments.

cyberbullying

Bullying via electronic means, mainly through the Internet.

Bullying in adolescence is common in many countries.

Youth Culture

As we have seen in earlier chapters, all cultures seem to recognize a life stage of adolescence (Schlegel & Barry, 2015). However, in the course of the past century, adolescence has become more clearly separate from adulthood because of widespread requirements for attending school, laws restricting adolescents' labor, and other laws distinguishing minors from adults. Many scholars have proposed that, within developed countries, young people now establish a separate culture of their own, with its own norms and values.

The Values and Features of Youth Culture

8.18 Identify the components of youth cultures, and explain why they develop.

So far in this chapter we have looked at various aspects of friendship and at peer groups such as cliques and crowds, including issues of popularity and unpopularity. In addition to research in these areas, scholars have written extensively on **youth culture**. This is the idea that, along with their smaller social groups—friendships, cliques, and crowds—young people also constitute a group as a whole, separate from children and separate from adult society, with their own distinct culture (Foley, 2011). The analysis of youth culture has a long history in the field of sociology. Sociologists generally agree that a distinctive youth culture first arose in the West during the 1920s (Frith, 1983). (More detail on the rise of youth culture is provided in the Historical Focus box.)

What are the distinctive features of youth culture? What qualifies it as a culture? Recall from Chapter 1 that a culture is a group's distinctive way of life, including its beliefs and values, its customs, and its art and technologies. According to Talcott Parsons (1964), the sociologist who first used the term *youth culture*, the values that distinguish youth culture are *hedonism* (which means the seeking of pleasure) and *irresponsibility* (that is, the postponement of adult responsibilities). He argued that the values of youth culture are the inverse of the values of adult society. Adult society emphasizes a regular routine, delay of gratification, and acceptance of responsibilities; youth culture turns these values upside down and prizes hedonism and irresponsibility instead. Similarly, Matza and Sykes (1961) wrote that youth culture is based in **subterranean values** such as hedonism, excitement, and adventure. Adults hold these values as well but are allowed to express them only in restricted forms of leisure, whereas the youth culture of adolescents and emerging adults expresses them more openly. More recent sociologists have also emphasized the central values of hedonism and the pursuit of adventure in youth culture (Brake, 1985; Foley, 2011).

This inversion of values is, of course, temporary. According to Parsons (1964), participation in youth culture is a "rite of passage" in Western societies. Young people enjoy a brief period in which they live by hedonism and irresponsibility before entering the adult world and accepting its responsibilities. This period lasts only from the time young people become relatively independent of their parents—especially after they leave home—until they marry. Marriage represented, for Parsons, the formal entry into adulthood and thus the departure from youth culture. At the time Parsons was writing, the typical age of marriage was much lower than it is now (Arnett, 2015). This means that the years available for participation in youth culture have expanded dramatically and are mainly experienced in emerging adulthood rather than adolescence.

It is not only values that distinguish youth culture. British sociologist Michael Brake (1985) proposed that there are three essential components to the **style** of youth culture:

1. **Image** refers to dress, hairstyle, jewelry, and other aspects of appearance. An example would be rings worn in the nose, navel, or eyebrow, which are worn by some young people but rarely by adults.
2. **Demeanor** refers to distinctive forms of gesture, gait, and posture. For example, certain ways of shaking hands (e.g., a "high five") have sometimes distinguished youth cultures.
3. **Argot** (pronounced ***ar-go'***) is a certain vocabulary and a certain way of speaking. Examples include "cool" to refer to something desirable, and "chill out" to mean relax or calm down, as well as words and phrases considered "bad words" or profanity.

One useful way to look at these aspects of style is that each of them constitutes a custom complex (Shweder et al., 2006), as discussed in Chapter 4. That is, each distinctive form of image, demeanor, and argot in youth culture symbolizes certain values and beliefs that distinguish youth culture from adult society. For example, dressing in tattered jeans and T-shirts signifies the emphasis on leisure and hedonism in youth culture and resistance to the more formal dress requirements of adult society. Using a youthful argot considered obscene and objectionable by adults signifies resistance to the manners and expectations of

youth culture
The culture of young people as a whole, separate from children and separate from adult society, characterized by values of hedonism and irresponsibility.

subterranean values
Values such as hedonism, excitement, and adventure, asserted by sociologists to be the basis of youth culture.

style
The distinguishing features of youth culture, including image, demeanor, and argot.

image
In Brake's description of the characteristics of youth culture, refers to dress, hair style, jewelry, and other aspects of appearance.

demeanor
In Brake's description of youth cultures, refers to distinctive forms of gesture, gait, and posture.

argot (pronounced ar-go)
In youth culture, a certain vocabulary and a certain way of speaking.

1920s

1950s

1960s

1980s

2010s

The changing styles of youth cultures.

adults in favor of something more down-to-earth and authentic (Arnett, 1996; Hodkinson, 2011). More generally, all aspects of style in youth culture serve to mark the boundaries between young people and adults.

Why do youth cultures develop? Sociologists have offered a variety of explanations. One condition necessary for the development of a youth culture is a pluralistic society (Brake, 1985; Foley, 2011), in other words, a society that is broad enough in its socialization that it condones a high degree of variability among individuals and groups, including many forms of behavior and belief that depart from the norms of society as a whole. A related view has been proposed by sociologists who see youth culture as arising in modern societies as a result of increasing individualism and the weakening of personal ties (Foley, 2011). In this

view, youth culture is a way of constructing a coherent and meaningful worldview in a society that fails to provide one.

There is also Parsons's (1964) view, as we have noted, that youth cultures arise in societies that allow young people an extended period between the time they gain substantial independence from parents and the time they take on adult responsibilities. Similarly, Michael Brake (1985) proposes that youth culture provides opportunities for young people to experiment with different possible identities. According to Brake,

> Young people need a space in which to explore an identity which is separate from the roles and expectations imposed by family, work and school. Youth culture offers a collective identity, a reference group from which youth can develop an individual identity. It provides cognitive material from which to develop an *alternative script*.…It represents a free area to relax with one's peers outside the scrutiny and demands of the adult world. (p. 195; emphasis added)

Youth culture does not necessarily exist in opposition or rebellion to adult society. As mentioned in Chapter 7, adolescents and their parents generally share many common values, such as the value of education, honesty, and hard work. This is not inconsistent with believing that the teens and early 20s represent a unique opportunity to pursue pleasure and leisure. Both young people and their parents know that this period is temporary and that the responsibilities of adult life will eventually be assumed (Arnett, 2015; Brake, 1985).

Of course, one could argue that there is not just one youth culture but many youth subcultures (Brown & Braun, 2013). For example, youth subcultures have developed around certain distinctive musical forms such as heavy metal (Arnett, 1996) and hip-hop (Forman, 2010) that are loved by some adolescents and hated by others.

It should be added that adolescents participate in youth culture to different degrees—some not at all, some moderately, some intensely. Adolescence and emerging adulthood are years when some young people take part in youth culture (or a youth subculture), but most young people do so only to a limited degree if at all.

Some scholars have observed that youth culture is spreading worldwide (Coleman, 2012; Lukose, 2014; Ntarangwi, 2009). Driven by worldwide media, new youth styles make their way quickly around the world. Of course, in all countries, young people vary in how much they take part in youth culture. Nevertheless, the image, argot, and media popular among adolescents in Western youth cultures have been influential among many adolescents in non-Western countries (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). To a lesser extent, youth culture influence flows in the opposite direction, from non-Western to Western countries, for example in the Japanese graphic novels known as "manga" that have become popular worldwide (Coyne et al., 2015).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Nearly all the scholarly work on youth culture has been theoretical rather than empirical (research based). How would you design a study to examine the validity of the theoretical ideas about youth culture presented here?

Slang: The Languages of Youth Culture

8.19 Name the purposes of slang in adolescence, and give examples.

One way that adolescents establish who is and who is not part of their youth culture is through the language they use, the "argot" Michael Brake (1985) described. **Slang**, an informal vocabulary and grammar that is different from that of the native language, is an example. Adolescence is a prime time for the creation of slang (Coleman, 2012). Slang is often ephemeral, changing from one generation of adolescents to the next (Moore, 2004). Evidence for adolescent use of slang, however, goes back several centuries (Aulino & Bergami, 2009).

The purposes of slang are many. Slang is used to create a vivid or original effect (Dumas & Lighter, 1978). Given the frequent inclusion of taboo and vulgar words, slang is also a way for adolescents to differentiate youth culture from the adult culture and even challenge adult norms. Slang can also be used to signify whether an adolescent is a member of a specific peer group or youth subculture (Coleman, 2012).

In ethnographic research from an American high school in Detroit during the 1980s and 1990s, for example, adolescents who self-identified as "burn-outs" used multiple negatives in 42% of their utterances (as in *I didn't do nothing*), a much higher percentage than in other crowds (Eckert, 1989, 2003, 2004). These academically disinterested adolescents seemed to be emphatically setting themselves apart from teachers (who considered it improper grammar) and college-aspiring "jocks" (who mostly did not use this kind of slang). Similarly, in a northern California high school in the 1990s, "geek" girls aimed to distance themselves both from what they regarded as demeaning adult feminine norms and their peers' trivial concerns with popularity. Aiming to stand out as intelligent, they adopted a British pronunciation (Bucholtz, 1996).

Recent research has also focused on how globalization is leading adolescents from around the world to incorporate English into their slang (Coleman, 2012). One study of a group of Japanese adolescent girls found that they often

slang
An informal vocabulary and grammar that is different from that of the native language

Historical Focus

THE "ROARING TWENTIES" AND THE RISE OF YOUTH CULTURE

Youth culture arose in the United States and other Western countries during the 1920s (Brake, 1985; Parsons, 1964; Wulff, 1995). Previous historical periods may have had some small-scale youth cultures, but the 1920s were the first time that youth culture became a widespread social phenomenon. Then as now, the participants in youth culture were mainly emerging adults in their late teens and 20s.

The youth culture values of hedonism, leisure, and the pursuit of adventure and excitement were vividly displayed in the youth culture of the 1920s. This was especially evident in sexual behavior (Allen, 1964). The sexual code of previous eras was highly restrictive, especially for girls. Adolescent girls were taught to keep themselves pure and virginal until the right man came along to lead them to the altar. This meant not only no sexual intercourse but no petting, no kissing even, until the right man appeared. There was no such thing as dating (Bailey, 1989); instead, there was courtship, in which a young man would visit a young woman in her home—only if he had serious marriage intentions, of course.

This standard changed dramatically in the 1920s. "Petting parties" became popular, at which boys and girls would meet and pair up for kissing, petting, and possibly more. In the Middletown study of high school boys and girls in a typical midwestern town in the 1920s, half of them marked as true the statement "Nine out of every ten boys and girls of high school age have petting parties" (Lynd & Lynd, 1927/1957). In *This Side of Paradise* (1920), one of F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels depicting the lives of young people during the 1920s, the narrator observed that "None of the Victorian mothers—and most of the mothers were Victorian—had any idea how casually their daughters were accustomed to being kissed." One of the heroines brazenly confessed, "I've kissed dozens of men. I suppose I'll kiss dozens more."

Jazz was also part of the hedonism and leisure of 1920s youth culture. The 1920s are sometimes referred to as the "Jazz Age" because jazz was so popular then and because that was when jazz first became recognized as a distinct musical form. Jazz music was regarded by many as stimulating sexual desire, a quality the participants in youth culture found

According to scholars, a distinct youth culture first developed during the 1920s.

created a Japanese-English hybrid language, for example, saying *"ikemen getto suru"* (*I wanna get a cool dude*) (Miller, 2004). A study of Bulgarian 10th-grade adolescents also found frequent familiarity with and use of American English slang (Charkova, 2007). Common slang terms involved swear words, terms for sexual activities and body parts, derogatory terms for men and women, and positive terms for men and women. The adolescents reported that they primarily learned the terms and expressions from movies, television, and song lyrics. They also reported that they gained prestige among their peers from knowing English slang. As one Bulgarian 10th-grade boy explained:

> I want to learn English slang because when I tell my friends a new word or a phrase that they do not know, they look at me with respect and consider me an expert on a topic related to music, songs, movies, and so on.

As among the Japanese adolescent girls, the Bulgarian adolescents also often created a hybrid language interweaving Bulgarian and English. You can probably translate this example from the study even if you don't know Bulgarian: *Toi e istinski asshole*. Sometimes, as in this example, slang can be harsh, a way of ridiculing or excluding peers. However, often slang is a lighter form of language play, a way of gently testing the boundaries of what adult culture will allow (Dorleijn & Nortier, 2013).

Technological Change and the Power of Youth Culture

8.20 Explain how technology is important to the distinctiveness of youth culture.

Youth culture is largely created and spread by young people themselves (Steinberg et al., 2006). To learn the latest styles of dress, hair, and argot, and the new forms of music and other media, young people look mainly to each other for cues. Adults may try to control or monitor

exciting but many adults considered dangerous. Jazz dancing, too, was regarded as sexually provocative. One Cincinnati newspaper of the time observed, "The music is sensuous, the embracing of partners—the female only half dressed—is absolutely indecent; and the motions—they are such as may not be described, with any respect for propriety, in a family newspaper" (Allen, 1964, p. 5).

Numerous aspects of the style of youth culture in the 1920s reflected the changes in sexual norms. The hems of women's dresses, previously considered improper if they rose any higher than 7 inches off the ground, now rose steadily until they reached the knee, a height many adults considered scandalous. Flesh-colored stockings became popular to enhance the now-exposed knee and calf. Short, bobbed hair became the most popular hairstyle for young women. Cosmetics became widely used for the first time—rouge and lipstick, wrinkle creams, and methods for plucking, trimming, and coloring the eyebrows.

The argot of 1920s youth culture was also distinctive. There was "23-skiddoo" and "the bee's knees" to describe something young people today would call "cool"; and "spooning" for what today would be called "making out" or "hooking up."

What historical influences led to the rise of youth culture in the 1920s? One important influence was the end of World War I, which had just preceded the 1920s (Allen, 1964; Johnson, 1992). More than 2 million American young people in their late teens and 20s had gone to Europe as part of the war effort. Participation in the war removed many young people from the narrow strictures of socialization in the families and communities from which they had come, and when they returned home they resisted returning to the old restraints and taboos.

Another influence was the ideas of Sigmund Freud, which became popularized after the war (Allen, 1964). In the popularized version of Freud's theories, an uninhibited sex life was viewed as promoting psychological health. To many, this made self-control seem not just prudish but harmful. Terms that had formerly been regarded as compliments became terms of reproach and even ridicule: *Victorian, puritan, wholesome, ladylike*. The values reflected in these terms became regarded by many young people as old-fashioned and incompatible with a healthy sex life.

A third factor in the rise of youth culture was the changing status of women (Johnson, 1992). The Nineteenth Amendment, giving women the right to vote, was made law in 1920, and this law both reflected and promoted a new status for women as more equal—if not entirely equal—to men. During the 1920s, women also became substantially more likely to enter the workplace as emerging adults, although most of them quit working after marriage or after their first child was born. Having their own income gave young women independence and social opportunities that had been unavailable to them in the past.

Finally, one other factor that contributed to the rise of youth culture was the increased availability of automobiles, particularly automobiles with tops. In 1919 only 10% of American cars had tops, but by 1927 this figure had climbed to 83% (Allen, 1964). Automobiles gave middle-class young people a means of escaping from the watchful eyes of parents and neighbors to attend parties, dances, or clubs miles away. Cars also provided, then as now, a roomy enough setting for sexual escapades (Lynd & Lynd, 1927/1957).

Not all young people take part in youth culture, and this was no less true in the 1920s than today. Many (perhaps even most) adolescents and emerging adults continued to abide by the traditional rules of morality and behavior with regard to sexuality as well as other aspects of life (Allen, 1964; Johnson, 1992). Youth culture then and now appeals most to young people who have sensation-seeking personalities and who live in conditions affluent enough to allow them to pursue the allurements of hedonism and adventure that youth culture offers.

this process—to make youth culture less disruptive or to profit from selling the items popular in youth culture—but young people learn the ways of youth culture from one another, not from adults (Frith, 1983).

Anthropologist Margaret Mead (1928) was the first to observe that in times of rapid technological change, young people tend to look to one another for instruction in a variety of aspects of life. Writing during the time youth culture was first forming, Mead (1928) described how the rate of technological change in a culture influences the degree to which adolescents receive teachings from adults or from each other. In cultures where the rate of technological change is very slow, what children and adolescents need to learn to function as adults changes little from one generation to the next. As a result, children and adolescents can learn all they need to know from their elders. For example, if a culture's economy has been based on the same methods of farming for many generations, the elders will be the authorities young people will want to look to for instruction in how to plant, cultivate, and harvest their crops.

However, since the industrial revolution began about 500 years ago, the pace of technological change has increased with each century. Particularly in the past 100 years in developed countries, technological change has occurred with such speed that the skills most important in the economy change with each generation. An adolescent who wanted to learn how to make charts and graphs on her computer might be more likely to ask a computer-savvy friend for advice than to ask her grandparents, who may have reached retirement age before personal computers became popular.

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Would you say the culture you live in shows evidence of what Mead predicted, that one day adults would learn from adolescents? What examples could you give?

Mead believed that in the future, as the pace of technological change continues to accelerate, young people would teach adults how to use the latest technology. Mead proposed this theory in 1928, long before the computer age, and in many ways her prediction has come to pass in our time. Children and adolescents in developed countries now grow up with computers and the Internet and social media, and many of them soon achieve a level of skill far beyond that of their elders. They also adopt new media forms faster than adults do (Lenhart, 2015).

The history of the personal computer provides many examples of revolutionary developments led by adolescents and emerging adults. Bill Gates, founder of Microsoft, developed the DOS operating system that is now the basis of most personal computer operations when he was still in his 20s. Steve Jobs started the Apple Computer Corporation by making a personal computer in his garage when he was still in his teens. Mark Zuckerberg started Facebook as a college undergraduate. Many of the older, more experienced executives and inventors at more established companies such as IBM have borrowed many of their ideas from Gates, Jobs, Zuckerberg, and other young people—one sign that the future predicted by Mead may have begun to arrive.

Still, it is difficult to believe that the day will ever come when ***most*** knowledge will be conveyed from adolescents to adults. Inevitably, adults have more experience than adolescents and have had more years to accumulate knowledge. Even now, the computer examples described are the exception, not the rule. Most knowledge remains communicated from adults to young people rather than the other way around; the schools that adolescents and emerging adults attend are created for this purpose. And although young people learn a great deal about youth culture from their peers during adolescence and emerging adulthood, for nearly all young people youth culture is largely left behind after emerging adulthood ends and the responsibilities of adult life begin.

Watch A YOUNG INNOVATOR IN INDIA

Summing Up

8.1 Summarize the shift in adolescence in the balance between friendships and family relationships in developed countries.

Friends become increasingly important during adolescence. The amount of time spent with friends increases (and time spent with family decreases), and friends become increasingly significant as confidants and as sources of personal advice and emotional support. Although peers are also important to young people in traditional cultures, the influence of peers is enhanced in developed countries because school brings peers together for many hours each day, away from their parents.

8.2 Explain how the balance between friendships and family relationships is distinctive in developing countries.

Adolescents in developing countries, like those in developed countries, shift toward more time with friends and less time with family, but adolescents in developing countries often work alongside their parents in fields or factories. Traditional cultures are more likely to have gender differences in adolescents' relationships with peers and family. Specifically, in traditional cultures, involvement with peers and friends tends to be much greater for boys than for girls. In addition, the social and emotional balance between friends and family remains tilted more toward family than it does for adolescents in the West.

8.3 Explain why friends are the sources of more intense emotions than parents are.

In a close friend adolescents find someone who mirrors their own emotions. In addition, adolescents feel free and open with friends in a way they rarely do with parents. However, friends are also the source of strong negative emotions, as conflicts and misunderstandings provoke anger, sadness, and anxiety.

8.4 Describe the role that intimacy plays in adolescents' friendships and how it changes with age.

A key change in friendships from preadolescence to adolescence is the increased importance of intimacy, with a focus on qualities such as trust and loyalty and

an increased amount of time together spent in conversation about significant issues rather than on shared activities.

8.5 Connect adolescents' cognitive development to the rising importance of intimacy in friendship and explain why intimacy is more central to girls' friendships.

Thinking becomes more *abstract* and *complex* during adolescence, which influences adolescents' social cognition. Greater ability for abstract thinking makes it possible for adolescents to think about and talk about more abstract qualities in their relationships—affection, loyalty, and trust, for example. Girls spend more time than boys talking to their friends, and they are more likely than boys to say they trust and feel close to their friends. In contrast, boys are more likely to emphasize shared activities as the basis of friendship, such as sports or hobbies.

8.6 Identify the ways friendships change from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

Intimacy is even more important to friendships in emerging adulthood than it is in adolescence. Emerging adults are also more likely than adolescents to have other-sex friends. Sometimes, friendships with other-sex friends include sexual involvement, but this is a frequent source of misunderstandings.

8.7 Identify the similarities that draw adolescents together into friendships.

The most important basis for friendships in adolescence is similarity, particularly in ethnicity, educational orientation, media and leisure preferences, and participation in risk behavior.

8.8 Summarize the research on friends' influence on risk behavior, and explain why "influence" is difficult to determine.

Although *peer pressure* is often used as a negative term to describe how adolescent friends encourage each other to participate in risk behavior, studies indicate that the extent of this influence may be exaggerated because of selective association and that adolescent friends may influence each other against risk behavior as well as toward it. Friends also have a variety of positive influences on one another.

8.9 Name the different ways adolescent friends support each other and how that support influences their development.

Types of friend support in adolescence include informational, instrumental, companionship, and esteem. Informational support is advice and guidance in solving personal problems, such as those involving friends, romantic relationships, parents, or school. Instrumental support is help with tasks of various kinds. Companionship support is being able to rely on each other as companions in social activities. Esteem support is the support adolescent friends provide by congratulating their friends when they succeed and encouraging them or consoling them when they fail. According to longitudinal studies, friends' support can lead to less depression and higher academic performance, but also to participation in risk behavior.

8.10 Distinguish between cliques and crowds and describe their separate functions.

Cliques are small groups of close friends who know each other well, do things together, and form a regular social group. Crowds are larger, reputation-based groups of adolescents who are not necessarily friends and do not necessarily spend much time together. Crowds mainly serve the function of helping adolescents to locate themselves and others within the secondary school social structure.

8.11 Explain why sarcasm and ridicule are common in adolescent cliques, and give examples of cultural variations.

Sarcasm and ridicule are common in adolescent cliques, to establish a dominance hierarchy and to enforce conformity to clique norms. In cultures as diverse as the Mbuti pygmies of the 20th century and Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, adolescents have served the community role of enforcing social norms by subjecting adults who violate them to public ridicule.

8.12 Define relational aggression, and explain why it is more common among girls in adolescence.

Relational aggression includes sarcasm and ridicule as well as gossiping, spreading rumors, snubbing, and excluding others from the clique. It is especially common among adolescent girls, evidently because more direct forms of disagreement and conflict are prohibited in the female gender role.

8.13 Describe how the functions and importance of crowds change during the course of adolescence and into emerging adulthood.

Crowds help adolescents address identity issues and make sense of the school social world and find a place in it. Crowds become more diverse from early adolescence to mid-adolescence, but diminish in importance by late adolescence as adolescents develop their identities and are more confident of their place in the peer social world. Emerging adults enter social worlds in work and leisure that are more diverse in age, and consequently crowd membershiip is no longer relevant.

8.14 Outline the various cultural forms crowds can take.

For minority adolescents as with White adolescents, crowds serve as reference groups and as a way to establish a status hierarchy. In high schools with multiethnic populations, however, adolescents tend to see fewer crowd distinctions in other ethnic groups than they do in their own. Although crowds as found in American schools do not really exist in traditional cultures, many traditional cultures do have a distinct social group of young people The age-graded school setting of Western societies lends itself to the development of reputation-based crowds as a way of defining and organizing a social structure. Traditional cultures sometimes have a version of a peer crowd, with a separate dormitory where adolescents hang out, relax, and engage in sexual play.

8.15 Explain how popularity in adolescence is measured, and identify the main characteristics that are sources of popularity.

Popularity in adolescence is measured through sociometry, which involves having students rate the social status of other students. Sociometric research has revealed that the most important determinant of popularity and unpopularity in adolescence is social skills. Other qualities related to popularity are intelligence and physical attractiveness.

8.16 Identify the reasons why popularity and unpopularity are difficult to change and the characteristics of effective intervention programs for unpopularity.

Popularity and unpopularity tend to endure because the characteristics and behavior that led to these social statuses tend to reinforce and perpetuate them. Intervention programs often focus on teaching social skills to unpopular adolescents.

8.17 Define bullying, and describe its prevalence and consequences across countries.

Bullying has three components: aggression, repetition, and power imbalance. Studies show that bullying in adolescence is a worldwide phenomenon, with rates mostly in the 10% to 20% range. Consequences of bullying include physical effects such as headaches and difficulty sleeping as well as psychological effects such as loneliness and anxiety. An electronic form of bullying, cyberbullying, has arisen in recent years. However, it does not necessarily include repetition and may be better termed online harassment.

8.18 Identify the components of youth cultures, and explain why they develop.

A distinctive youth culture first appeared in the West during the 1920s. According to sociologists, youth cultures are characterized by subterranean values of hedonism and irresponsibility and by a distinctive style consisting of image, demeanor, and argot. Late adolescents and emerging adults are the main participants in youth culture, but the degree of their participation varies from highly intense to not at all. Youth cultures develop mainly in societies that are affluent and individualistic.

8.19 Name the purposes of slang in adolescence, and give examples.

One way that adolescents establish who is and who is not part of their youth culture is through slang, an informal vocabulary and grammar that is different from that of the native language. Slang is a way for adolescents to differentiate youth culture from the adult culture and even challenge adult norms. Slang can also be used to signify whether an adolescent is a member of a specific peer group or youth subculture.

8.20 Explain how technology is important to the distinctiveness of youth culture.

Technology allows young people to spread the latest trends in youth culture among themselves, without the filtering or interference of adults. In recent decades, young people have also led the way in creating and adopting new technologies, so that adults often learn new technologies from the young, a reverse of the historical direction of learning.

Key Terms

intimacy, p. 232
selective association, p. 238
informational support, p. 239
instrumental support, p. 239
companionship support, p. 239
esteem support, p. 239
cliques, p. 240
crowds, p. 240
relational aggression, p. 241
dormitory, p. 245
men's house, p. 245
participant observation, p. 246
sociometry, p. 247
social skills, p. 247
rejected adolescents, p. 247
neglected adolescents, p. 247
social information processing, p. 248
controversial adolescents, p. 248
bullying, p. 249
cyberbullying, p. 250
youth culture, p. 251
subterranean values, p. 251
style, p. 251
image, p. 251
demeanor, p. 251
argot, p. 251
slang, p. 253

Chapter 9

Love and Sexuality

Learning Objectives

9.1 Summarize the ways in which adolescent love in developed countries takes different forms today than it did in the past.

9.2 Describe how age and gender influence the forms that love takes in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

9.3 Explain how Sternberg's theory of love applies to adolescents.

9.4 Summarize the basis of romantic attraction among adolescents, and name the phases that adolescent love typically follows.

9.5 Describe the reasons romantic relationships dissolve and the consequences of breaking up.

9.6 Summarize the themes and variations of cohabitation among emerging adults in Western countries.

9.7 Compare and contrast the process of choosing a marriage partner in traditional cultures and in the modern West.

9.8 Specify the features and prevalence of arranged marriages, including how they are currently changing.

9.9 Summarize rates of various types of sexual behavior among American adolescents.

9.10 Describe the changes in the past century in timing of first intercourse and current patterns among American adolescents, including ethnic differences.

9.11 Summarize the national variations in pornography use in adolescence and emerging adulthood and views of its acceptability.

9.12 Identify the types of cultural attitudes toward adolescent sexuality, and summarize cross-national variations in rates of sexual behavior in emerging adulthood.

9.13 Compare and contrast the sexual scripts of adolescent boys and girls, and explain the reasons for the differences.

9.14 Explain how sexually active adolescents in the United States are different from peers who are not sexually active.

9.15 Summarize the features of sexuality in emerging adulthood, including differences compared to adolescence.

9.16 Describe the prevalence and causes of sexual harassment and sexual coercion.

9.17 Explain how social attitudes toward homosexuality have changed in recent decades and how this has influenced the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender adolescents.

9.18 Explain why contraceptive use in adolescence is often inconsistent, and identify cultural variations in adolescent pregnancy and the reasons for those variations.

9.19 Summarize rates of adolescent pregnancy in the United States in different ethnic groups and compared to other developed countries, and specify the consequences for mothers, fathers, and babies.

9.20 Name the most prevalent sexually transmitted infections and their treatments.

9.21 Describe HIV/AIDS, including how it is transmitted, its progression, which young people are most at risk, and its treatment.

9.22 Identify the main features of effective sex education.

Do you remember your first kiss? I know I'll never forget mine. It took place at a junior high school dance, when I was 14 years old. I had taken my sort-of girlfriend there, and I think that may well have been my first real "date." So far, we had progressed only as far as me going over to visit her at her home now and then. She never slammed the door in my face—always seemed glad to see me, in fact—so I asked her to go to the dance with me.

I spent most of the evening trying to gather up sufficient courage to kiss her. We didn't dance much—we were both too timid—so I had a lot of opportunities, with both of us sitting alongside the gymnasium watching as our bolder peers danced together. It took me a long time to get up the guts to try it, but as the evening waned I knew it was getting to be now or never. At last she smiled at me sweetly—probably thinking, "Will this fool ever get around to it?"—and I leaned over to place my lips against hers, and…

The vice principal grabbed me by the hair, snapped my head back, and yelled, "What do you think you're doing?! That's not allowed in here!" He dragged us down to his office, and it was only after repeated assurances that we were not sex maniacs that he was persuaded not to call our parents and add to our already substantial humiliation.

I HOPE YOUR FIRST KISS WAS MORE FUN THAN that! As we will see in the first part of this chapter, the beginnings of love and sexuality can be a source of many emotions for adolescents—pleasure, delight, and wonder, but also fear, anxiety, and confusion. Love in adolescence and emerging adulthood often includes sexuality, but sexual activity among young people may also take the form of sexual play or experimentation, not necessarily including love. In the second half of this chapter, we look at the rates of various kinds of sexual activity among adolescents and emerging adults, as well as how sex is experienced in a cultural context and the personal and physical consequences of sex.

Love's Beginnings, Development, and Endings

In all cultures, developing into sexual maturity in adolescence and emerging adulthood involves forming close relationships with persons outside the family. Most young people in developed countries make and break several romantic relationships in the course of adolescence and emerging adulthood.

The Changing Forms of Adolescent Love

9.1 Summarize the ways in which adolescent love in developed countries takes different forms today than it did in the past.

In recent decades, the forms of early romantic relations among adolescents have changed. Before the 1970s, adolescent love in Western cultures was structured by "dating," which usually followed more or less formal rules (Furman & Hand, 2006). Boy asked girl to accompany

Dating today tends to be less formal than in the past. Here, an American high school dance during the 1950s.

him to some well-defined event—for example, a movie, a sports event, or a school dance. Boy picked up girl at her house, where he would meet her parents and tell them what time he would bring her home. Boy and girl would go to the event, and he would bring her home by the appointed time, perhaps after a stop somewhere for a bite to eat or some kissing and perhaps more.

Today, adolescent romantic relations tend to be much less formal. Even the terms *date* and *dating* have fallen out of fashion, replaced by *going with* or *hanging out with* or *seeing* someone (Furman & Rose, 2015). Adolescent boys and girls still go together to movies, sports events, and school dances, of course, but they are much more likely than before to spend time together informally. As we saw in Chapter 5, before the women's movement of the 1960s, gender roles were much more sharply drawn in the West, and adolescent boys and girls were less likely simply to hang out together as friends. Now they often know each other as friends before they become involved romantically (Furman & Rose, 2015).

Adolescent love also tends to be informal today in European cultures. European scholars on adolescence indicate that the concept of a formal date hardly exists anymore in European countries (Dreher et al., 2012). Adolescents and emerging adults do pair up and become boyfriend and girlfriend. However, they rarely date in a formal way, by designating a specific event at a specific time and going out to explore what they would be like as a couple. More typically, they go out in mixed-gender groups, without any specific pairing up. Or a boy and a girl may go out simply as friends, without thinking of themselves as potential boyfriend and girlfriend, without the boy having the responsibility to pay the expenses, and without the implication of possible sexual activity as the evening progresses. In non-Western cultures, dating is also rare (Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011), as we will see in more detail later in the chapter. Dating and even informal male–female social contact in adolescence are forbidden in many cultures because of cultural values emphasizing female chastity before marriage and because adults wish to control whom their adolescents end up marrying.

The Developmental Course of Adolescent Love

9.2 Describe how age and gender influence the forms that love takes in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

The prevalence of involvement in romantic relationships increases gradually over the course of adolescence. According to a national (American) study called the National Study of Adolescent Health (also known as Add Health), the percentage of adolescents reporting a current love relationship rises from 17% in seventh grade to 32% in ninth grade to 44% in 11th grade (Furman & Hand, 2006). By 11th grade, 80% of adolescents have had a romantic relationship at some point, even if they do not have one currently. Adolescents with an Asian cultural background tend to have their first romantic relationship later than adolescents with a European, African American, or Latino cultural background because Asian cultural beliefs discourage early involvement in romantic relationships and forbid sexual involvement before marriage (Trinh et al., 2014).

Adolescents' reports of the reasons they form love relationships include the following (Paul & White, 1990):

- *Recreation* (fun and enjoyment)
- *Learning* (becoming more skilled at romantic interactions)
- *Status* (impressing others by having a relationship with a high-status partner)
- *Companionship* (sharing pleasurable activities with another person)
- *Intimacy* (establishing a close emotional relationship with another person)
- *Courtship* (seeking someone to have as a steady partner)

THINKING CRITICALLY

Given that sexual contact in some form is often part of adolescent love relationships, why do you suppose sex was not mentioned among adolescents' and emerging adults' reasons for forming love relationships in the studies described here?

Adolescents' reasons for forming love relationships tend to change as they enter emerging adulthood. One early study investigated views of the functions of love relationships among early adolescents (sixth grade), late

adolescents (11th grade), and college students (Roscoe, Dian, & Brooks, 1987). The early and late adolescents expressed similar views. Both considered recreation to be the most important function, followed by intimacy and then status. In contrast, among college students, intimacy ranked highest, followed by companionship, with recreation a bit lower, and status much lower. A more recent study reported similar results (Montgomery, 2005).

What adolescents look for in a romantic partner also changes with age, at least for boys. During middle adolescence, boys mention physical attractiveness prominently as a quality they prefer, whereas girls emphasize interpersonal qualities such as support and intimacy. By late adolescence, however, both males and females emphasize interpersonal qualities, and what they seek is highly similar: support, intimacy, communication, commitment, and passion (Feiring, 1996; Montgomery, 2005; Shulman & Connolly, 2015).

Although adolescent girls have become a lot more assertive over the past 25 years in their relationships with boys, this does not mean that the old standards have expired entirely. Evidence indicates that **dating scripts**, the cognitive models that guide interactions in adolescents' love relationships, are still highly influenced by gender, with the power mostly on the side of the boys (Choukas-Bradley et al., 2015; Furman & Hand, 2006). In general, males still follow a **proactive script**, and females a **reactive script**. The male script includes initiating the love relationship—calling or texting the girl, suggesting they do something together, deciding where they will go, controlling the public domain (driving the car), and initiating sexual contact. The female script focuses on the private domain (spending considerable time on dress and grooming), responding to the male's gestures in the public domain (being picked up at her home), and responding to his sexual initiatives. Most adolescent girls and emerging adult women are reluctant to be the initiator of romance or sexual contact, although they are more likely to do so than in past generations (Sakaluk et al., 2014).

If adolescent romantic relationships often begin as friendships today, what distinguishes a friendship from a romantic relationship? Adolescents see romantic relationships as different from friendships in positive as well as negative ways (Furman & Rose, 2015; Giordano, Manning, & Longmore, 2006). Romantic relationships tend to involve more intense emotions, including positive feelings of love and happiness as well as feelings of anxiety and discomfort.

Intimacy becomes more important in dating by late adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Romantic relationships are also more likely to involve sexual activity, although sex sometimes spills into adolescent friendships, as we will see later in the chapter. Having a romantic relationship is also valued for the feeling of being cared for by the romantic partner and for having a social companion in leisure activities. On the other hand, adolescents see romantic relationships as constraining their social freedom, as making them emotionally vulnerable, and as more likely than friendships to involve conflict. Frequently, the boundary between friendship and romantic relationship is not clear, with one adolescent seeing it as a friendship and the other as a romantic relationship, with misunderstandings and hurt feelings as a result (Furman & Hand, 2006).

Romantic experiences are associated with both positive and negative outcomes in adolescence (Furman, Ho, & Low, 2007). Adolescents who have a romantic relationship tend to be more popular and have a more positive self-image (La Greca & Harrison, 2005). However, this association with positive qualities depends partly on the age of the adolescents. In particular, for early adolescent girls, participating in mixed-gender group activities such as parties and dances may be positive, but a serious love relationship tends to be related to negative outcomes such as depressed mood (Connolly et al., 2014; Graber et al., 1997; Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2003). An important reason for their depression appears to be that early adolescent girls in a serious relationship often find themselves under their boyfriends' pressure to participate in sexual activity before they feel ready (Young & d'Arcy, 2005).

dating scripts

The cognitive models that guide romantic interactions.

proactive script

A relationship script, more common for males than for females, that includes initiating the relationship, deciding where they will go, controlling the public domain (e.g., driving the car and opening the doors), and initiating sexual contact.

reactive script

A romantic script, more common for females than males, that focuses on the private domain (e.g., spending considerable time on dress and grooming), responding to the partner's gestures in the public domain (e.g., being picked up, waiting for him to open the doors), and responding to his sexual initiatives.

Historical Focus

THE BIRTH OF DATING

"Dating" is a relatively recent cultural invention, originating in Western societies in the early 20th century. The birth of dating in the United States is described in a book by historian Beth Bailey (1989) called *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*. Bailey describes how, at the beginning of the 20th century, the primary system of courtship in the American middle class was not dating but "calling." A young man would "call" on a young woman, at her invitation, by visiting her at home. There he would meet her family, and then the two young people would be allowed some time together, probably in the family parlor. They would talk, perhaps have some refreshments she had prepared, and she might play the piano for him.

Dating became increasingly popular in the first two decades of the 20th century, and by the early 1920s dating had essentially replaced calling as the accepted mode of courtship for young people in the American middle class. This change amounted to a revolution in American courtship. Dating meant going out to take part in a shared activity. This moved the location of courtship out of the home and into the public world—restaurants, theaters, and dance halls. It also removed the young couple from the watchful eye of the girl's family to the anonymity of the public world.

Why did calling decline and dating arise? A number of changes in American society contributed. One was that Americans were becoming increasingly concentrated into large urban areas. Families living in urban areas tended to have less space in their homes, and so the parlor and the piano that had been the focus of calling were not as likely to be available. The cities also offered more excitement, more things for young people to go out and do than small towns did. The invention and mass production of the automobile also contributed because it gave young people greater mobility and offered a greater range of places they could go.

The birth of dating greatly diminished the amount of control that could be exercised by parents and gave young people new opportunities for sexual exploration. When calling was the norm, not much was likely to go on between young lovers in the parlor that the rest of the family would not overhear. It is no coincidence that a sexual revolution took place at the same time as the change from calling to dating, with sexual experimentation before marriage—not including intercourse—becoming more accepted. Dating made the sexual revolution of the 1920s possible by providing more sexual opportunities. Nevertheless, parents maintained a degree of control in part by setting curfews (as many still do).

A second important consequence of the birth of dating was that it transferred the balance of power in courtship from the female to the male. In the calling system, it was the girl who took the initiative. She could ask a young man to call on her, or not ask him. He could not ask her if it would be okay for him to call—not without being regarded as rude and unmannerly. But in the dating system, the male became the initiator. He could ask her on a date, but she could not ask him. And of course going on a date almost always meant spending money, his money, which further increased his power in the relationship.

By the 1920s, dating had become common among American young people.

This promoted a view that she owed him sexual favors of some kind, in return for what he spent on the date. As one boy of the 1920s wrote, "When a boy takes a girl out and spends $1.20 on her (like I did the other night), he expects a little petting in return (which I didn't get)" (Bailey, 1989, p. 81).

One other point that should be mentioned is that both calling and the early decades of dating took place mostly among emerging adults rather than adolescents. Calling was considered a serious step, a prelude to a possible marriage proposal rather than simply a form of youthful recreation. Because early in the 20th century marriage did not take place for most young people until they were in their early to mid-20s, they rarely took part in calling until they were about age 20. When dating replaced calling, at first dating, too, was an activity mainly of young people in their 20s. Young people in their teens were rarely allowed to go out as unchaperoned couples. It was only toward the middle of the century, as the marriage age declined and as enrollments in high school grew, that dating began to be acceptable for young people in their teens.

One longitudinal study suggests that having romantic experiences may have mixed effects for other adolescents, too, not just early adolescent girls (Furman, Low, & Ho, 2009). The study surveyed 14- to 16-year-old Americans on the degree of their romantic experience, ranging from romantic interest to a serious relationship, then followed them up 1 year later. The amount of adolescents' romantic experience was associated with higher reports of social acceptance, friendship competence, and romantic competence. However, romantic experience also was associated with greater substance use and more delinquent behavior. The amount of romantic experience predicted increased substance use 1 year later.

Sternberg's Theory of Love

9.3 Explain how Sternberg's theory of love applies to adolescents.

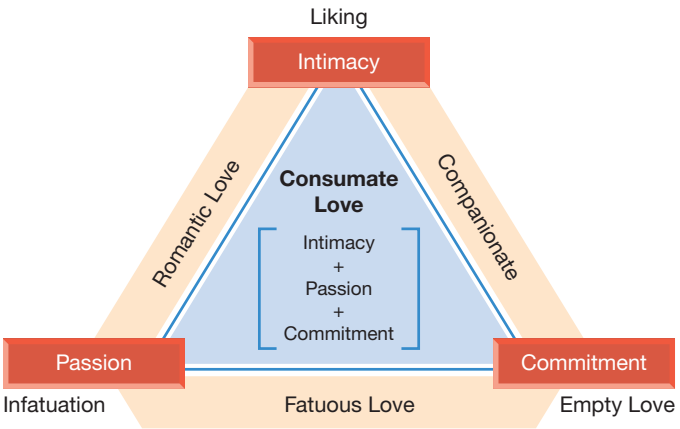
After two adolescents share romantic experiences, the relationship sometimes develops into love. The best-known theory of love has been developed by Robert Sternberg (1986, 1987, 1988). Sternberg proposed that different types of love involve combining three fundamental qualities of love in different ways (**Figure 9.1**). These three qualities are passion, intimacy, and commitment. *Passion* involves physical attraction and sexual desire. It is emotional as well as physical and may involve intense emotions such as anxiety, delight, anger, and jealousy. *Intimacy* involves feelings of closeness and emotional attachment. It includes mutual understanding, mutual support, and open communication about issues not discussed with anyone else. *Commitment* is the pledge to love someone over the long run, through the ups and downs that are often part of love. Commitment is what sustains a long-term relationship through fluctuations in passion and intimacy.

These three qualities of love are combined into seven different forms of love in Sternberg's theory, as follows:

- **Liking** is intimacy alone, without passion or commitment. This is the type of love that characterizes most friendships. Friendships often involve some level of intimacy, but without passion and without an enduring commitment. Most people have many friendships that come and go in the course of their lives.
- **Infatuation** is passion alone, without intimacy or commitment. Infatuation involves a great deal of physiological and emotional arousal, and a heightened level of sexual desire, but without emotional closeness to the person or an enduring commitment.
- **Empty love** is commitment alone, without passion or intimacy. This might apply to a couple who have been married for many years and who have lost the passion and intimacy in their relationship but nevertheless remain together. It also could apply to the early stage of marriage in cultures where marriages are arranged by the parents rather than chosen by the young people themselves. However, arranged marriages that begin as empty love may eventually develop passion and intimacy.
- **Romantic love** combines passion and intimacy, but without commitment. This is the kind of love people mean when they talk about being "in love." It is often experienced as intense and joyful, but it rarely lasts long.
- **Companionate love** combines intimacy and commitment, but without passion. It may be applied to

Figure 9.1 Sternberg's triangular model of love.

SOURCE: Sternberg (1988), p. 122.



liking
In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that is based on intimacy alone, without passion or commitment.

infatuation
In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that is based on passion alone, without intimacy or commitment.

empty love
In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that is based on commitment alone, without passion or intimacy.

romantic love
In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that combines passion and intimacy, but without commitment.

companionate love
In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that combines intimacy and commitment, but without passion.

married or long-term couples whose passion for each other has gradually waned but who have maintained the other qualities of their love. It could also be applied to unusually close friendships as well as to close family relationships.

- **Fatuous** (which means "silly" or "foolish") **love** involves passion and commitment without intimacy. This kind of love would apply to a "whirlwind" courtship where two people meet, fall passionately in love, and get married, all within a few weeks, before they even have time to know each other well.
- **Consummate love** integrates all three aspects of love into the ultimate love relationship. Of course, even if consummate love is reached in a relationship, over time passion may fade, intimacy may falter, or commitment may be betrayed. But this is the kind of love that represents the ideal for many people.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think most people are capable of consummate love by the time they reach emerging adulthood? Do you think adolescents are ever capable of it?

How does Sternberg's theory of love apply to adolescence? Certainly in most adolescent love relationships, commitment is either missing or highly tentative (Furman & Rose, 2015; Lyons et al., 2015). Most adolescent relationships last only a few weeks or months; few of their relationships last a year or longer, although their relationships tend to get longer as they get older (Carver et al., 2003; Furman & Rose, 2015). This does not mean that adolescents are incapable of commitment; it simply reflects the fact that in developed countries today most people are not likely to get married until they are at least in their mid- to late 20s. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that adolescents' love relationships would involve commitment much less than passion or intimacy. Commitment tends to develop in emerging adulthood, when young people begin looking more seriously for someone with whom they may have a lifelong love relationship.

One study indicated the relative strength of passion, intimacy, and commitment in adolescent love (Feiring, 1996). In this study, although the majority of the 15-year-old adolescents had been in a relationship that lasted a few months, only 10% had been in a relationship that lasted a year or longer (indicating weak commitment). However, during the relationship, contact was frequent (perhaps reflecting passion). Adolescents reported seeing their loved ones and talking to them on the phone on an almost daily basis during the relationship. Furthermore, the adolescents rated companionship, intimacy, and support as the most valued dimensions of their relationships (showing the importance of intimacy), whereas security—an aspect of commitment—ranked low.

The absence of long-term commitment in adolescence means that there are two principal types of adolescent love: infatuation and romantic love. (I do not include liking because it applies mainly to friends, not love partners.) Infatuation is common among adolescents, partly because they are new to love and the first few times they "fall in love" they may take passion alone, with its intensity of feeling and sexual desire, as enough evidence of love. For example, imagine two adolescents who sit next to one another in math class, exchange occasional smiles, maybe flirt a little before and after class. She finds herself daydreaming of him as she lies in her bedroom and listens to love songs; he starts writing her name surreptitiously in the margins of his notebook when his mind drifts during class. It feels like love to both of them, and it is a certain kind of love, but it lacks the element of intimacy that people come to desire and expect from love once they become more experienced with it.

Adolescents can experience intimacy in their relationships, too, and combine passion and intimacy to create romantic love (Collins & Sroufe, 1999). The passion is there, with its heightened emotions and sexual

Infatuation and romantic love are the most common types of love in adolescence.

fatuous love
In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that involves passion and commitment without intimacy.

consummate love
In Sternberg's theory of love, the form of love that integrates passion, intimacy, and commitment.

desire, but now it is combined with intimacy, as two adolescents spend time together and come to know each other, and they begin to share thoughts and feelings that they share with no one else. The prominence of intimacy in romantic relationships tends to grow through adolescence and into emerging adulthood (Brown, 1999; Montgomery, 2005).

Adolescents could even experience consummate love, combining passion, intimacy, and commitment. Some "high school sweethearts" continue their relationship long after high school, and even marry and stay together their whole lives. However, this is rare among adolescents, especially in the current generation. With the typical marriage age so high, only in emerging adulthood do most young people begin thinking about committing themselves to someone for years to come (Arnett, 2015; Brown, 1999). For this reason, adolescent love relationships rarely progress past infatuation and romantic love to consummate love.

Falling in Love

9.4 Summarize the basis of romantic attraction among adolescents, and name the phases that adolescent love typically follows.

"[The person I marry] would have to be someone who was of the same religion that I was and also the same ethnicity as me. And sometimes when I say that people take it that I'm prejudiced or something. But it's not necessarily that, because I have a lot of traditions and customs that I grew up with and I want someone who understands the same traditions and everything. So I've always looked for someone who was Latino. And I've always looked for someone who was Catholic because I'm Catholic."

—GLORIA, 22-YEAR-OLD LATINA (ARNETT, 2015, P. 116)

How do adolescents and emerging adults choose romantic partners? Do "opposites attract," or do "birds of a feather flock together"? The bird metaphor prevails for adolescents and emerging adults and throughout adulthood (Furman & Simon, 2008; Laursen & Jensen-Campbell, 1999). Just as we have seen with friendships, people of all ages tend to be most likely to have romantic relationships with people who are similar to them in characteristics such as intelligence, social class, ethnic background, religious beliefs, personality, and physical attractiveness (Furman & Simon, 2008; Luo & Klohnen, 2005). Of course, sometimes opposites *do* attract, and partners fall in love even though (and perhaps because) they may differ widely in their characteristics. For the most part, however, people are attracted to others who are like themselves. Social scientists attribute this to **consensual validation**, meaning that people like to find in others an agreement, or *consensus*, with their own characteristics. Finding this consensus supports, or *validates*, their own way of looking at the world. This resembles the concept of *selective association,* discussed in the previous chapter, that is the basis of most friendships.

For example, if you have a partner who shares your religious beliefs, the two of you will validate each other in the beliefs that you possess and in the prescriptions for behavior that follow from those beliefs. However, if one of you is devout and the other is an atheist, you are likely to find that your different ways of looking at the world lead to conflicts of beliefs and behavior. One of you wants to go to religious services; the other scoffs that it is a waste of time. Most people find this kind of regular collision of preferences disagreeable, so they seek people who are like themselves to minimize the frequency of conflicts (Laursen & Jensen-Campbell, 1999).

After the initial attraction, how does love develop? Bradford Brown (1999) proposed a developmental model of adolescent love that recognizes the important role played by peers and friends. Brown's model contains four phases: the **initiation phase**, the **status phase**, the **affection phase**,

consensual validation
In social science studies of interpersonal attraction, the principle that people like to find in others an agreement or consensus with their own characteristics and view of life.

initiation phase
In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the first phase, usually in early adolescence, when the first tentative explorations of romantic interests begin, usually superficial and brief, often fraught with anxiety, fear, and excitement.

status phase
In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the second phase, in which adolescents begin to gain confidence in their skills at interacting with potential romantic partners and begin to form their first romantic relationships, assessing not just how much they like and are attracted to the person, but also how their status with friends and peers would be influenced.

affection phase
In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the third phase, in which adolescents come to know each other better and express deeper feelings for each other, as well as engaging in more extensive sexual activity.

and the **bonding phase**. The initiation phase usually takes place in early adolescence, when the first tentative explorations of romantic interests begin. These explorations are usually superficial and brief, and are often fraught with anxiety and fear, in addition to excitement. The anxiety and fear result in part from the novelty of romantic feelings and behaviors, but also from adolescents' awareness that these new feelings and behaviors are subject to scrutiny and potential ridicule from their friends and peers.

In the status phase, adolescents begin to gain confidence in their skills at interacting with potential romantic partners, and they begin to form their first romantic relationships. In forming these relationships, they remain acutely aware of the evaluations of their friends and peers. In considering a potential romantic partner, they assess not just how much they like and are attracted to the person but how their status with friends and peers would be influenced. Peer crowds represent a clear status hierarchy, and adolescents usually date others who have similar crowd status, but lower-status adolescents often fantasize about and may attempt a romantic relationship with someone of higher status—"nerd loves popular girl/boy" is a popular premise for many a movie and television show involving adolescents. Friends may act as messengers in the status phase, inquiring on behalf of a friend to see if a potential love partner might be interested. This is a way of gaining information without risking the direct humiliation—and loss of status—that may result from inquiring oneself.

In the affection phase, adolescents come to know each other better and express deeper feelings for each other, as well as engaging in more extensive sexual activity. Relationships in this phase tend to last several months rather than weeks or days as in the previous two phases. Because intimacy is greater in this phase, romantic relationships become more emotionally charged, and adolescents face greater challenges in managing these strong emotions. The role of peers and friends changes, too. Peers become less important as the relationship grows and the importance of status diminishes, but friends become even more important as *private eyes* who keep an eye on the friend's romantic partner to monitor faithfulness, as *arbitrators* between romantic partners when conflicts occur, and as *support systems* who provide a sympathetic ear when romantic difficulties or complexities arise. Issues of jealousy may also arise, if friends begin to resent the amount of time and closeness the adolescent devotes to the romantic partner at the expense of the friendship.

Adolescents usually choose love partners whose peer crowd status is similar to their own.

In the bonding phase, the romantic relationship becomes more enduring and serious, and partners begin to discuss the possibility of a lifelong commitment to each other. This phase usually occurs in emerging adulthood rather than adolescence. The role of friends and peers recedes in this phase because the question of others' opinions becomes less important than issues of compatibility and commitment between the romantic partners. Nevertheless, friends may continue to provide guidance and advice, as someone to talk with about whether the romantic partner is the right person with whom to form a lifelong commitment. A study in Germany found support for Brown's four-stage model (Seiffge-Krenke, 2003).

bonding phase

In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the final phase, in which the romantic relationship becomes more enduring and serious; partners begin to discuss the possibility of a lifelong commitment to each other.

When Love Goes Bad: Breaking Up

9.5 Describe the reasons romantic relationships dissolve and the consequences of breaking up.

Love in adolescence and emerging adulthood is not only about affection and bonding. On the contrary, love is often the source of anxiety and distress as well. Because most young people have a series of love relationships, most of them experience "breaking up," the dissolution of a relationship, at least once (Barber, 2006).

What is breaking up like for adolescents and emerging adults? For adolescents, egocentrism may contribute to the intensity of the unhappiness following a breakup. Egocentrism's personal fable can contribute to adolescents' feelings that their suffering in the aftermath of a breakup is something that no one has ever experienced as deeply as they are experiencing it and that the pain of it will never end. "I just feel like my life's over, like there's never going to be anything to smile about again," one 17-year-old girl lamented after breaking up (Bell, 1998, p. 71). However, few systematic studies of breaking up in adolescence have been done (Connolly & McIsaac, 2009).

In contrast, quite a few studies have been conducted on college students' experiences with breaking up. One of the best of these studies was conducted in the late 1970s (Hill, Rubin, & Peplau, 1979). The authors followed more than 200 college couples for 2 years. By the end of the 2-year period, 45% of the couples had broken up. A variety of factors were related to likelihood of breaking up. Couples who had broken up reported lower levels of intimacy and love in their relationship at the beginning of the study and were also less likely to be similar on characteristics such as age, SAT scores, and physical attractiveness. The broken-up couples were also less balanced at the beginning of the study, in the sense that one partner indicated substantially more commitment to the relationship than the other partner did.

Reasons the students stated for breaking up included boredom and differences in interests. However, couples rarely agreed on what had caused the breakup. Also, the two were rarely equal in how the breakup affected them. Contrary to stereotypes that portray females as more susceptible to love than males, the study found (as other studies have found) that the woman was more likely to end the relationship and that rejected men tended to be lonelier, unhappier, and more depressed than rejected women. Rejected men also found it harder than rejected women to accept the end of the relationship and to stay friends with their former partner.

In another study, Sprecher (1994) interviewed 101 college couples who had broken up and compiled a list of the 10 most common reasons the couples gave for breaking up (**Table 9.1**). In contrast to Hill and colleagues (1979), Sprecher (1994) found that couples generally agreed about why they had broken up. However, like Hill and colleagues, the couples studied by Sprecher gave boredom and lack of common interests as prominent reasons for breaking up, along with factors such as different backgrounds and different attitudes regarding sex and marriage. Broken-up couples appear to lack the consensual validation that most people find attractive in an intimate relationship (Felmlee, 2001).

Table 9.1 Ten Common Breakup Reasons

We didn't have common interests.
We had communication problems.
We had conflicting sexual attitudes.
We had conflicting marriage ideas.
Our backgrounds were different.
I wanted to be independent.
I was bored with the relationship.
My partner wanted to be independent.
My partner was bored with the relationship.
My partner was interested in another person

SOURCE: Based on Sprecher (1994), p. 217.

The emotions involved in love are intense, and breaking up often provokes sadness and a sense of loss. In one study of college students, over half of those who had broken up were at least moderately depressed 2 months later (Means, 1991). Increased alcohol and drug use is also common following a breakup (Davis, Shaver, & Vernon, 2003). Furthermore, breaking up can inspire "romantic harassment" that involves unwanted pursuit of the ex-partner (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2002). In one important early study (Jason et al., 1984), romantic harassment was defined as "the persistent use of psychological or physical abuse in an attempt to continue dating someone after they have clearly indicated a desire to terminate a relationship" (p. 261). Using this definition, the researchers found that more than half of female college students had been romantically harassed at some time. Romantic harassment included behavior such as telephoning late at night, repeatedly telephoning the woman at home or at work, systematically watching or following her in public, sending repeated love letters, insulting her, physically attacking her, and even threatening to kill her.

The women in the study indicated that when they confronted their harassers, the men rarely conceded that what they were doing was harassment. According to the men, they were merely trying to break through the woman's resistance and reestablish the love relationship.

The experience was highly stressful for the women. They reported feeling acute fear, anxiety, and depression during the harassment and experienced physical symptoms such as stomachaches and nervous tics. The women tried a variety of strategies to deter their harassers, from ignoring them to trying to reason with them to being rude to threatening them. Some changed their phone number or moved; some had a parent or boyfriend talk to or threaten them. None of these strategies worked well in the short term. The best defense was simply time—eventually the harassers gave up.

Recent research has examined romantic harassment in electronic forms, specifically through social media. In one study of college students, 18% reported engaging in public harassment of their ex-partner via Facebook, often through posting hostile remarks about the ex-partner or the ex's new partner (Lyndon et al., 2014). Another study found that engaging in Facebook surveillance of ex-partners made it more difficult to recover from a breakup (Marshall, 2012). Emerging adults who continued to monitor their ex-partner's Facebook posts suffered greater psychological distress and more intense longing for their ex.

Cohabitation

9.6 Summarize the themes and variations of cohabitation among emerging adults in Western countries.

"I don't see how people can get married without living together. I wanted to make sure that she doesn't throw her socks on top of the sink and if she puts the top back on the toothpaste and stuff. All those little things."

—PETE, AGE 25 (IN ARNETT, 2015, P. 126)

Increasingly in Western countries, marriage no longer marks the beginning of living with a romantic partner. In the United States as well as in northern European countries, **cohabitation** before marriage is now experienced by at least two-thirds of emerging adults (Kroeger & Smock, 2014; Manning & Strykes, 2015; Lichter et al. 2010). The percentage is highest in Sweden, where nearly all young people cohabit before marriage (Syltevik, 2010). Cohabitation tends to be brief and unstable for young Americans. One study found that half of cohabiting relationships lasted less than a year, and only 1 in 10 couples were together 5 years later (Bumpass & Liu, 2000). In contrast, cohabiting couples in European countries tend to stay together as long as married couples (Hiekel et al., 2014).

cohabitation

Living with a romantic partner outside of marriage.

However, in Europe there are distinct differences in cohabitation between north and south (Hiekel et al., 2014; Kiernan, 2002, 2004). Emerging adults in southern Europe are considerably less likely than their counterparts in the north to cohabit; most emerging adults in southern Europe live at home until marriage, especially females (Douglass, 2005). Perhaps because of the Catholic religious tradition in the south, cohabitation carries a moral stigma in the south that it does not have in the north.

Young people choose to cohabit in part because they wish to enhance the likelihood that when they marry, it will last. In a national survey of American 20- to 29-year-olds, 62% agreed that "living together with someone before marriage is a good way to avoid eventual divorce" (Popenoe & Whitehead, 2001). Emerging adults from divorced families are especially likely to cohabit because they are especially determined to avoid their parents' fate (Arnett, 2015; Cunningham & Thornton, 2007). However, cohabitation before marriage is related to higher rather than lower likelihood of later divorce (Kroeger & Smock, 2014).

This may be because cohabiting couples become used to living together while maintaining separate lives in many ways, especially financially, so that they are unprepared for the compromises required by marriage. Also, even before cohabitation begins, emerging adults who cohabit tend to be different from emerging adults who do not, in ways that are related to higher risk of divorce: less religious, more skeptical of the institution of marriage, and more accepting of divorce (Manning & Strykes, 2015). However, one analysis concluded that cohabitation itself increases the risk of divorce because it leads some couples who are not compatible to marry anyway, out of "the inertia of cohabitation" (Stanley, Rhoades, & Markman, 2006).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think cohabitation before marriage is related to higher likelihood of divorce?

Choosing a Marriage Partner

9.7 Compare and contrast the process of choosing a marriage partner in traditional cultures and in the modern West.

Whether or not it is preceded by cohabitation, marriage is the eventual destination for most adolescents and emerging adults worldwide. Eventually about 90% of people in most societies marry (Cherlin, 2009). How do young people choose a marriage partner?

In Chapter 5 on gender, we discussed the characteristics adolescents use to describe the ideal man and the ideal woman. The most important qualities considered ideal for both genders were personal qualities such as being kind and honest, whereas qualities such as having a lot of money and being popular ranked quite low (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004).

The same kinds of results have been found in studies that ask young people about the qualities they consider most important in the person they marry. Psychologist David Buss (1989, 2013) carried out a massive study of over 10,000 young people in 37 countries on this question. The countries were from all over the world, including Africa, Asia, Eastern and Western Europe, and North and South America. The questionnaire had to be translated into 37 languages, with great care taken to make the meanings of words such as *love* as similar as possible in every country. In many of the countries, a high proportion of the young people were illiterate, so the questions had to be read aloud to them.

Despite all of these challenges, the results showed impressive consistencies across countries and across genders (see **Table 9.2**). "Mutual attraction—love" ranked first among marriage criteria across countries, followed by "dependable character," "emotional stability and maturity," and "pleasing disposition." Similarity in religious and political background ranked very low, which is surprising given that (as noted previously) people tend to marry others who are similar to them in these ways. "Good financial prospects" also ranked fairly low, as "having a lot of money" did in the studies of adolescents' views of the ideal man and the ideal woman.

Although the cross-cultural similarities were strong and striking, some cross-cultural differences were also notable. The sharpest cross-cultural division was on the issue of chastity (marrying someone who has never had sex before). In Eastern cultures (e.g., China, India, Indonesia) and Middle Eastern cultures (i.e., Iran, Palestinian Arabs in Israel), chastity was rated as highly important. However, in the West (e.g., Finland, France, Norway, Germany), chastity was generally considered unimportant.

Mutual attraction—love is a widespread ideal for mate selection, and feelings of passion inspired by such attraction appear to be a virtually universal characteristic of young people. Jankowiak and Fischer (1992) investigated this issue systematically by analyzing the *Standard Cross-Cultural Sample*, a collection of data provided by anthropologists on 186 traditional cultures representing six distinct geographical regions around the world. They concluded that there was evidence that young people fell passionately in love in *all but one* of the 186 cultures studied. Although the other 185 cultures differed widely in geographical region, economic characteristics, and many other ways, in all of them young lovers experienced the delight and despair of passionate love, told stories about famous lovers, and sang love songs.

Table 9.2 The Importance of Various Traits in Mate Selection Throughout the World

Men's Ranking of Various Traits[a]	Women's Ranking of Various Traits[a]
1. Mutual attraction—love	1. Mutual attraction—love
2. Dependable character	2. Dependable character
3. Emotional stability and maturity	3. Emotional stability and maturity
4. Desire for home and children	4. Education and intelligence
5. Education and intelligence	5. Pleasing disposition
6. Pleasing disposition	6. Sociability
7. Sociability	7. Good health
8. Good health	8. Good looks
9. Desire for home and children	9. Desire for home and children
10. Good financial prospect	10. Ambitious and industrious
11. Similar education	11. Refinement, neatness
12. Good looks	12. Good financial prospect
13. Ambitious and industrious	13. Favorable social status or rating
14. Similar religious background	14. Similar education
15. Good cook and housekeeper	15. Good cook and housekeeper
16. Favorable social status or rating	16. Similar religious background
17. Similar political background	17. Similar political background
18. Chastity (no previous experience in sexual intercourse)	18. Chastity (no previous experience in sexual intercourse)

[a]The lower the number, the more important men and women throughout the world consider this trait to be (on the average).

SOURCE: Boxer, Noonan, & Whelan (2013).

However, this does not mean that young people in all cultures are allowed to act on their feelings of love. On the contrary, romantic love as the basis for marriage is a fairly new cultural idea (Hatfield & Rapson, 2006). As we will see next, in most cultures throughout most of history marriages have been arranged by parents, with little regard for the passionate desires of their adolescent children.

Arranged Marriages

9.8 Specify the features and prevalence of arranged marriages, including how they are currently changing.

The idea that romantic love should be the basis of marriage is only about 300 years old in the West and is even newer in most of the rest of the world (Hatfield & Rapson, 2006). Marriage has more often been seen by cultures as an alliance between two *families* rather than as the uniting of two individuals (Buunk, Park, & Dubbs, 2008). Parents and other adult kin have often held the power to arrange the marriages of their young people, sometimes with the young person's consent, sometimes without it. The most important considerations in

an **arranged marriage** did not usually include the prospective bride and groom's love for one another—often they did not even know each other—or even their personal compatibility. Instead, the desirability of marriage between them was decided by each family on the basis of the other family's status, religion, and wealth. Economic considerations have often been of primary importance.

A cultural tradition of arranged marriage implies different expectations for the marriage relationship. In the West, young people expect marriage to provide intimacy as well as passion and commitment (Cherlin, 2009; de Munck & Korotayev, 2007). They leave their homes and families well before marriage, and they expect their closest attachment in adulthood to be with their marriage partner. For example, in one national survey in the United States, 94% of single Americans in their 20s agreed that "when you marry you want your spouse to be your soul mate, first and foremost" (Popenoe & Whitehead, 2001).

However, in the East, where many cultures have a tradition of arranged marriage, much less has been demanded of marriage (Ahluwalia et al., 2009). Commitment comes first, and passion is welcomed if it exists initially or develops eventually, but expectations of intimacy in marriage are modest. On the contrary, people expect to find intimacy mainly with their family of origin—their parents and their siblings—and eventually with their own children.

Currently, even cultures with a tradition of arranged marriage are beginning to change in their marriage expectations through the influence of globalization. India, for example, has a history of arranged marriage that has existed for 6,000 years (Prakasa & Rao, 1979). Today, however, nearly

Watch RATI AND SUBAZ: ARRANGED MARRIAGE

arranged marriage

A marriage in which the marriage partners are determined not by the partners themselves but by others, usually the parents or other family elders.

Arranged marriages are still common in countries such as India.

40% of adolescent Indians say they intend to choose their own mates (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012). This still leaves the majority (60%) who expect an arranged marriage, but for 40% to prefer choosing their own spouse is high compared with any time in the past, when the percentage would have been close to zero. A similar pattern is taking place in many other cultures with a tradition of arranged marriage (Ahluwalia et al., 2009). Increasingly, young people in these cultures believe that they should be free to choose their mate or at least to have a significant role in whom their parents choose for them. Globalization has increased the extent to which young people value individual choice and the individual's pursuit of happiness, and these values are difficult to reconcile with the tradition of arranged marriage.

Consequently, in many cultures the tradition of arranged marriage has become modified. Today in most Eastern cultures, the "semi-arranged marriage" is the most common practice (Ramsheena & Gundemeda, 2015). This means that parents influence the mate selection of their children but do not simply decide it without the children's consent. Parents may introduce a potential mate to their child. If the young person has a favorable impression of the potential mate, they date a few times. If they agree that they are compatible, they marry. In another variation of semi-arranged marriage, young people meet a potential mate on their own but seek their parents' approval before proceeding to date the person or consider marriage.

It is difficult to say if semi-arranged marriage will be an enduring form or if it is a transitional stage on the way to the end of the tradition of arranged marriage. Although semi-arranged marriages are now common in Eastern cultures, it is also increasingly common for young people to choose their own marriage partner without any involvement from their parents (Sandhya, 2009). Match-making services, including some through the Internet, have also become increasingly popular. Recreational dating remains rare in Asian cultures, but it is more common than in the past, and it may grow in the future.

Sexuality: Rates, Timing, and Cultural Diversity

As we have discussed throughout this text, puberty and the development of sexual maturation are central to adolescence. We have seen how reaching sexual maturity has multiple effects on young people's development, from relationships with parents to gender intensification. However, like other aspects of development in adolescence and emerging adulthood, sex cannot be understood apart from its cultural context. Because human beings are shaped so much by their cultural and social environment, when considering sexual issues we have to think not just of sex but of *sexuality,* that is, not just biological sexual development but also sexual values, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, relationships, and behavior. Thus, our focus in this section will be not just on sex but on sexuality.

Rates of Adolescent Sexual Activity

9.9 Summarize rates of various types of sexual behavior among American adolescents.

Most of the research on adolescent sexuality focuses on sexual intercourse, perhaps because of concerns about problems such as adolescent pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs). However, intercourse is only one part of adolescent sexuality, and it is not the most widespread or the most frequent part of adolescent sexual activity. Most Western adolescents have a considerable amount of other kinds of sexual experience before they have intercourse for the first time, and for most, intercourse is reached through a progression of stages lasting many years (Longmore et al., 2016). The progression often begins with masturbation, followed by necking and petting, sexual intercourse, and oral sex.

MASTURBATION

"[Masturbation] felt really good. I felt a million dollars and then so calm and feeling so good inside myself. It was just this incredible release and I knew that if I ever felt really uptight I could do this again and I could feel good again."

—18-YEAR-OLD GIRL (HOGARTH & INGRAM, 2009, P. 563).

For many adolescents, especially boys, their first sexual experiences take place alone. Consistently for more than a half century, American studies have found that the majority of boys begin masturbating by age 13 and that about 90% of boys masturbate by age 19 (Halpern et al., 2000; Herbenick et al., 2010; King, 2005; Masters, Johnson, & Kolodny, 1994). Studies in other developed countries report similarly high rates (Temple-Smith, Moore, & Rosenthal, 2015). Masturbation among adolescent boys tends to occur frequently, about five times a week on average (Bockting & Coleman, 2003).

For girls, the picture is quite different. In studies a half century ago, only about 15% of females reported masturbating by age 13 and only about 30% by age 20 (Kinsey et al., 1953). In more recent studies, these percentages have increased, but it remains true that girls report considerably lower rates of masturbation than boys. About half of girls report masturbating by ages 14 to 17, and about three-fourths by age 20 (Herbenick et al., 2010). Girls who masturbate do so less frequently than boys, although with considerable individual variability. For both boys and girls, masturbation is not just a sexual release for adolescents who are not having intercourse. On the contrary, adolescents who have had sexual intercourse are more likely to masturbate than adolescents who have not (Temple-Smith et al., 2015).

The recent increase in adolescent girls' reports of masturbation is related to changes in cultural attitudes toward more acceptance of female sexuality and more acceptance of masturbation. It could be that part of the increase in reported rates of girls' masturbation is due to girls' greater willingness to report it. For reasons of social desirability, they may have been less willing to report it 50 years ago than they are today. Even today, masturbation may be a particularly problematic topic in terms of self-report. Although masturbation is both normal and harmless, many young people still feel guilty and frightened by it (Bell, 1998; Temple-Smith et al., 2015). There is a long and bizarre cultural history of beliefs about masturbation in the West, including claims that it causes a wide variety of ills, from pimples to epilepsy to insanity to death (Laqueur, 2004). Part of that anxious legacy endures today despite the sexual revolutions of the 20th century.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think you would answer honestly if you were involved in a study on sexual behavior? Why or why not?

For many adolescents, necking is their first sexual experience with a partner.

Table 9.3 Average Age at First Experience of Various Sexual Behaviors, American Adolescents

	Average Age at First Experience	
	Males	Females
Kissing	13.9	15.0
Touch breast	14.9	16.2
Touch penis	15.7	16.6
Touch vagina	15.4	16.4
Sexual intercourse	16.3	17.3
Oral sex	16.9	17.8

SOURCE: Feldman et al. (1999).

NECKING AND PETTING After masturbation, sexual experience for White American adolescents tends to follow a sequence from kissing through intercourse and oral sex (Feldman, Turner, & Araujo, 1999). Kissing and necking (mutual touching and stroking above the waist) are the first sexual experiences most White adolescents have with a sexual partner. Very little research has been done on this early stage of adolescent sexual experience, but one study found that 73% of 13-year-old girls and 60% of 13-year-old boys had kissed at least once (Coles & Stokes, 1985). The same study found that 35% of the girls reported having their breasts touched by a boy, and 20% of the boys reported touching a girl's breast. By age 16, a majority of boys and girls have engaged in this breast-touching aspect of necking. The next step in the sequence is usually petting (mutual touching and stroking below the waist). By age 18, 60% of adolescent boys report vaginal touching and 77% of adolescent girls report penile touching. A study that asked emerging adults to recall their earlier sexual behavior reported a similar sequence at similar ages, as shown in **Table 9.3** (Feldman et al., 1999).

The Timing of First Intercourse

9.10 Describe the changes in the past century in timing of first intercourse and current patterns among American adolescents, including ethnic differences.

"When I had sex for the first time, I was 17, and that was probably about the right age. I don't think the age was so much the issue. I was in a relationship that was healthy and I was with someone that sex wasn't just sex. It was emotional, and that was really important to me."

—CHRISTY, AGE 25 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 97)

The most researched topic on adolescent sexuality is the timing of adolescents' first episode of sexual intercourse. Research on this topic in the United States goes back almost to the beginning of the 20th century. These studies indicate that between 1925 and 1965 the proportion of high school students who reported having had intercourse at least once changed little. The reported rate was consistently 10% for females and 25% for males (Chilman, 1983). However, rates have changed dramatically since 1965. The proportion of high school students who reported having sexual intercourse at least once rose through the 1970s and 1980s and reached 54% in the early 1990s before declining in the past decade (41% in the most recent national survey; CDC, 2016). The proportion rises steadily from 24% in ninth grade to 58% in 12th grade (CDC, 2016). The average age of first intercourse is similar in the United States and most European countries—around age 17 (Avery & Lazdane, 2008; CDC, 2016).

Prevalence rates of intercourse increased for American college students in the 1960s and 1970s but have changed little in recent decades. For several decades before the 1960s, about 40% of college students reported having had intercourse at least once. A steep increase took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and by the mid-1970s 75% of college students reported having had intercourse (Dreyer, 1982). This proportion increased slightly to about 80% in the 1980s and has remained stable over the past 20 years (Claxton & van Dulmen, 2015).

Patterns of first sexual intercourse in American society show distinct ethnic differences. According to national surveys by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2016), the proportion of high school students in grades 9 to 12 who have had intercourse is lowest for White adolescents (40%), with Latino adolescents somewhat higher (44%) and African American adolescents (49%) highest. African American adolescents also report earlier ages of first intercourse.

The earlier timing of intercourse among Black adolescents appears to be related in part to a different progression of stages in their sexual behavior. Rather than moving gradually from kissing through various stages of necking and petting and then to intercourse, African American adolescents are more likely to skip stages and move quickly to intercourse. This may help explain the high rates of adolescent pregnancy among African Americans, which we will discuss later in the chapter. The quick progression from kissing to intercourse may leave African American adolescents with less time to consider the potential consequences of intercourse and to prepare themselves for it by obtaining contraception somewhere during the earlier steps of sexual contact.

An interesting parallel to this American difference between White and Black adolescents has been found in the Netherlands (de Graaf et al., 2011). The researchers asked over 2,500 adolescents and emerging adults (ages 12 to 25) to recall the timing of various new sexual

experiences. About three-fourths of participants had followed a gradual and common sexual trajectory from less intimate (e.g., kissing) to more intimate behavior (e.g., stroking and petting). Immigrant groups and less educated youth were more likely to follow a nonlinear trajectory, "jumping" to oral sex and intercourse. A gradual trajectory was associated with a higher likelihood of consistent contraceptive use.

Research has indicated that Asian Americans are considerably less likely to engage in sexual activity in adolescence, compared with any of the other major American ethnic groups (Connolly et al., 2004; Feldman et al., 1999). Asian American adolescents tend to have an especially strong sense of duty and respect toward their parents, and many of them view sexual relations in adolescence as something that would disappoint and shame their parents. Asian American adolescents' social interactions with the other sex tend to take place in groups through the late teens, and physical contact between adolescent boys and girls tends to be limited to holding hands and kissing. Boys as well as girls tend to view sexual intercourse as something that should wait until marriage or at least until they are "very seriously involved" (Feldman et al., 1999). Adolescents in Asian countries experience similarly conservative sexual norms (Naito & Gielen, 2003).

Having sexual intercourse once does not necessarily initiate a pattern of frequent intercourse from that point onward. The average length of a sexual relationship among American adolescents is 6 months, and only one-third last more than 7 months (Manlove et al., 2006). In between relationships, adolescents may have periods when they are not sexually active. A national study found that one-third of the high school students who had ever had sexual intercourse had not had sex in the previous 3 months (CDC, 2016).

Most adolescent sexual activity, especially sexual intercourse, takes place within the context of a romantic relationship (Furman et al., 2009). According to a national study, among American adolescents who had had sex, 77% indicated that their most recent sexual partner was also their romantic partner (Manlove et al., 2006). Nevertheless, many adolescents also have occasional episodes of recreational sex, popularly known today as "hooking up" (a one-time sexual experience between uncommitted partners, which may or may not include intercourse). In one national study, over 60% of sexually active adolescents reported having at least one episode of sexual intercourse with an uncommitted partner (Giordano et al., 2006). However, partners in hooking up were not usually strangers. In fact, in 70% of hooking up episodes, the partner was a friend, acquaintance, or ex-boyfriend/girlfriend, and only 6% were with a partner the adolescent had just met. Sexual activity between friends sometimes serves as a bridge toward building a romantic relationship (Furman & Rose, 2015).

One other area for which rates of sexual behavior should be mentioned is oral sex. Most studies find that, for most young people, their first episode of oral sex comes at a later age than their first episode of sexual intercourse. According to one national American study of 15- to 19-year-olds, about half reported ever having oral sex (Lindberg, Jones, & Santelli, 2008). Sexual intercourse experiences predicted oral sex; within 6 months of their first episode of sexual intercourse, 82% of the participants had engaged in oral sex. A national Canadian study found similar rates of oral sex—30% in grade 9 and 50% in grade 11 (Sears et al., 2007). Among college students, the reported rates are considerably higher. In one national (American) study, over 80% of college students reported at least one experience with oral sex in the past year (Buhi et al., 2010).

Pornography

9.11 Summarize the national variations in pornography use in adolescence and emerging adulthood and views of its acceptability.

"I'm not going to say I've never watched porn. I mean, what can you do? It's part of life. If you're going to look at it and you're going to watch it, that's your decision, I guess. I don't watch it on a regular basis. Every now and then, of course, but … it doesn't affect me."

—LUKE, AGE 16 (REGNERUS, 2007, P. 177)

Because adolescence is a time of reaching sexual maturity, interest in sexual topics and sexual issues is high. Yet, as we have seen, actual participation in sexual activity during adolescence is mixed, and in many cases low or nonexistent. Many adolescents are not sexually active, and even those who are sexually active have long periods when they have no regular partner. Even in emerging adulthood, when sexual activity is more common than in adolescence, it is substantially lower than among typical married adults. Some cultures strongly prohibit sexual activity of all kinds before marriage, as we shall see in the next section.

Perhaps for these reasons, pornography has long been appealing to many adolescents and emerging adults, especially males. For many decades, pornographic magazines have shown naked women in sexual poses, and pornographic movies have depicted various sex acts. In recent years, with the invention of the Internet, pornographic material has suddenly become much easier to obtain. In fact, of all the many websites found on the Internet, the most popular sites are the ones that contain pornography (Carroll et al., 2008).

What do we know about the viewing of pornographic materials among adolescents specifically? A national

Research Focus

SEX, LIES, AND METHODOLOGY

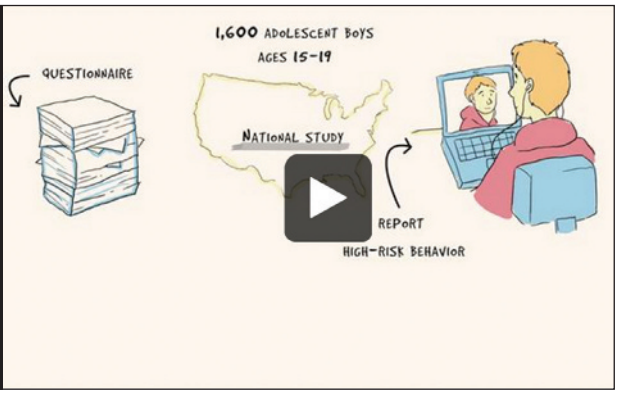
For obvious reasons, studies of adolescent sexuality are based almost entirely on self-report. This raises the question of how truthful people are about what they report. Sex involves many sensitive and private issues, and people may be unwilling to disclose information on these issues accurately even if they are promised that their responses will be anonymous.

One way around this problem involves having adolescents respond on a computer to prerecorded questions given through headphones. In a national study of sexual behavior among 1,600 adolescent males ages 15 to 19 (Harmon, 1998), adolescents who listened to questions on the headphones and answered them on a computer screen were far more likely to report high-risk sexual behavior than adolescents who answered the questions in the traditional questionnaire format. The computer group was 4 times as likely to report having had sex with another male (5.5% to 1.5%), 14 times as likely to report sex with an intravenous drug user (2.8% to 0.2%), and 5 times as likely to report that they were "always" or "often" drunk or high when they had sex (10.8% to 2.2%). These differences remained after the researchers controlled statistically for ethnic background and school performance. The gap between computer answers and questionnaire answers was greatest among adolescents who did well in school, indicating that these adolescents felt they had more of an image to maintain and so were more influenced by social desirability.

Other studies of sensitive topics such as illegal drug use also have found that use of a computer results in higher reports of the behavior (Harmon, 1998; Supple, Aquilino, & Wright, 1999). Scholars suggest that people generally experience a decrease in their inhibitions when a computer mediates their communication. One scholar, Sherry Turkle of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, observed: "We know our computers are networked, but we still experience them as a blank screen for our own self-reflection" (Harmon, 1998, p. A-14). This may make it easier for adolescents (and others) to disclose their participation in behavior they perceive to be disapproved by their society.

Watch SEX, LIES, AND METHODOLOGY

Video



survey of 10- to 17-year-olds in the United States found that 8% of 10- to 13-year-olds and 20% of 14- to 17-year-olds had viewed pornography, with about half of this exposure taking place on the Internet (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005). Viewing pornography was far more common among boys; only 5% of pornography viewers were girls. Pornography viewers were more likely than nonviewers to report delinquency and substance use, but of course this is a correlation, not causation. It does not mean that viewing pornography causes delinquency and substance use in adolescence.

A study of Internet pornography use among Chinese adolescents showed much higher rates of use, despite (or because of?) the more restrictive and conservative sexual attitudes of Chinese culture (Lo & Wei, 2005). In this study, 38% of high school students had ever viewed Internet pornography. Viewing pornography was related to more favorable attitudes toward premarital sex and greater likelihood of reported sexual activity. Once again, however, this is a correlation and does not show causation.

In the United States, pornography use appears to be far higher among emerging adults than among adolescents. In a study of college students at six sites around the country, 87% of the young men and 31% of the young women reported viewing Internet pornography (Carroll et al., 2008). Notably, 67% of the young men and 49% of the young women agreed that viewing pornography is acceptable, which means that many of the young men who reported viewing pornography did not view this behavior as acceptable, whereas many young women who did not view pornography believed it was acceptable to do so. Here as in the other studies, viewing pornography was related to risk behaviors, specifically sexual risk behaviors and substance use, but here again this is a correlation rather than causation. As we will see in more detail in Chapter 12 on media use, it is often difficult to establish causality in media research because people make choices about media consumption that reflect their preexisting personal qualities and behavior patterns.

A study of emerging adults in Sweden found high rates of viewing Internet pornography among both men and women (Häggström-Nordin & Hanson, 2005). Ninety-eight percent of young men and 72% percent of young women in this study had ever viewed pornography. Viewing pornography was related to reported experiences of having sexual intercourse with a friend and to earlier timing of first episode of sexual intercourse. In a qualitative study by this research team (Häggström-Nordin et al., 2005), Swedish emerging adults expressed mixed feelings about pornography viewing. They described it as interesting and pleasurable to view, but also expressed concerns about the submissive and degrading ways women are depicted in pornography and the separation of sex from intimacy.

Cultural Beliefs and Adolescent Sexuality

9.12 Identify the types of cultural attitudes toward adolescent sexuality, and summarize cross-national variations in rates of sexual behavior in emerging adulthood.

Even though adolescents in all cultures experience similar biological processes in reaching sexual maturity, cultures vary enormously in how they view adolescent sexuality. The best description of this variation remains a book that is now more than 50 years old, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* by Ford and Beach (1951). These two anthropologists compiled information about sexuality from over 200 cultures. On the basis of their analysis, they described three types of cultural approaches to adolescent sexuality: restrictive, semirestrictive, and permissive.

Restrictive cultures place strong prohibitions on adolescent sexual activity before marriage. One way of enforcing this prohibition is to require strict separation of boys and girls from early childhood through adolescence. In several parts of the world, from East Africa to the rain forests of Brazil, from about age 7 until marriage, boys and girls live mostly separate lives, boys with fathers and other men or with each other, girls with their mothers and other women. In other restrictive cultures, the prohibition on premarital sex is enforced through strong social norms. Young people in Asia and South America tend to disapprove strongly of premarital sex, reflecting the view they have been taught by their cultures.

Female virginity before marriage is highly valued in Arab countries. Here, adolescent girls in Saudi Arabia.

In some countries, the sanctions against premarital sex even include the threat of physical punishment and public shaming. A number of Arab countries take this approach, including Algeria, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. Premarital female virginity is a matter of not only the woman's honor but also the honor of her family, and if she is known to lose her virginity before marriage, the males of her family may punish her, beat her, or even kill her (DeJong et al., 2007). Although many cultures also value male premarital chastity, no culture punishes violations of male premarital chastity with such severity. Thus, restrictive cultures are usually more restrictive for girls than for boys. A **double standard** in cultural views of adolescent sexuality is common worldwide (Crawford & Popp, 2003; Hatfield & Rapson, 2005).

THINKING CRITICALLY

What do you think explains the gender double standard regarding young people's sexuality that exists in so many cultures?

restrictive cultures
Cultures that place strong prohibitions on adolescent sexual activity before marriage.

double standard
Two different sets of rules for sexual behavior, one applying to males and the other females, with rules for females usually being more restrictive.

Semirestrictive cultures also have prohibitions on premarital adolescent sex. However, in these cultures the formal prohibitions are not strongly enforced and are easily evaded. Adults in these cultures tend to ignore evidence of premarital sexual behavior as long as young people are fairly discreet. However, if pregnancy results from premarital sex, the adolescents are often forced to marry. The Samoans studied by Margaret Mead (1928) are an example of this kind of culture. Adolescent love affairs were common among the Samoans when Mead studied them, but pregnant girls were expected to marry.

Finally, **permissive cultures** encourage and expect adolescent sexuality. In fact, in some permissive cultures sexual behavior is encouraged even in childhood, and the sexuality of adolescence is simply a continuation of the sex play of childhood. One example of this type of culture is the people of the Trobriand Islands in the South Pacific. In Ford and Beach's (1951) description:

> Sexual life begins in earnest among the Trobrianders at six to eight years for girls, ten to twelve for boys. Both sexes receive explicit instruction from older companions whom they imitate in sex activities…. At any time an [adolescent] couple may retire to the bush, the bachelor's hut, an isolated yam house, or any other convenient place and there engage in prolonged sexual play with full approval of their parents. (pp. 188–191)

It should be noted that these descriptions are from the past. In recent decades, the Trobrianders as well as many other permissive cultures have become less permissive in response to globalization and the censure of Christian missionaries (Hatfield & Rapson, 2005).

Which of these categories best applies to the current norms in the American majority culture? When Ford and Beach published *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* in 1951, they classified American society as restrictive. However, a great deal has changed in adolescent sexuality in American society over the past 50 years. Adolescent sexual activity has become far more prevalent during this time, and the attitudes of both adults and adolescents toward adolescent sexuality have become much less restrictive (Regnerus & Uecker, 2011). Semirestrictive is probably a better classification of the American majority culture today. For the most part, American parents look the other way with respect to their adolescents' sexuality, especially by the time their adolescents reach the late teens. Even though they may not approve of their adolescents' having sexual intercourse, they allow romantic relationships to flourish during adolescence, knowing that at least some expression of adolescent sexuality is likely under these circumstances.

However, the semirestrictive approach to adolescent sexuality in the American majority culture is tinged with ambivalence. Although acceptance of premarital sex among American adults rose from 29% in the early 1970s to 55% in 2012, that still leaves 45% in the present who oppose it (Elias et al., 2015; Twenge et al., 2015). Many Americans think that it is acceptable for unmarried adolescents and emerging adults to have sexual intercourse, but many others do not.

Ford and Beach's (1951) framework was based on anthropologists' ethnographies. In recent years, other social scientists have conducted surveys in numerous countries that demonstrate the wide variability in cultural approaches to adolescent sexuality around the world. **Table 9.4** shows some examples. Premarital sex is common in Western European countries, and African countries such as Nigeria and Kenya report rates of premarital sex similar to those in the West. Premarital sex is somewhat less common in South America, although the large differences in reported premarital sex by male and female adolescents in countries such as Brazil and Chile suggest that males exaggerate their sexual activity, or females underreport theirs (or both). Finally, premarital sex is least common in Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea, where the emphasis on female virginity before marriage is still very strong. Missing from the table are figures from the Arab countries (no Arab country allows social scientists to ask adolescents about their sexual behavior), but ethnographic studies indicate that rates of premarital sex in those countries are even lower than in Asia because of the severe penalties for girls who violate the prohibition (Davis & Davis, 2012).

Table 9.4 Percentage of Young Men and Women Who Have Engaged in Premarital Sexual Relations

Country	Age	Men (%)	Women (%)
Brazil	15–19	73	28
Chile	15–19	48	19
Colombia	20	89	65
Hong Kong	27	38	24
Japan	16–21	15	7
Liberia	18–21	93	82
Nigeria	19	86	63
Norway	20	78	86
Mexico	15–19	44	13
Republic of Korea	12–21	17	4
United Kingdom	19–20	84	85
United States	20	84	61

SOURCE: Hatfield & Rapson (2005).

semirestrictive cultures
Cultures that have prohibitions on premarital adolescent sex, but the prohibitions are not strongly enforced and are easily evaded.

permissive cultures
Cultures that encourage and expect sexual activity from their adolescents.

Cultural Focus

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SEXUALITY IN THE NETHERLANDS

Young people's sexuality is viewed quite differently in northern Europe than in the United States. Northern Europeans tend to be considerably more liberal about sexuality than Americans and much more tolerant of sexual involvements by late adolescents and emerging adults (Hatfield & Rapson, 2005). However, this does not mean that young people's sexuality in these countries is uncomplicated. Research by sociologist Amy Schalet (2011) provides interesting insights into young people's sexuality in northern Europe.

Schalet (2011) interviewed 60 Dutch adolescents (ages 15 to 18) and their parents in a city in the Netherlands, a country that has long had liberal attitudes toward sexuality. The data collected in the study were mostly qualitative, based on interviews that were coded in various ways. The interviews focused on communication about sexual issues between adolescents and parents.

Most parents accepted sexual involvements by their adolescents. They believed that is normal and natural for adolescents to begin having sexual interests by their late teens. However, this does not mean the parents were entirely permissive about their adolescents' sexual behavior. On the contrary, they indicated that sexual behavior in adolescence was acceptable only under certain conditions. Age was one important condition. Most parents accepted sexual activity among 17-year-olds, but they viewed ages 14 and 15 as too young, and they were divided over whether age 16 was old enough. They also believed that sex should not be a casual, transient experience, but an expression of a loving relationship. One mother Schalet interviewed said she would not object to her 18-year-old son having a girlfriend stay overnight in their home, but she would not approve "if it's just a girl he's going out with and next time it's another girl, and then another girl. No, I don't find that pleasant. No, I don't want that" (p. 31).

Parents also thought they should know their adolescent's partner well before the adolescent became sexually involved. This would allow them to be confident that the relationship was safe enough and healthy enough for sexuality to be an appropriate part of it. Schalet writes, "For parents to trust that a child is [ready], they say they need to witness the gradual progression of his or her desires and attachments … Parents are much more inclined to accept [their adolescents' sexual activity] when they know that a relationship, and the sexual component of that relationship, have built up gradually over time" (pp. 40–41).

Also important for parental approval of adolescents' sexual activity was responsible use of contraception. Most sexually active Dutch girls use oral contraceptives, and condoms are often used as well. Sex education begins in primary school and includes information about not only anatomy, reproduction, and contraception but masturbation and sexual pleasure. Thus, Schalet observes, "In urging their children to use contraception, Dutch parents are bolstered by education and health policies that strongly support educating teenagers about contraception and giving them easy and free access to birth control" (p. 40).

As in other Western countries, acceptance of premarital sex among adolescents in the Netherlands has taken place only within the past half century or so. As recently as the late 1960s, Schalet notes, the majority of Dutch adults believed premarital sex was wrong. By the 1980s, attitudes had changed, and six in ten adults in a national survey no longer objected to teenage girls and boys having a sexual relationship as long as they were in love. Today, according to a national survey, two-thirds of 15- to 17-year-olds who have a steady boyfriend or girlfriend say their parents would allow their partner to spend the night in their bedrooms.

Nevertheless, even today, many parents have mixed feelings about their adolescents becoming sexually active. Some parents worry that sex has become *too* normal a part of adolescents' love relationships, and consequently may have lost some of its "specialness." Even if they accept that sexual activity is a normal and natural part of a loving relationship by age 17, that does not mean they always approve of it for their own sons and daughters. Sometimes they do not approve of the relationship. Sometimes they do not think their child is mature enough to be ready for sex, even at age 17 or 18. And sometimes, the reason is difficult to identify. Schalet describes a mother who calls her 16-year-old daughter's relationship with her 19-year-old boyfriend "a very healthy development," yet won't allow the boyfriend to sleep overnight in their home, even though she knows they are sexually active. "I just don't want to have such a little couple in my house," says the mom. "I have the feeling that if we were to say yes to that, he would be practically living here. It would be coming a little too close. Our feeling is that that just doesn't feel right" (p. 47). In sum, even in a society that is relatively open and accepting of adolescents' sexuality, communication between parents and adolescents on this topic is not easy.

Gender and the Meanings of Sex

9.13 Compare and contrast the sexual scripts of adolescent boys and girls, and explain the reasons for the differences.

"Like every time you sleep with another person, that goes on your clock like mileage on a car. It doesn't really happen to guys, but it does happen to young women. And every guy you sleep with, it goes up, and the more miles it has, the less desirable you are in a way."

—17-YEAR-OLD GIRL (BALE, 2011, P. 309)

Although the stigma against premarital sex has waned in the West in recent decades, even in the West some degree of gender double standard exists in cultural attitudes toward adolescent sexuality (Crawford & Popp, 2003; Temple-Smith et al., 2015). Just as in dating, adolescent girls and boys in the West learn different **sexual scripts** (Gagnon, 1973; Krahé et al., 2007; Morrison et al., 2015)—that is, different cognitive frameworks for understanding how a sexual experience is supposed to proceed and how sexual experiences are to be interpreted. In general, both

girls and boys expect the boy to "make the moves" (i.e., to be the sexual initiator), whereas the girl is expected to set the limits on how far the sexual episode is allowed to progress. Studies have also found that girls are more likely than boys to have sexual scripts that include romance, friendship, and emotional intimacy, whereas for boys sexual attraction tends to outweigh emotional factors (Eyre & Millstein, 1999; Hatfield & Rapson, 2005; Temple-Smith et al., 2015). Among young men, watching pornography may promote permissive sexual scripts (Braithwaite et al., 2015).

Evidence of differing sexual scripts for adolescent girls and boys can also be found in studies of adolescents' responses to their first sexual intercourse (Moore & Rosenthal, 2006; Zimmer-Gembeck & Helfand, 2008). Boys' responses to first intercourse are generally highly positive. They most commonly report feeling excitement, satisfaction, and happiness, and they take pride in telling their friends about it. In contrast, girls tend to be considerably more ambivalent. Almost half of them indicate that the main reason for having first intercourse was affection/love for their partner, compared with only one-fourth of males, in Europe as well as in the United States (Bozma & Kontula, 2014; Sears et al., 2007). However, they are less likely than boys to find the experience either physically or emotionally satisfying. Although many report feeling happy and excited about it, they are much more likely than boys to report feeling afraid, worried, guilty, and concerned about pregnancy, and they are much less likely than boys to tell their friends (Sprecher et al., 1995; Zimmer-Gembeck & Helfand, 2008). This seems to indicate that the sexual script for girls is more fraught with ambivalence than the script for boys, as a result of cultural attitudes that view girls (but not boys) who engage in premarital sex as morally wrong.

The fact that girls can get pregnant and boys cannot may partly explain why girls are more ambivalent about premarital sex, especially premarital sex in the absence of a committed relationship. If pregnancy results, the consequences are likely to be much more serious for her than for him—physically, socially, and emotionally. However, cultural attitudes also reinforce the tendencies that arise from biological differences in consequences, and may in fact be more important than the biological differences. Many investigators of sexual attitudes in Western countries have observed that adolescent sex is more disapproved for girls than for boys (Brooks-Gunn & Paikoff, 1997; Hird & Jackson, 2001; Michael et al., 1995; Temple-Smith et al., 2015). Because of this double standard, adolescent girls who are engaging in sexual intercourse are more likely than boys to be seen as bad or unlovable, by themselves as well as by others. Under these circumstances, adolescent girls may find it difficult to experience their sexuality as a source of pleasure and joy (Fine, 1988).

sexual scripts

Cognitive frameworks, often different for males and females, for understanding how a sexual experience is supposed to proceed and how sexual experiences are to be interpreted.

Males and females tend to interpret their sexual experiences differently.

Characteristics of Sexually Active Adolescents

9.14 Explain how sexually active adolescents in the United States are different from peers who are not sexually active.

Even by grades 9 to 12, about half of American adolescents have never had sexual intercourse, and others may have had sex once or twice but are not currently in a sexual relationship. As noted previously, different ethnic groups in American society have quite different rates of sexual intercourse in adolescence. What other characteristics distinguish adolescents who are having sex from adolescents who are not, and what factors are related to the timing of adolescents' first episodes of sexual intercourse?

At high school age, adolescents who remain virgins and adolescents who are nonvirgins are similar in some ways and different in others. The two groups have similar levels of self-esteem and overall life satisfaction (Vasilenko et al., 2014). However, adolescents who remain virgins through high school are more likely than nonvirgins to be late maturing in the timing of their pubertal development, and they tend to have higher levels of academic performance and academic aspirations (Graber et al., 2010). They are also more likely to be politically conservative and to participate in religious activities (Smith & Denton, 2005).

Sharper differences exist between adolescents who have their first episode of sexual intercourse relatively early in adolescence (age 15 or younger) and other adolescents (Bozm & Kontula, 2014; Madkour et al. 2010). Adolescents who have early sexual intercourse are more likely than other adolescents to be early users of drugs and alcohol as well. They are also more likely than other adolescents to be from single-parent families and to have grown up in poverty. The early involvement of African American adolescents in sexual activity can be explained to a large extent by the higher rates of single-parent families and poverty among African Americans. Numerous scholars who have studied early sexual intercourse among African American adolescents in poor families have concluded that poverty gives these adolescents less to hope and plan for, so that they have less of an incentive to refrain from becoming sexually active to avoid pregnancy and preserve their future prospects (Edin & Kefelas, 2006; Wilson, 1996).

Some differences exist in family relationships between early sexually active adolescents and other adolescents. One review of parenting and adolescents' sexual behavior across Western countries concluded that in general, parental support and control is related to adolescents' later sexual initiation and safer sex practices (especially contraceptive use) (de Graaf et al., 2011). Also, *parental monitoring*—the extent to which parents know where their adolescents are and what they are doing—is related to later sexual initiation.

However, research is mixed regarding the role that communication between parents and adolescents about sexual issues plays in the timing of adolescents' first intercourse. According to some studies, girls whose mothers talk to them frequently about sex have their first sexual intercourse at a *younger* age than their peers do (Deptula et al., 2010). However, other studies report that adolescents' perceptions of parents' disapproval of sexual intercourse in the teen years is associated with later age of first intercourse (Blum, 2002). Also, adolescents who have closer relationships with their mothers are less likely to report having sex, more likely to use contraception if they do have sex, and less likely to become pregnant (Claes et al., 2005; Deptula et al., 2010).

With respect to the influence of peers, when most of the adolescents in a clique are sexually active, they establish a norm within the clique that having sex is acceptable (Lyons et al., 2011). The remaining virgins in the clique may be influenced toward sexual involvement through their exposure to that norm and to experienced potential sex partners. Of course, selective association may be involved here. Adolescent virgins who are hanging around a group of nonvirgins are likely to have characteristics in common with the nonvirgins that also contribute to decisions of whether to become sexually active, such as lower academic goals and lower religiosity.

Also, as noted in Chapter 2, girls who mature early tend to attract attention from older boys, which tends to result in the girls' becoming sexually active earlier than other girls (Young & d'Arcy, 2005). More generally, girls with older boyfriends (3 or more years older) are more likely to be sexually active and more likely to be subject to sexual coercion (Bozma & Kontula, 2014; Young & d'Arcy, 2005). Older boys are more likely to expect sex as part of a romantic relationship, and they have more power and status in relationships with younger girls. Consequently, girls with older boyfriends are more likely to accept their sexual demands, in an effort to maintain a relationship that gives them status. However, girls with older boyfriends also tend to be more interested in sex than other girls their age are (Gowen et al., 2002).

Sexuality in Emerging Adulthood

9.15 Summarize the features of sexuality in emerging adulthood, including differences compared to adolescence.

"Sex is just a normal part of life and no one flips about you having it."

—19-YEAR-OLD FEMALE (LEFKOWITZ, 2006, P. 251)

Adults in many societies view sexual activity (especially intercourse) among adolescents as a problem to be prohibited or at least minimized. This is true both among the general public and among researchers, who tend to include sex as a type of "problem behavior" among adolescents (Chun & Mobley, 2010; Jessor, 1999; Vasilenko et al., 2014). This is partly because of the high rates of unintended pregnancy and STIs that accompany adolescent sex and partly because adults often believe that adolescents are not emotionally mature enough for sex (Michael et al., 1995; Schalet, 2011).

With respect to emerging adults, however, sex is viewed more as "a normal part of life," by adults generally and by emerging adults themselves (Lefkowitz, 2005). This does not mean that adults entirely accept or approve of sex among emerging adults. In fact, many American parents do not allow their emerging adult children to have a romantic partner spend the night in their household (Arnett, 2015). However, parents are at least less opposed to sex among emerging adults than among adolescents. As for the emerging adults themselves, most of them have had sex at least once as adolescents and few of them expect to get married before at least their mid-20s, so they tend to see sex as a normal part of their lives during emerging adulthood.

In their sexual behavior as in other aspects of their lives, there is a great deal of diversity among emerging adults. The most common pattern among American 18- to 24-year-olds is to have had one partner in the past year (Regnerus & Uecker, 2011). However, emerging adults are more likely than adults in any older age group to have had either more or fewer sexual partners. About one-third of 18- to- 23-year-olds report having had two or more partners in the past year, but about one-fourth report having had sex not at all in the past year (Regnerus & Uecker, 2011). At the beginning of emerging adulthood, age 18, about half of Americans have had intercourse at least once, and by age 25 nearly all emerging adults have had intercourse at least once, but those who have their first episode of intercourse relatively late tend to be "active abstainers" rather than "accidental abstainers" (Lefkowitz, 2005). That is, they remain virgins longer because they have chosen to wait rather than because they had no opportunity for sex. Common reasons for abstaining are fear of pregnancy, fear of STIs, religious or moral beliefs, and the feeling one has not yet met the right person (Patrick & Lee, 2010).

Sexual behavior in emerging adulthood most commonly takes place in the context of a close romantic relationship (Lefkowitz, 2005). However, emerging adults are more likely than adults in older age groups to engage in recreational sex or hooking up. In college surveys, about 80% of students report having had at least one casual sexual experience, and about 60% state that they have had an ongoing "friends with benefits" relationship with someone they knew but were not romantically involved with (Claxton & van Dulmen, 2015). Male emerging adults are more likely than females to have sexual attitudes that favor recreational sex. They tend to be more likely than females to be willing to have intercourse with someone they have known for only a few hours, to have sex with two different partners in the same day, and to have sex with someone they do not love (Knox et al., 2001; Maas et al., 2015). In a national survey of 18- to 29-year-olds, about half (52%) of males but only one-third of females (33%) agreed that it was okay for people to have sex when they are not emotionally connected (Arnett & Schwab, 2012).

Frequently, episodes of hooking up are fueled by alcohol. In various studies, from one-fourth to one-half of emerging adults report having consumed alcohol before their most recent sexual encounter (Lefkowitz, 2005), and emerging adults who drink often are more likely than others to have had multiple sexual partners (Regnerus & Uecker, 2011). The college environment is especially conducive to hooking up because it brings together so many emerging adults in a common setting that includes frequent social events that involve alcohol use (Sperber, 2000).

Sexual Harassment and Sexual Coercion

9.16 Describe the prevalence and causes of sexual harassment and sexual coercion.

Like love, sex has its dark side. Sexual interactions among adolescents and emerging adults are not always enjoyable or even voluntary. Two of the problems that arise in sexual interactions are sexual harassment and sexual coercion.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT During adolescence, **sexual harassment** is a pervasive part of peer interactions. Sexual harassment is usually defined as including a wide range of behaviors, from mild harassment such as name-calling, jokes, and leering looks to severe harassment involving unwanted touching or sexual contact (Uggen & Blackstone, 2004). Rates of sexual harassment in adolescence are strikingly high, with about one-fifth of boys and 25% to 75% of girls reporting that they have been harassed (Clear et al., 2014; Mitchell et al., 2014). Research indicates that the incidence of sexual harassment increases from grades 5 through 9, with about half of ninth grade American girls reporting that they have been victims of sexual harassment from their peers (Connolly & Goldberg, 1999; Petersen & Hyde, 2009). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) adolescents are targeted for sexual harassment at higher rates than other adolescents (Mitchell et al., 2014). Early maturing girls are also especially likely to be targeted for sexual harassment—from both boys and girls (Goldstein et al., 2007; Skoog & Ozdemir, 2015).

Sexual and romantic joking and teasing are a common part of adolescents' peer interactions, making it difficult to tell where the border is between harmless joking and harmful harassment. Indeed, the majority of adolescents who report being sexually harassed also report sexually harassing others (Lee et al., 1996). Teachers and other school personnel who witness adolescents' interactions may be reluctant to intervene, unsure of what should qualify as harassment (Stein, 1995). However, being the victim of persistent harassment can be extremely unpleasant for adolescents and can result in anxiety and depression as

sexual harassment

A wide range of threatening or aggressive behaviors related to sexuality, from mild harassment such as name-calling, jokes, and leering looks to severe harassment involving unwanted touching or sexual contact.

well as declining school performance (Bucchianeri et al., 2014; Gruber & Fineran, 2008).

SEXUAL COERCION **Sexual coercion** takes place when a person experiences unwanted sexual contact due to verbal pressure, alcohol or drugs, or physical force. Studies indicate that one-third of adolescent boys and nearly half of adolescent girls report sexual coercion (Young et al., 2012).

Alcohol plays a big part in sexual coercion (King, 2005; Young et al., 2012). Being intoxicated makes women less effective in communicating reluctance to have sex and makes men more likely to ignore or overpower a woman's resistance. When intoxicated, men are more likely to interpret women's behavior, such as talking to them or dancing with them, as indicating sexual interest (Maurer & Robinson, 2008). However, even when sober, young men and women often interpret sexual coercion incidents differently (Black & Gold, 2008; Bouffard & Miller, 2014). In their accounts of such incidents, young men often deny they forced sex on the woman and say they interpreted the way the young woman dressed or offered affection as cues that she wanted sex. In contrast, young women describing the same incident deny that their dress or behavior was intended to be sexually alluring and say that the men were coercive and ignored their verbal or nonverbal resistance to sex.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Adolescents

9.17 Explain how social attitudes toward homosexuality have changed in recent decades and how this has influenced the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender adolescents.

"When I told my dad I was gay, he said 'No, you can't be gay, it's too hard a lifestyle to live in, just be straight, it's a lot easier, you're just going through a phase.' I said, 'Listen, this phase has lasted 3 or 4 years so far.'"

—18-YEAR-OLD BOY (MAYOCK ET AL., 2016, P. 58)

So far we have discussed adolescent dating, love, and sexuality in terms of the attractions and relationships between males and females. But what about young people who are sexually attracted to other persons of the same sex? What is it like for them to reach the age where issues of dating, love, and sex become more prominent?

sexual coercion

An act of sexual aggression in which a person, usually a woman, is forced by a romantic partner, date, or acquaintance to have sexual relations against her will.

Table 9.5 Same-Sex Romantic Attractions, Sexual Behavior, and Sexual Identity

	Females			Males		
	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age	Age
Sexual Domain	**16**	**17**	**22**	**16**	**17**	**22**
Same-sex romantic attractions	5%	4%	13%	7%	5%	5%
Same-sex sexual behavior	1%	1%	4%	1%	1%	3%
Sexual identity: Lesbian/Gay/			1%			2%
Bisexual/Transgender (LGBT)			3%			1%

SOURCE: Savin-Williams and Ream (2007). The question about sexual identity was asked only at age 22.

First, important distinctions between same-sex attractions, same-sex sexual behavior, and homosexual identity should be noted. A national longitudinal study in the United States included several questions about same-sex and other-sex attractions and sexual behavior (Savin-Williams & Ream, 2007). Questionnaire data were collected at ages 16, 17, and 22. As shown in **Table 9.5**, at each age considerably more adolescents and emerging adults experienced same-sex romantic attractions than engaged in same-sex sexual behavior. At age 22, more emerging adults reported same-sex romantic attractions than reported same-sex sexual behavior or an LGBT identity, especially among women. Other studies have reported slightly higher levels of LGBT attractions, sexual behavior, and sexual identity, but there is a consistent pattern across studies that prevalence of same-sex attractions is higher than same-sex behavior, which is in turn higher than prevalence of LGBT identity (Savin-Williams, 2006).

Here is an example of the complex relations between sexual attraction, behavior, and identity. At age 15, Stephanie and Lolita were best friends. Stephanie recalled,

> "Lolita would sleep over a lot and one night she was talking about her boyfriend Juan and talking about sex … We had been very affectionate, like most girlfriends. I asked her how he kissed her, and so she kissed me like her Juan did. This was quite a shocker. From then on we kissed a lot when we got together, and began touching and caressing. To make it 'okay,' one of us would be the boy … She's straight as far as I know … I was the only girl she did anything with. We never said we were lesbians." (Savin-Williams, 2006, p. 212)

Adolescence is an especially important period with respect to establishing an LGBT identity. In the past in Western cultures, and still today in many of the world's cultures, many people would keep this knowledge to themselves all their lives because of the certainty that

Adolescence is usually the time when homosexuals become fully aware of their orientation.

they would be stigmatized and ostracized if they disclosed the truth. Today in most Western cultures, however, LGBTs commonly engage in a process of **coming out**, which involves a person's recognizing his or her own sexual identity and then disclosing the truth to friends, family, and others (Flowers & Buston, 2001; Potoczniak et al., 2009). Awareness of an LGBT sexual identity usually begins in early adolescence, with disclosure to others coming in late adolescence or emerging adulthood (Floyd & Bakeman, 2006). The average age of coming out has declined in recent decades, from 21 in the 1970s to 16 in the present, perhaps because of growing acceptance of homosexuality (Morgan, 2015).

LGBTs usually disclose their sexual identity first to a friend; fewer than 10% tell a parent first (Savin-Williams, 1998, 2001). Coming out is often a long process, as information is disclosed gradually to others. For many LGBTs the coming-out process is never complete, and they withhold information about their sexual orientation to some degree throughout their lives. According to one longitudinal study, the coming-out process takes longer for African Americans and Latinos than for Whites, perhaps because of stronger antihomosexual views in these cultures (Rosario et al., 2004).

Given the **homophobia** (fear and hatred of homosexuals) that exists in many societies (Baker, 2002), coming to the realization of an LGBT identity can be traumatic for many adolescents. Rates of substance abuse, school difficulties, depression, and running away from home are higher among LGBT adolescents (D'Augelli & Patterson, 2002; Goldbach et al., 2014). All these problems tend to increase after the adolescent comes out to parents (Heatherington & Lavner, 2008). Many parents respond with dismay or even anger when they learn that their adolescents are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (Baiocco et al., 2015). When parents reject LGBT adolescents after learning of their sexual identity, the consequences are dire. One study found that LBGT adolescents who experience parental rejection were 8 times more likely to report having attempted suicide, 6 times more likely to report high levels of depression, 3 times more likely to use illegal drugs, and 3 times more likely to have had unprotected sex than LGBT adolescents whose parents were more accepting of their sexual orientation (Ryan et al., 2010).

Adolescents and emerging adults who are LGBT also face potential mistreatment from their peers (Morgan, 2015). In one American survey of LGBT adolescents, 82% reported verbal abuse and 34% physical harassment in the past year at school due to their sexual identity (Kosciw et al., 2012). Given the unpleasant reception that often awaits them if they come out, it is not surprising that many LGBT adolescents hide their homosexual feelings and behavior (D'Augelli et al., 2005). Recent research suggests that the Internet may provide a way for LGBT adolescents to explore and understand their sexuality, by connecting with other LGBTs in a way that seems controlled and safe (Harper et al., 2009; Silenzio et al., 2009; Ybarra et al., 2015).

Despite continuing homophobia, in recent years there has been a noticeable change in American attitudes toward LGBTs, constituting a dramatic cultural shift toward more favorable and tolerant perceptions. Many high schools and colleges have formed "Gay–Straight Alliances" to reduce homophobia (Mayberry, 2013). Adults have also come forward to encourage LGBT adolescents, for example in the "It Gets Better" project (http://www.itgetsbetter.org/), which promotes this pledge: "Everyone deserves to be respected for who they are. I pledge to spread this message to my friends, family and neighbors. I'll speak up against hate and intolerance whenever I see it, at school and at work. I'll provide hope for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and other bullied teens by letting them know that it gets better."

Adolescents and emerging adults in the United States are much more likely than older adults to accept diversity in sexual orientation as normal, and much less likely to support laws that discriminate against people who are LGBT. For example, 70% of adolescents and emerging

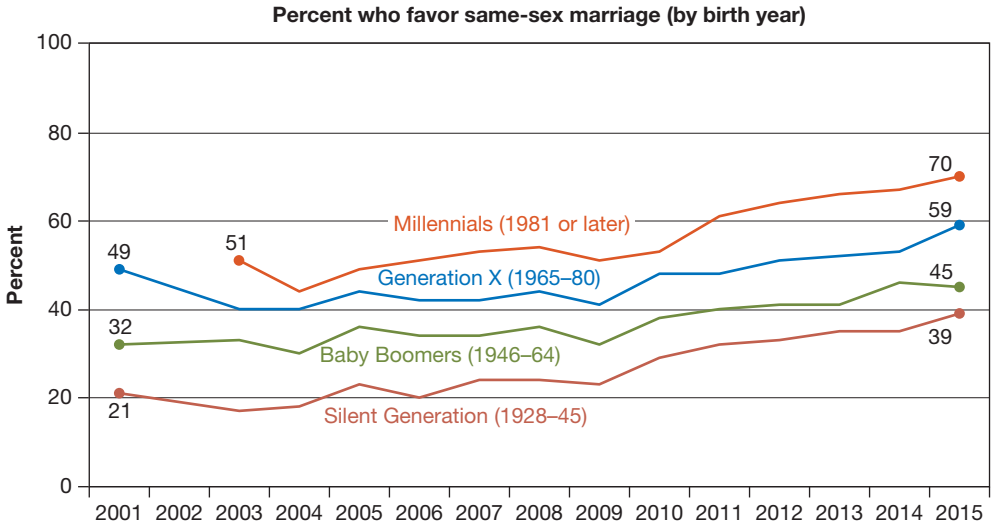
coming out

For homosexuals, the process of acknowledging their homosexuality and then disclosing the truth to their friends, family, and others.

homophobia

Fear and hatred of homosexuals.

Figure 9.2 Attitudes toward same-sex marriage by generation.



adults favor gay marriage, compared to just 39% of the eldest Americans (see **Figure 9.2**; Pew Research Center, 2015). A study in the United Kingdom reported a notable decline in homophobia and rising acceptance of homosexuality, based on ethnographic research with adolescents (McCormack, 2012).

In sum, homophobia is still pervasive, and the problems faced by LGBT adolescents and emerging adults are formidable, but young people today seem to be developing a more flexible and tolerant view of sexual variability than their parents or grandparents did.

THINKING CRITICALLY

What do you think explains the homophobia that exists in many cultures? Why does homosexuality make many people uncomfortable and even angry?

Sexuality: Pregnancy Prevention and Consequences

Where there is sex, there is the possibility of babies. You probably knew that, but what you may not have thought about is that we are currently in an unprecedented era with regard to adolescent sexuality. As described in the first chapter, the age of reaching puberty declined through the 20th century, as more people gained access to better nutrition and medical care. In the second half of the 20th century, the median age of entering marriage rose everywhere, especially in developed countries. Consequently, by now there is a gap of over a decade in developed countries between the time adolescents reach sexual maturity and the time they enter marriage, which has been, historically, the main context for raising children in every society. This has a number of implications for how societies have to address and attempt to shape the expression of sexuality in adolescence and emerging adulthood, including contraceptive use, pregnancy, single parenthood, and STIs.

Contraceptive Use and Nonuse

9.18 Explain why contraceptive use in adolescence is often inconsistent, and identify cultural variations in adolescent pregnancy and the reasons for those variations.

Just as cultures have a variety of ways of viewing adolescent sexuality, from encouraging it to strictly prohibiting it, adolescent pregnancy is viewed by different cultures in a variety of ways. In most of the 186 traditional cultures described by Schlegel and Barry (1991), girls marry by the time they reach age 18. Thus, they tend to marry within 2 years of reaching menarche because menarche tends to take place later in most traditional cultures—age 15 or 16—than in developed countries. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, in the first 2 years after menarche girls tend to ovulate irregularly and are less likely to become pregnant during this time than later, after their cycle of ovulation has been established (Finkelstein, 2001a). This means that for most adolescent girls in traditional cultures, even if they begin having sexual intercourse before marriage, their first child is likely to be born in the context of marriage. And in some traditional cultures, even if a girl has a child before marriage it may be viewed positively,

Girls in traditional cultures often marry by age 18, about 2 or 3 years after reaching menarche. Here, a young bride in Nepal.

as an indication that she is fertile and will be able to have more children once she has married (Schlegel & Barry, 1991; Whiting, Burbank, & Ratner, 1986).

Clearly, the situation is quite different for adolescent girls in developed countries. They reach menarche much earlier, usually around age 12 or 13, and they tend to marry much later, usually in their mid- to late 20s. Because the majority of adolescent girls in developed countries begin having sexual intercourse at some time in their mid- to late teens, this leaves a period of a decade or more for many girls between the time they begin having intercourse and the time they enter marriage. Furthermore, for adolescent girls in developed countries, having a child while unmarried and in their teens has serious, detrimental effects on their future prospects. Unlike in traditional cultures, the late teens and early 20s are crucial years in developed countries for educational and occupational preparation. For girls in developed countries who have a child outside of marriage during those years, their educational and occupational prospects are often severely impeded, as we will see in the next section.

Of course, unlike girls in most traditional cultures, adolescents in developed countries also have various methods of contraception to prevent pregnancy. It is at least theoretically possible that adolescents who have begun having sexual intercourse and do not yet want to produce a child could use one of the highly effective methods of contraception available to them.

However, this theoretical possibility does not always match reality, especially in the United States. The reality is that many American adolescents who are having sex do not use contraception responsibly and consistently. Although condom use among adolescents increased substantially during the 1980s and early 1990s, in a national study, only 60% of sexually active adolescents reported using contraception "always" in their most recent sexual relationship, whereas 20% responded "sometimes" and 20% "never" (Manlove et al., 2006). Contraceptive use is slightly higher among European adolescents, with rates over 80% at most recent intercourse in most countries (Avery & Lazdane, 2008).

Among American adolescents, contraceptive use is often inconsistent (Daley, 2014). If they know how to obtain and use contraception, why do they so often fail to use it consistently? One of the best analyses of this question is a classic article by Diane Morrison (1985), in which she reviewed dozens of articles on this topic. She concluded that the core of the answer is that most adolescent sexual activity is *unplanned* and *infrequent*. Adolescents typically do not anticipate that they will have sex on a given occasion. The opportunity is there—they start necking, they start taking their clothes off—and "it just happens." If contraception is available at that moment, they may use it, but if it is not, they sometimes simply take their chances. Also, the fact that adolescent sex tends to be infrequent—only once or twice a month, much less often than for adults—means that they may never get into the habit of preparing for sex as something they take part in on a regular basis.

Some scholars have suggested that cognitive development in adolescence may play a role in contraceptive use. The ability to anticipate consequences and plan for the future is only just developing when many adolescents become sexually active. One qualitative study of low-income White and African American adolescents identified four cognitively based reasons why adolescents are inconsistent in their contraceptive use (Borrero et al., 2015): First, the girls did not have clear intentions about avoiding pregnancy. Second, they did not consider the potential disadvantages of becoming unintentionally pregnant. Third, because of a lack of planning, decisions about the acceptability of unintentional pregnancy were often made only after pregnancy had occurred. Finally, even when the girls expressed a desire to avoid pregnancy, their contraceptive behavior often did not match this goal.

Other scholars have identified a variety of other factors related to the likelihood that adolescents will use contraception. Both male and female adolescents are more likely to use contraception if they are in their late rather than early teens, involved in an ongoing relationship with their partner, and doing well in school (Cocca, 2006; Johnson et al., 2015). Also, some young people resist using contraception because they believe it interferes with the sexual mood and with romantic feelings, and some males resist using condoms because they believe condoms reduce sexual pleasure (Higgins & Hirsch, 2007; Reed et al., 2014).

Cultural factors are also involved in contraceptive use. The United States has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy among developed countries, as **Figure 9.3** shows. This is not because adolescents in the United States have more sex than those in other countries (Santelli et al., 2008). The pregnancy rate among adolescents in Canada, for example, is less than half the rate in the United States, even though the percentages of adolescents in the two countries who are sexually active are nearly identical (McKay & Barrett, 2010). Adolescents in European countries such as Sweden and Denmark are as likely as adolescents in the United States to be sexually active but much less likely to become pregnant (Avery & Lazdane, 2008; Løkkegaard & Nielsen, 2014).

What explains this difference? In part, higher American rates of adolescent pregnancy are the result of higher rates of poverty, compared with European countries. Numerous studies have found that adolescents who are from low-income families are less likely than other adolescents to use contraception (Borrero et al., 2015; Small et al., 2009). However, even when analyses are restricted to White middle-class adolescents, Americans have higher rates of premarital pregnancy than adolescents in most other Western countries (Avery & Lazdane, 2008).

Most analyses of these cross-national differences have concluded that the core of the problem of inconsistent contraceptive use is the mixed messages that American adolescents receive about sexuality (Elias et al., 2015; Twenge et al., 2015). Earlier it was stated that American society has a semirestrictive approach to adolescent sex. What this means, in practice, is that American adolescents are not strongly prohibited from having sex, but neither is adolescent sex widely accepted. Adolescents receive different messages from different socialization sources, including parents, friends, school, media, and religious bodies, about the morality and desirability of premarital sex.

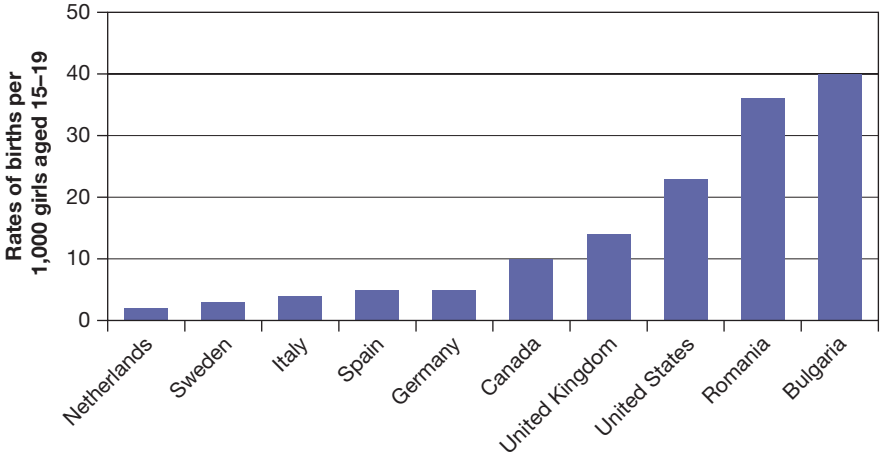
As a consequence of the influences from these different socialization sources, many American adolescents end up somewhere in the middle—having sex occasionally but feeling guilty or at least ambivalent about it, and not really acknowledging that they are sexually active. Using contraception would mean acknowledging their sexual activity and planning ahead for the next time, and many of them are reluctant to do so (Borrero et al., 2015; Widman et al., 2006).

Two types of countries have low rates of teenage pregnancy: those that are permissive about adolescent sex and those that adamantly forbid it. Countries such as Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands have low rates of adolescent pregnancy because they are permissive about adolescent sex (Avery & Lazdane, 2008; Boyle, 2001). There are explicit safe-sex campaigns in the media. Adolescents have easy access to all types of contraception. Parents accept that their children will become sexually active by their late teens. It is not uncommon for adolescents in these countries to have a boyfriend or girlfriend spend the night—in their bedroom in their parents' home, a practice barely imaginable to most Americans (see the Cultural Focus Box; Schalet, 2011).

At the other end of the spectrum, restrictive countries such as Japan, South Korea, India, and Morocco strictly forbid adolescent sex (Davis & Davis, 2012; Hatfield & Rapson, 2005; Zimmerman, 2015). Adolescents in these countries are even strongly discouraged from dating until they are well into emerging adulthood and are seriously looking for a marriage partner. It is rare for an adolescent boy and girl even to spend time alone together, much less have sex. Some adolescents follow the call of nature anyway and violate the taboo, but violations are rare because the taboo is so strong and the shame of being exposed for breaking it is so great.

Figure 9.3 Rates of adolescent births in Western countries.

SOURCE: OECD Family Database (2016).



Countries with permissive views of adolescent sex, such as the Scandinavian countries, have low rates of adolescent pregnancy. Here, two adolescents in Norway.

seem like a large number—and it is—but in fact the birth rate among teenage girls has declined steadily from the mid-1950s to the present, not just in the United States but in every Western country (Martin et al., 2015; Santelli & Melnikas, 2010). Why, then, is there so much more concern about adolescent pregnancy in American society today than there was in the 1950s? The reason is that in the 1950s only about 15% of births to teenage mothers took place outside of marriage, whereas today 87% of teenage births are to unmarried mothers (Child Trends, 2011). In the 1950s and 1960s, the median age of marriage for females was just 20 (Arnett & Taber, 1994). This means that many girls at that time married in their teens and had their first child soon after. Today, with the median marriage age for American females about 27, it is rare for young people to marry while still in their teens. If a teenage girl has a child, it is quite likely that she will be unmarried.

Birth rates among American teens rose sharply in the late 1980s but declined substantially from the early 1990s to the present (Kost & Henshaw, 2014). Just in the past decade, from 2006 to 2015, the teen birth rate declined by nearly half (CDC, 2016). The decline appears to be a result of a variety of factors, including a slight decline in sexual activity, the effects of HIV/AIDS prevention programs, and—especially—a sharp increase in the use of condoms (Boonstra, 2014; Santelli et al., 2008).

In recent years, birth rates have become highest of all among Latina adolescents, as **Figure 9.4** shows. According

Pregnancy, Parenthood, and Abortion in Adolescence

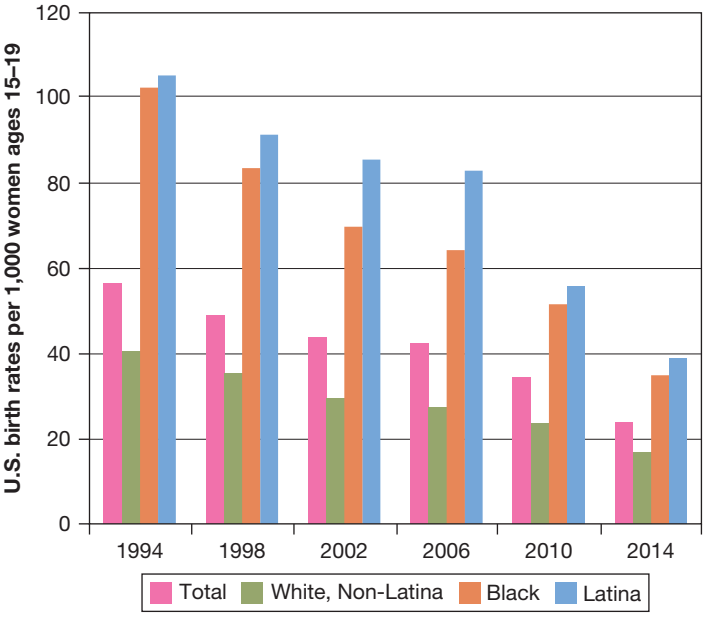
9.19 Summarize rates of adolescent pregnancy in the United States in different ethnic groups and compared to other developed countries, and specify the consequences for mothers, fathers, and babies.

When adolescents fail to use contraceptives effectively and pregnancy takes place, what are the consequences for the adolescent parents and their child? About 30% of teen pregnancies in America end in abortion, and another 14% end in miscarriage (Kost, Henshaw, & Carlin, 2010). Of the children who are born, only about 5% are put up for adoption. The others are raised by their adolescent mothers, sometimes with the help of the father of the child, more often with the help of the adolescent mother's own mother.

About half a million children are born to teenage mothers in the United States every year. This may

Figure 9.4 Teen birth rates in different ethnic groups.

SOURCES: Hamilton & Ventura (2012); National Vital Statistics Report (2007). U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2016).



to two researchers, the sexual scripts in Latino culture, specifically the greater power of males in male–female relationships and the belief that love often overpowers reason, make it unlikely that Latino adolescent partners will use contraception (Aparicio et al., 2016; Randolph, 2015). However, Latina adolescent birth rates have also fallen since the early 1990s, though not as low as the rates among Whites and Blacks.

Before recent decades, adolescent pregnancy was often followed by a hasty "shotgun wedding" to avoid scandal and make certain the baby would be born to a married couple (Graber, Britto, & Brooks-Gunn, 1999). According to one estimate, about half of the teenage American girls who married in the late 1950s were pregnant on their wedding day (Furstenberg et al., 1987). Today, the stigma of unmarried motherhood has receded (although certainly not disappeared), and adolescent girls who become pregnant are considerably more likely to have the child even while remaining unmarried. **Figure 9.5** shows the pattern over the past half century.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF EARLY PARENTHOOD The concern over adolescent pregnancy is based in part on the practical consequences for the adolescent mother and her child. Because teen mothers are not yet physically mature, and because they more often receive inadequate prenatal care, they are at high risk for pregnancy and delivery problems. In a study of 29 countries worldwide by the World Health Organization, mothers ages 10 to 19 were at higher risk than mothers ages 20 to 24 for threats to their own health during pregnancy and for low birth weight, preterm delivery, and severe neonatal conditions (Ganchimeg et al., 2014). This pattern applied both in developed and developing countries.

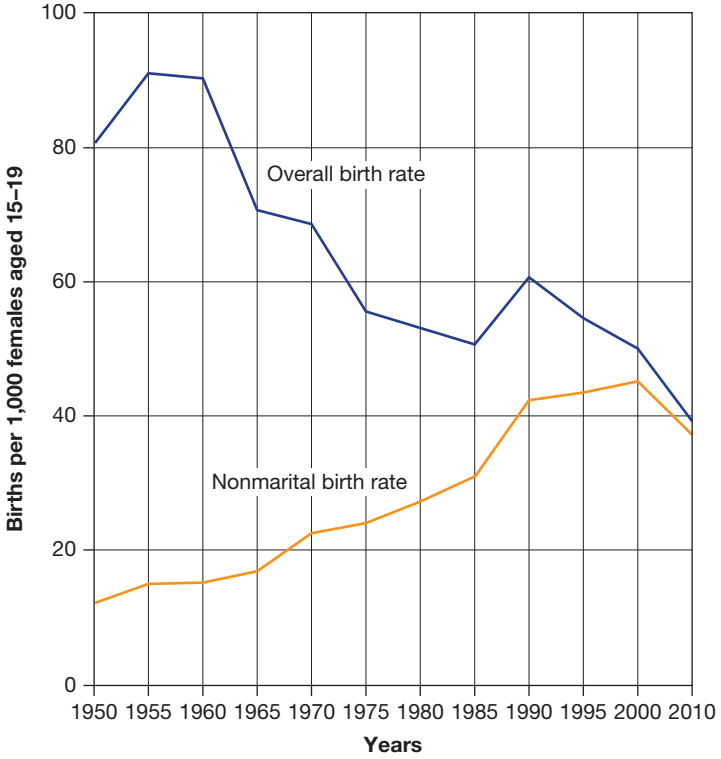
There are many other consequences for the unmarried adolescent mother. Having a child means that she will be twice as likely as her peers to drop out of school and less likely to become employed or to go on to college after high school, even compared to peers who come from a similar economic background (McGaha-Garnett, 2008). Furthermore, adolescent mothers are less likely than their peers to get married and more likely to get divorced if they do marry (Manning & Cohen, 2015). In addition, many adolescent mothers are still a long way from maturity in their emotional and social development, and they feel overwhelmed by the responsibilities of motherhood (Leadbeater, & Way, 2001). Adolescent mothers often had problems even before becoming pregnant, such as poor school performance, conduct problems, and psychological problems, and becoming a parent only deepens their difficulties (Edin & Kefelas, 2006; Xie et al., 2014).

Do adolescent mothers eventually get back on track and catch up with their peers? A classic study by Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, and Morgan (1987) began with a sample of 300 urban, mostly Black, low-socioeconomic status teenage mothers in 1966 when they first had their children, and followed both mothers and children every few years until 1984, when the children were 18 years old. Five years after giving birth, the mothers lagged behind their peers in their educational, occupational, and economic progress. By the final follow-up, however, 18 years after the study began, the life situations of the mothers were striking in their diversity. One-fourth of the mothers were still on welfare and had remained there for most of the 18-year period. In contrast, another one-fourth had succeeded in making it into the middle class, gaining enough education and occupational experience to make substantial progress economically. A majority of the mothers had eventually completed high school, and one-third had completed at least some college education. Obtaining education and getting married eventually were related to the most favorable economic outcomes.

In another study, Leadbeater and Way (2001) followed more than 100 mostly Puerto Rican and African American teenage mothers in New York City for 6 years. At the 6-year follow-up, 63% of the mothers were still on welfare and 61% had had at least one more child, but 78% had moved out of their mothers' household to live independently or with a partner. Of special interest in the study were the 15 mothers

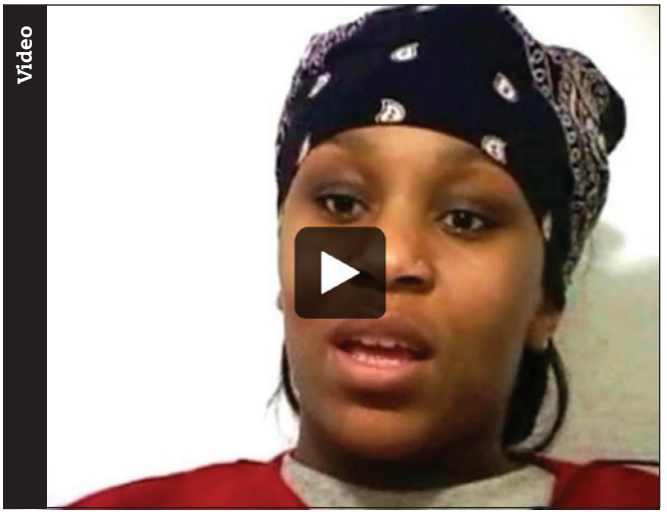
Figure 9.5 Total teen birth rate and nonmarital rate, 1950–2010.

SOURCE: Child Trends, 2011.



who showed exceptional resilience; that is, despite early motherhood they were functioning well after 6 years in their educational attainment, employment, and mental and physical health. There were a variety of reasons for their resilience, including having family members who supported them emotionally but demanded responsible behavior from them, having family members or boyfriends who highly valued education, and having a strong will to succeed. Overall, studies show both the perils of adolescent motherhood and—for some—the possibilities of eventual success.

Watch TEEN PREGNANCY



Not nearly as many studies have been conducted on adolescent fatherhood as on adolescent motherhood, but the available studies indicate that becoming a father as a teen is also related to a variety of negative outcomes. Adolescent fathers are more likely than their male peers to become divorced, to have a low level of education, and to have a low-paying job (Mollborn, 2010; Nock, 1998). They are also more prone to a variety of problems, including use of drugs and alcohol, violations of the law, and feelings of anxiety and depression (Kiselica & Kiselica, 2014). Like adolescent mothers, the problems of adolescent fathers often began before parenthood (Gavazzi, 2011). In one longitudinal study (Miller-Johnson et al., 2004), aggressive behavior as early as age 8 predicted becoming a father in adolescence. For the most part, adolescent fathers are unlikely to be closely involved in the life of their child. One study found that only one-third of adolescent fathers were viewed by the adolescent mother as being highly involved with the child by the time the child was 3 years old (Kalil et al., 2005).

What are the consequences for the children born to adolescent mothers? These children face a higher likelihood of difficulties in life, beginning even before they are born (Ganchimeg et al., 2014). In the United States, only one in five adolescent mothers receives any prenatal care during the first 3 months of pregnancy. Partly for this reason, babies born to adolescent mothers are more likely to be born prematurely and to have a low birth weight; prematurity and low birth weight in turn predict a variety of physical and cognitive problems in infancy and childhood (East & Felice, 2014). Children of adolescent mothers also face a greater likelihood of behavioral problems throughout childhood, including school misbehavior, delinquency, and early sexual activity (Brooks-Gunn & Chase-Lansdale, 1995; Moore & Brooks-Gunn, 2002; Singh et al., 2015).

However, scholars have stressed that the children's problems are due not just to the young age of their mothers but also to the fact that most adolescent mothers are poor as well (East & Felice, 2014; Levine, Emery, & Pollack, 2007). Having a mother who is young, unmarried, or poor puts children at greater risk for a variety of developmental problems. Children whose mothers have all three characteristics—as the majority of adolescent mothers do—face an environment in which it will be difficult for them to thrive.

ABORTION If having a child in adolescence often results in dire consequences for adolescent mothers and their babies, what about adolescent girls who have an abortion? Studies on this topic are mixed, with some finding higher risk of depression and anxiety for girls who have had an abortion and others finding no effects (Balan & Akintayo, 2015). Nevertheless, many experience guilt and emotional stress and feel highly ambivalent about their decision to abort (Miracle et al., 2003; Temple-Smith et al., 2015). Abortion remains tremendously controversial in American society, especially with respect to adolescents. By 2016, 38 states required either **parental notification** (adolescents were required to notify their parents before having the abortion) or **parental consent** (adolescents were required to obtain their parents' permission to have an abortion) (Guttmacher Institute, 2016).

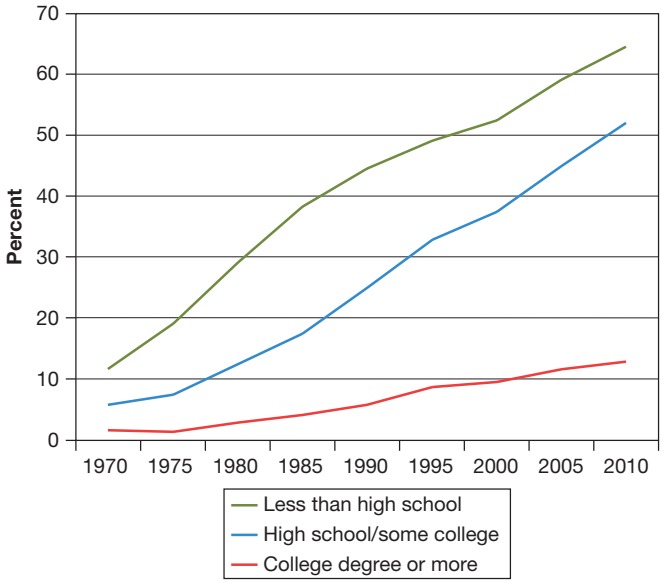
UNINTENDED PREGNANCY AND SINGLE MOTHERHOOD IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD Given that pregnancy in adolescence is often due to a combination of cognitive immaturity and cultural ambivalence about adolescent sexuality, you might expect that rates of unintended pregnancy would fall steeply in emerging

parental notification
A legal requirement, in some states, that minors must notify their parents before having an abortion.

parental consent
A legal requirement, in some states, that minors must obtain their parents' permission to have an abortion.

Figure 9.6 Percentage of nonmarital births to 20- to 29-year-old women, by education.

SOURCE: National Vital Statistics, Birth Datafiles, 1970–2010.



adulthood. After all, they are certainly more cognitively mature than adolescents are, and there is less ambivalence about sexual activity in the 20s than in the teens, as we have seen previously in the chapter. Nevertheless, rates of both abortions and single motherhood are higher in the 20s than in the teens (Hymowitz et al., 2013). Emerging adults are more mature in their judgment and planning, but they also more likely to be sexually active. Currently, nearly 50% of babies in the United States are born to single mothers, the highest rate ever, and the great majority of the mothers are in their 20s (CDC, 2016). As shown in **Figure 9.6**, rates of single motherhood have risen steeply among women in their 20s since 1970, especially for those with the least education (Hymowitz et al., 2013).

It is estimated that 7 out of 10 of the births to unmarried American women in their 20s are unintentional, but "unintentional" is not quite the right word. Often, the pregnancy is not really intended, but it is not exactly avoided either. The title of a report by the National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unintended Pregnancy puts it well: *The Fog Zone: How Misperceptions, Magical Thinking, and Ambivalence Put Young Adults at Risk for Unplanned Pregnancy* (Kaye et al., 2009). In the survey that was the basis for the report, the authors found that half of unmarried 18- to 29-year-olds said they would like to have a baby now "if things were different," and even among those who agreed it was important to avoid pregnancy right now, a third also agreed they would be "happy" if they got pregnant. So, they are not exactly planning to have a baby, but many are not exactly against the idea either. It is easy to see how this ambivalence would lead to inconsistent contraceptive use or no contraception at all. Only half of the emerging adults in the survey used effective contraception every time—even though 90% said they believe pregnancy should be planned.

Although Americans consider premarital sex more acceptable for emerging adults than for adolescents, their society's ambivalence about premarital sex may underlie the lack of knowledge of contraception among young Americans. Clearly, their knowledge is inadequate. The *Fog Zone* report revealed an appalling array of ignorance and misperceptions among emerging adults (Kaye et al., 2009). Nearly two-thirds of 18- to 29-year-olds said they know *little or nothing* about birth control pills. About half erroneously believed that the chance of getting pregnant while on the Pill is about 50% over the course of a year (the actual chance: 8%). About half believed (falsely) that the likelihood of cancer or other serious health risks is higher for women who take the Pill. Even among those who have relied on the Pill, nearly half (44%) incorrectly believed that a woman should "take a break" from the Pill every few years to preserve her health.

But it is not just the Pill that emerging adults misunderstand. Nearly one-third admitted to knowing *little or nothing* about condoms. Among those who relied on the "rhythm method," which means having sex at the time in the woman's cycle when she is least likely to conceive, 40% did not know that a woman's most fertile time is midway between her menstrual periods. Fifty-nine percent of women and 47% of men believed it is at least slightly likely that they are infertile (actual figure: 8%). The subject is ethnically charged, too: 44% of African Americans and 46% of Latinos agreed that "the government is trying to limit blacks and other minority populations by encouraging the use of birth control." Given these head-shaking statistics, perhaps we should be surprised that rates of single motherhood in the United States are not even higher than they are. Emerging adults with high school or less use birth control far less consistently than those with a college degree, which explains why single motherhood is so much higher among those with high school or less (Hymowitz et al., 2013).

Finally, the role of cohabitation has to be considered as part of the explanation for high rates of single motherhood in the 20s, because about half of all nonmarital births are to cohabiting couples (Hymowitz et al., 2013). As we have seen, cohabitation is now normative among young Americans. When a young couple is cohabiting and using contraception inconsistently or not at all and a pregnancy results, what will they decide to do about it? If they are not strongly against the prospect of having a baby, and if they have no definite career ambitions that would be derailed, and if they believe having an abortion would be morally wrong—all views that are more common among the less-than-college-educated than among the college-educated—then they will often go ahead and have the baby. Because they are cohabiting, they

often believe that it is likely they will marry eventually, anyway, so why not just have the child first and marry later? Actually, however, cohabiting couples in their 20s who have a child are three times more likely than married couples who have a child to split up by the time the child is 5 years old (39% to 13%) (Hymowitz et al., 2013).

Sexually Transmitted Infections

9.20 Name the most prevalent sexually transmitted infections and their treatments.

"Today, you basically want the blood test before you go to bed with somebody. I don't think I would ever have unprotected sex, meaning without a condom. I've always known a lot about AIDS. I certainly wouldn't want to put my life in jeopardy for something like that."

—GABRIELA, AGE 22 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 104)

"I slept with this one guy one time—one guy, one time—and we actually didn't use anything, and I don't know why. We were both being stupid…. [After my next ob/gyn exam] they called me and said I was positive for chlamydia. That just shook me up because I couldn't believe that would happen to me."

—HOLLY, AGE 23 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 106)

"[When I first found out I had an STI] it affected me a lot. A lot. It just really threw me for a loop. I was just like, 'Okay, scarred for life.' I feel really cheated somehow, but at the same I'm going to have to live with it. That's just the way it is."

—FREDA, AGE 22 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 107)

Emerging adulthood is the peak period not only for unintended pregnancy but for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), which are infections transmitted through sexual contact, including chlamydia, human papilloma virus (HPV), and HIV/AIDS. The reason that STIs peak in the 20s is that most young people in Western countries have a series of sexual partners during their emerging adult years. Few young people have sex with numerous partners, but as we have seen, casual sexual relationships and experiences are quite common among adolescents and emerging adults. Even where sex takes place in a committed relationship, most youthful love relationships do not endure for long. Young people typically get involved in a relationship, it lasts for a few months, sometimes sexual intercourse is part of it, and then they break up and move on. In this way, young people gain experience with love and sex. Unfortunately, having sex with a variety of people, even if only one at a time, carries with it a substantial risk for STIs. Rates of STIs are higher in emerging adulthood than in any other life stage, in both the United States and Europe (CDCP, 2015; Uuskula et al., 2010).

The symptoms and consequences of STIs vary widely, from the merely annoying (pubic lice or "crabs") to the deadly (HIV/AIDS). In between these extremes, many other STIs leave young women at higher risk for later infertility because the female reproductive system is much more vulnerable than the male reproductive system to most STIs and their consequences (King, 2005). Another cause for concern about STIs is that rates of STIs are especially high among Black and Latino young people living in America's urban areas, in part because rates of STI-promoting behaviors such as intravenous drug use and unsafe sex are higher in these populations (Singer et al., 2006).

Two other general characteristics of STIs bear mentioning before we discuss specific STIs. One is that many people who have STIs are **asymptomatic**, meaning that they show no symptoms of the disease. Under these circumstances, they are especially likely to infect others because neither they nor others realize that they are infected. Second, some STIs (such as herpes and HIV) have a **latency period** that can last for years. This means that there may be years between the time people are infected and the time they begin to show symptoms, and during this time they may be infecting others without either themselves or their partners being aware of it.

Now we will consider briefly some of the major STIs: HPV, chlamydia, and HIV/AIDS.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think adolescents and emerging adults would be more likely to use condoms if they knew that many people who have STIs are asymptomatic? Why or why not?

HUMAN PAPILLOMAVIRUS (HPV) HPV is the most common STI, with one-third of American women infected by age 24 (Brown, 2007). This STI infects cells on the surface of the body, especially on the penis and anus in men and the cervix, vagina, vulva, and anus in women. There is a wide variety of HPV infections, but they can be divided into two general categories: asymptomatic infections and genital warts. More than 9 out of 10 of HPV cases are asymptomatic, and at least 80% of asymptomatic cases disappear on their own within several months. For people who develop genital warts as a consequence of HPV, the first symptoms appear from 3 weeks to 8 months after sexual contact with an infected partner. The warts result in itching, irritation, and bleeding.

asymptomatic
A condition common with sexually transmitted infections in which an infected person shows no symptoms of the disease but may potentially infect others.

latency period
A period, common with sexually transmitted infections, between the time a person is infected with a disease and the time symptoms appear.

Various treatments are available for genital warts, from medicines that cause the warts to dry up to laser surgery. However, none of the treatments attacks the underlying virus, so recurrences are common. Worse yet, women who carry the virus have a greatly increased risk of developing cervical cancer, even though it may take 5 to 25 years to develop. For these women, it is especially important to have regular pelvic exams so that if cervical cancer appears it can be detected early enough to be treated effectively.

Recently, a vaccine has been developed that prevents HPV. Public health advocates in many Western countries are vigorously advocating vaccination of girls in early adolescence, before they become sexually active (Woodhall et al., 2007). The vaccine holds the potential for eliminating HPV, if it becomes universal. According to an American national survey, 60% of girls and 42% of boys ages 13 to 17 have received the vaccine (CDCP, 2015). Rates of HPV vaccination are highest in Europe, where acceptance of adolescent sexual activity are also highest (Owsianka, B., & Gańczak, 2015).

CHLAMYDIA Chlamydia is the second most common STI, and the highest rates are among adolescents and emerging adults. Of reported cases in the United States, 66% occur in persons ages 15 to 24 (CDC, 2015). It is estimated to infect 1 in 7 adolescent females and 1 in 10 adolescent males, with rates of up to 20% found on college campuses. Chlamydia is the leading cause of female infertility, in part because if left untreated it can develop into pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), which in turn causes infertility. Twenty to 40% of women with chlamydia develop PID (King, 2005).

Chlamydia is highly infectious, with 70% of women and 25% of men contracting the disease during a single sexual episode with an infected partner. Seventy-five percent of women and 25% of men with the disease are asymptomatic (Risser & Risser, 2007). When symptoms occur, they include pain during urination, pain during intercourse, and pain in the lower abdomen. Chlamydia can usually be treated effectively with antibiotics, but antibiotics are becoming less effective because widespread use of them has led to evolutionary adaptations in chlamydia that make it more resistant (King, 2005).

HIV/AIDS

9.21 Describe HIV/AIDS, including how it is transmitted, its progression, which young people are most at risk, and its treatment.

"I know about HIV, but I have to admit, I haven't been careful at all. I guess you could say I've been rolling the dice. It's kind of hard to say, but putting on a rubber is like turning on the cold water, you know, it just don't happen."

—BENNY, AGE 23 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 104)

Most STIs have been around for a long time, but HIV/AIDS appeared only recently, first diagnosed in 1981 (King, 2005). In this STI, the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) causes acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), which strips the body of its ability to fend off infections. Without this ability, the body is highly vulnerable to a wide variety of illnesses and diseases.

HIV is transmitted through bodily fluids, including semen, vaginal fluid, and blood. The virus typically enters the body through the rectum, vagina, or penis, during anal or vaginal intercourse. Another common form of transmission is through shared needles among intravenous drug users. Ninety percent of cases of HIV infection in the United States result from intercourse between homosexual or bisexual partners, but outside the West HIV/AIDS is spread mainly between heterosexual partners (Golin et al., 2009). The reasons for this difference are not clear. As with most other STIs, women are more vulnerable than men to the transmission of HIV/AIDS.

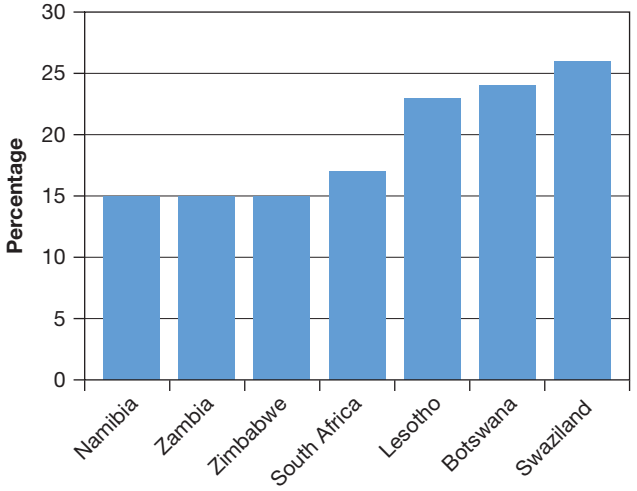
HIV/AIDS has an unusually long latency period. After the HIV virus is acquired, people who contract it tend to be asymptomatic for at least 5 years before the symptoms of AIDS appear, and in some cases as long as 10 years (King, 2005). Thus, few adolescents have AIDS, but the incidence of AIDS rises sharply in the early 20s, and cases of AIDS that appear in these years occur mostly in people who contracted the HIV virus in their teens. The incidence of AIDS rose dramatically after it was first diagnosed in 1981, and by the mid-1990s it was the leading cause of death among Americans ages 25 to 44 (CDCP, 1999). In the past two decades, rates have declined substantially because safe-sex practices have become more prevalent (CDCP, 2016; Davis et al., 2009; Joseph et al., 2010).

Rates of HIV/AIDS are especially high among homeless adolescents (Milburn et al., 2009) and among African American adolescents and emerging adults living in America's urban areas. African Americans are 12% of the American population but represent 44% of new HIV/AIDS cases (CDCP, 2016). Young gay African American men ages 20 to 24 are at especially high risk (CDCP, 2016). AIDS has been most devastating of all in southern Africa, where 70% of new HIV infections worldwide take place and where one-fourth of young people in some African countries are infected (see **Figure 9.7**; aids.gov, 2015; AVERT, 2012). In recent years, incidence of new HIV infections has decreased among young people worldwide because of a decline in risky sexual practices such as having multiple sexual partners. New HIV infections declined 35% from 2000 to 2015 (UNAIDS, 2016).

No symptoms are evident when a person first contracts HIV, but evidence of HIV can be identified in a blood test about 6 weeks after infection. Later, during the HIV latency period, a person may experience flu-like

Figure 9.7 Estimated percentage of 15- to 25-year-olds with HIV in selected African countries.

SOURCE: WHO (2011).



symptoms including fever, sore throat, fatigue, and swollen lymph nodes in the neck and armpits. After this initial outbreak of symptoms, no further evidence of the disease may appear until years later. Once AIDS does appear, it is usually in the form of symptoms of unusual diseases that people rarely get unless there is something seriously wrong with their immune system. AIDS-specific symptoms include *wasting syndrome*, in which the person loses a great deal of body weight and becomes extremely emaciated.

AIDS has proven to be extremely difficult to treat because the virus has the ability to change itself and thus render medications ineffective. However, in recent years effective drug treatments for prolonging the lives of AIDS sufferers have begun to be developed. Nevertheless, the mortality rate for people who have AIDS remains extremely high. In Africa, where the prevalence of AIDS is greatest, the most effective drugs are rarely available in most countries (WHO, 2016). Intervention programs to reduce HIV risk among adolescents have now been conducted in many developing countries, with some effectiveness (Pandey et al., 2015).

HIV/AIDS is having a devastating effect on life in Africa, especially for young people. Already 15 million African children under age 15 have lost their mother or both parents to AIDS, and 90% of the world's total of AIDS orphans are in Africa (USAID, 2016). The AIDS epidemic will affect young Africans mainly in three ways. First, many of them will be required to assume the leadership of their families as a result of their parents' deaths. Second, many of them, already poor, will be forced into even deeper poverty by their parents' deaths and may end up joining the millions of AIDS orphans who have already become street children in African cities, where they are vulnerable to illness, malnutrition, and sexual exploitation. Third, many young Africans will become AIDS victims themselves in the 21st century if vast changes are not made soon in the prevalence of safe-sex practices.

After this long litany of STIs and their consequences, are you feeling concerned? Well, if you are a sexually active emerging adult, you should be. Emerging adulthood is by far the age period when the risks of contracting STIs are greatest because emerging adults are so much more likely than persons in other age groups to have sex with a variety of partners. Hopefully, the information presented here will be enough to inspire you to practice safe sex and have regular medical exams if you are sexually active. Young women in particular should receive regular pelvic exams and Pap smears because they are at higher risk than young men for virtually all STIs.

Sex Education

9.22 Identify the main features of effective sex education.

With such high rates of pregnancy and STIs in adolescence and emerging adulthood, a broad consensus has developed in the United States for sex education. A strong majority of Americans support **comprehensive sexuality education**—medically accurate, age-appropriate education that includes information about both abstinence and contraception—and believe young people should be given information about how to protect themselves from unintended pregnancies and STIs (SIECUS, 2016). However, so far, that is not the kind of education most American adolescents are receiving. Abstinence is urged in more than 80% of American sex education programs, but fewer than half explain contraceptive methods and how to use them.

Individual school systems in the United States usually choose the content of their sex education programs, resulting in a great deal of variability in the length and content of what children and adolescents are taught. Most often, such programs simply include information about the anatomy and physiology of sexual development, often as part of a biology or physical education course, perhaps along with a little information about STIs (Kirby, 2009). Fewer than 10% of American adolescents

comprehensive sexuality education

Sex education programs that begin at an early age and include detailed information on sexual development and sexual behavior, with easy access to contraception for adolescents who choose to become sexually active.

receive comprehensive sexuality education by the time they leave high school (Kirby, 2009).

Analyses of the effectiveness of sex education programs in the United States have generally found that the programs often increase adolescents' knowledge of their anatomy, their physiology, and (where included) contraception. Unfortunately, overall the programs often have little effect on (1) communication with partners or parents about sex or contraception, (2) frequency of sexual intercourse, or (3) use of contraception (Kirby, 2009; Kohler, Manhart, & Lafferty, 2008). However, because the programs vary so much across the United States, talking about the "overall" effects of sex education is misleading. Programs that focus on knowledge have little influence on adolescents' sexual behavior, but more extensive programs have often been found to be effective.

One report reviewed dozens of sex education programs and concluded that 10 characteristics make such programs work (Kirby, 2009):

1. Focus narrowly on reducing one or more sexual behaviors that lead to unintended pregnancy or STIs.
2. Base the program on theoretical approaches developed to treat other risky behavior, such as cognitive behavioral theory, which rewards changes in thought and behavior.
3. Give a clear message about sexual activity and condom or contraceptive use and continually reinforce that message.
4. Provide basic, accurate information about risks and methods to avoid pregnancy and STIs.
5. Include activities that teach how to deal with social pressures, such as information that helps them refute frequently used lines like "everybody does it" or activities that generate peer support for withstanding social pressures.
6. Model and provide practice in negotiation and refusal skills, such as how to say no, how to insist on condoms or other contraception, and how to make sure body language supports the verbal message.
7. Use a variety of teaching methods to involve participants and personalize the information.
8. Incorporate behavioral goals, teaching methods, and materials that are specific to the age, culture, and sexual experience of the students.
9. Run the program over a sufficient period of time (at least 14 hours spread over several weeks).
10. Train teachers, youth workers, or peer leaders (generally for at least 6 hours) who believe in the program.

In recent years in the United States, much attention and money have been devoted to sex education programs that promote abstinence, encouraging adolescents to wait until marriage before having sexual intercourse. For the most part, programs that include only abstinence education have been found to be ineffective in decreasing rates of intercourse among adolescents (Chin et al., 2012; Kohler et al., 2008). A review of 56 studies compared abstinence-only programs and comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) programs (Kirby, 2009). Most abstinence programs did not delay initiation of sexual intercourse, and only three of nine had a significant positive effect on any sexual behavior. In contrast, about two-thirds of comprehensive programs showed strong evidence that they positively affected young people's sexual behavior, including both delaying initiation of sexual intercourse and increasing condom and contraceptive use.

Although abstinence-only sex education programs are usually ineffective, some of the most effective sex education programs have been **abstinence-plus programs** that encourage adolescents to delay intercourse while also providing contraceptive information for adolescents who nevertheless choose to have intercourse (Realini et al., 2010). Critics of these programs argue that this is a mixed message and that providing information about contraception undermines the message of abstinence. Nevertheless, the success of these programs suggests that adolescents are able to choose the message that appeals most to them personally.

abstinence-plus programs

Sex education programs that encourage adolescents to delay intercourse while also providing contraceptive information for adolescents who nevertheless choose to have intercourse.

Summing Up

9.1 Summarize the ways in which adolescent love in developed countries takes different forms today than it did in the past.

In Western countries, dating has been replaced in recent years by more informal ways of meeting potential romantic partners and establishing a relationship. Most American adolescents have their first romantic relationships in their early teens. Romantic relationships tend to begin with mixed-sex groups in early adolescence and develop into romantic partnerships by late adolescence.

9.2 Describe how age and gender influence the forms that love takes in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

In early adolescence, recreation is the most important motivation for forming a romantic relationship, but by late adolescence, intimacy is most important. The importance of intimacy is lower for boys than for girls in early adolescence, but by late adolescence boys and girls both value intimacy. Despite many changes in gender roles in recent decades, a dating script persists in which boys are expected to take the initiative, make the plans, and initiate sexual contact, whereas girls are supposed to wait for boys to act and then respond, and are expected to place the limits on how far sex will go.

9.3 Explain how Sternberg's theory of love applies to adolescents.

Sternberg's theory of love describes a variety of types of love derived from combinations of passion, commitment, and intimacy. Adolescent love usually lacks long-term commitment, so it is most often characterized by infatuation or romantic love. Adolescents in non-Western cultures also experience passion, but many cultures restrict adolescents' expressions of passionate love because they believe that marriage should be based on family interests rather than individual choice.

9.4 Summarize the basis of romantic attraction among adolescents, and name the phases that adolescent love typically follows.

People of all ages tend to be most likely to have romantic relationships with people who are similar to them in characteristics such as intelligence, social class, ethnic background, religious beliefs, personality, and physical attractiveness. The phases of adolescent love include the initiation phase, the status phase, the affection phase, and the bonding phase.

9.5 Describe the reasons romantic relationships dissolve and the consequences of breaking up.

Relationships dissolve for many reasons, including lack of common interests, communication problems, conflicting sexual attitudes and marriage ideas, differing backgrounds, and boredom. In one study of college students, more than half of those who had broken up were at least moderately depressed two months later. Increased alcohol and drug use is also common following a breakup.

9.6 Summarize the themes and variations of cohabitation among emerging adults in Western countries.

In the United States as well as in northern European countries, cohabitation before marriage is now experienced by at least two-thirds of emerging adults. Young people choose to cohabit in part because they wish to enhance the likelihood that when they marry, it will last. However, cohabitation predicts higher rather than lower likelihood of divorce, in part because cohabiting couples differ from other couples even before moving in together (e.g., they are less religious).

9.7 Compare and contrast the process of choosing a marriage partner in traditional cultures and in the modern West.

In a large cross-national study, "mutual attraction—love" ranked first among marriage criteria across countries, followed by "dependable character," "emotional stability and maturity," and "pleasing disposition." Similarity in religious and political background ranked very low. "Good financial prospects" also ranked fairly low, as "having a lot of money" did in the studies of adolescents' views of the ideal man and the ideal woman. Some cross-cultural differences were also notable. The sharpest cross-cultural division was on the issue of chastity.

9.8 Specify the features and prevalence of arranged marriages, including how they are currently changing.

Arranged marriage, in which parents decide on their children's marriage partner, is a long tradition in human societies and still common in some places in Asia, most notably in India. The current trend is toward semi-arranged marriages in which young people may choose their own partner subject to parental approval or may approve or reject someone found by their parents.

9.9 Summarize rates of various types of sexual behavior among American adolescents.

American studies have found that the majority of boys begin masturbating by age 13 and that about 90% of boys masturbate by age 19. Girls report considerably lower rates of masturbation than boys. After masturbation, sexual experience for White American adolescents tends to follow a sequence from kissing through intercourse and oral sex.

9.10 Describe the changes in the past century in timing of first intercourse and current patterns among American adolescents, including ethnic differences.

The proportion of American high school students who reported having sexual intercourse at least once rose in the 1970s and 1980s, peaking in the early 1990s before declining steadily in recent years. African American adolescents are more likely than other ethnic groups to report having sexual intercourse, and also report earlier ages of first intercourse.

9.11 Summarize the national variations in pornography use in adolescence and emerging adulthood and views of its acceptability.

A relatively small proportion of adolescents in the United States report viewing pornography, whereas the proportion is somewhat higher (about one-third) in China. A majority of emerging adults in the United States and Sweden use pornography, young men more than young women, and they are ambivalent about its acceptability.

9.12 Identify the types of cultural attitudes toward adolescent sexuality, and summarize cross-national variations in rates of sexual behavior in emerging adulthood.

With respect to their views on adolescent sexuality, cultures can be generally classified as restrictive, semirestrictive, or permissive. The United States today is probably best classified as semirestrictive, with a great deal of ambivalence and divided opinions about adolescent sexuality. Premarital sex is most prevalent in Western countries and Africa, somewhat less common in South America, and least prevalent in Asia.

9.13 Compare and contrast the sexual scripts of adolescent boys and girls, and explain the reasons for the differences.

Adolescent girls and boys in the West learn different sexual scripts—different cognitive frameworks for understanding how a sexual experience is supposed to proceed and how sexual experiences are to be interpreted. In general, both girls and boys expect the boy to initiate sexual contact, whereas the girl is expected to set the limits on how far the sexual episode is allowed to progress. Studies have also found that girls are more likely than boys to have sexual scripts that include romance, friendship, and emotional intimacy, whereas for boys sexual attraction tends to outweigh emotional factors. Boys are often happy and excited after their first experience of intercourse, whereas girls are more often unhappy or ambivalent. These differences are due to differences in their gender socialization as well as the girls' vulnerability to pregnancy.

9.14 Explain how sexually active adolescents in the United States are different from peers who are not sexually active.

Adolescents who remain virgins through high school are more likely than nonvirgins to be late maturing in the timing of their pubertal development, and they tend to have higher levels of academic performance and academic aspirations. They are also more likely to be politically conservative and to participate in religious activities.

9.15 Summarize the features of sexuality in emerging adulthood, including differences compared to adolescence.

Most American emerging adults have had sexual intercourse at least once in the past year, but they are more likely than other adults to have had either two or more partners or no partner. Most sex in emerging adulthood takes place between romantic partners, but recreational sex or "hooking up" is also common, frequently involving alcohol use.

9.16 Describe the prevalence and causes of sexual harassment and sexual coercion.

Rates of sexual harassment in adolescence are strikingly high, with about one-fifth of boys and 25% to 75% of girls reporting that they have been harassed. Studies indicate that one-third of adolescent boys and nearly half of adolescent girls report sexual coercion. Alcohol plays a big part in sexual coercion.

9.17 Explain how social attitudes toward homosexuality have changed in recent decades and how this has influenced the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender adolescents.

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) adolescents often have difficulty coping with their sexual orientation in a culture that stigmatizes homosexuality. Consequently, they are more likely than other adolescents to have problems of suicide, substance abuse, school difficulties, and running away from home. However, acceptance of homosexuality has risen substantially in recent years, especially among young people.

9.18 Explain why contraceptive use in adolescence is often inconsistent, and identify cultural variations in adolescent pregnancy and the reasons for those variations.

American adolescents tend to use contraceptives inconsistently, due in part to their episodes of intercourse being unplanned and infrequent. Their limited cognitive development also makes it sometimes difficult to plan and anticipate consequences. However, also highly important is the deep American ambivalence about adolescent sexuality, in which sex is simultaneously celebrated and discouraged. Rates of adolescent pregnancy are lowest in cultures that accept adolescent sexual activity and in cultures that strictly forbid it.

9.19 Summarize rates of adolescent pregnancy in the United States in different ethnic groups and compared to other developed countries, and specify the consequences for mothers, fathers, and babies.

Rates of adolescent pregnancy in the United States are much higher than in other developed countries, and are especially high among Latinas and African Americans. Adolescent mothers fall behind their peers in educational

progress and income for many years to come, although some are resilient and do well. Adolescent fathers also have educational and occupational difficulties, as well as high rates of substance abuse and depression. Babies born to adolescent mothers are at risk for a wide variety of problems, in areas including physical health, academic progress, and behavioral problems.

9.20 Name the most prevalent sexually transmitted infections and their treatments.

Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) contracted by adolescents and emerging adults include human papillomavirus (HPV), chlamydia, and HIV/AIDS. Rates of all these STIs are especially high in emerging adulthood. Various treatments are available for HPV, from medicines to laser surgery. However, none of the treatments attacks the underlying virus, so recurrences are common. Chlamydia can usually be treated effectively with antibiotics.

9.21 Describe HIV/AIDS, including how it is transmitted, its progression, which young people are most at risk, and its treatment.

HIV is transmitted through bodily fluids, including semen, vaginal fluid, and blood. The virus typically enters the body through the rectum, vagina, or penis, during anal or vaginal intercourse. Another common form of transmission is through shared needles among intravenous drug users. After the HIV virus is acquired, during the HIV latency period, a person may experience flu-like symptoms including fever, sore throat, fatigue, and swollen lymph nodes in the neck and armpits. After this initial outbreak of symptoms, no further evidence of the disease may appear until years later. Once AIDS does appear, it is usually in the form of symptoms of unusual diseases that people rarely get unless there is something seriously wrong with their immune system. Rates of HIV/AIDS are especially high among homeless adolescents and among African American adolescents and emerging adults living in America's urban areas. Internationally, rates are highest in Africa, with close to one-fourth of young people in some countries infected with HIV.

9.22 Identify the main features of effective sex education.

The best sex education programs include features such as focusing on a narrow range of risky sexual behavior, providing basic information about contraception, and stretching over a substantial period of time (at least 14 hours). Most sex education programs do not include the right features and hence are ineffective, but comprehensive sexuality programs and "abstinence-plus" programs are effective in delaying initiation of sexual intercourse and increasing contraceptive use.

Key Terms

dating scripts, p. 262
proactive script, p. 262
reactive script, p. 262
liking, p. 264
infatuation, p. 264
empty love, p. 264
romantic love, p. 264
companionate love, p. 264
fatuous love, p. 265
consummate love, p. 265
consensual validation, p. 266
initiation phase, p. 266
status phase, p. 266
affection phase, p. 266
bonding phase, p. 267
cohabitation, p. 271
arranged marriage, p. 269
restrictive cultures, p. 276
double standard, p. 276
semirestrictive cultures, p. 277
permissive cultures, p. 277
sexual scripts, p. 278
sexual harassment, p. 281
sexual coercion, p. 282
coming out, p. 283
homophobia, p. 283
parental notification, p. 289
parental consent, p. 289
asymptomatic, p. 291
latency period, p. 291
comprehensive sexuality education, p. 293
abstinence-plus programs, p. 294

Chapter 10
School

Learning Objectives

10.1 Summarize the history of secondary school enrollment around the world.

10.2 Compare and contrast the forms that secondary school takes today in different regions of the world.

10.3 Identify the main reason why secondary school performance is higher in some regions of the world than others.

10.4 Summarize the research on school size in relation to adolescents' school experiences and performance.

10.5 Define school climate and identify the ways that it influences adolescents' experiences in secondary school.

10.6 Explain how family expectations and parenting are related to adolescents' school attitudes and performance and the difficulties in establishing causation in this research area.

10.7 Summarize how friends may influence each other's school engagement, and distinguish between the influence of friends and the influence of peers.

10.8 Identify the ways that working and leisure activities may impact adolescents' school performance, and specify the threshold of hours per week beyond which working has negative effects.

10.9 Identify the differences between American and Asian views of what schools should require of adolescents, and explain how social class is connected to cultural beliefs about school within American society.

10.10 Explain the differences in adolescents' academic performance among American ethnic groups.

10.11 Identify the reasons why girls' academic performance generally exceeds boys'.

10.12 List the distinctive qualities of gifted adolescents, and describe the most common learning disabilities and their treatments.

10.13 State the reasons why some adolescents drop out of school.

10.14 Summarize the historical trend in tertiary education participation in the United States and current variations by ethnic group and gender.

10.15 Identify the factors that contribute to college retention and dropout.

10.16 Name the four main student subcultures identified by Clark and Trow, and assess whether they still apply to students today.

10.17 Summarize the benefits of a college education, according to students and according to research on long-term outcomes.

10.18 Explain what MOOCs are, and analyze their potential advantages and disadvantages in delivering tertiary education.

10.19 Describe the prevalence, motivations, and benefits of taking a gap year between secondary school and tertiary education.

Today we assume that the main daily activity in adolescence is going to school. In developed countries, adolescents are in fact legally required to attend school, at least until age 15 or 16, and nearly all of them attend school for longer in order to prepare themselves for adult work. Increasingly, developing countries are following the same route, as they become wealthier and their economies expand and become more diverse. However, attending school through adolescence is a recent development in human history. Even as recently as a century ago, attending secondary school was relatively rare. Families needed their adolescents' economic contributions, and most jobs did not require much education, in an economy dominated by manufacturing. Today, as the world economy moves steadily toward a "knowledge economy" based on information, technology, and services, schooling often extends well beyond secondary school into emerging adulthood, especially in the world's most developed economies.

In this chapter we examine young people's school experiences in the past and present in secondary schools and in colleges and universities in the United States and other countries. The chapter begins with a historical account of the rise of secondary schooling. Following this history, we look at secondary education around the world, including international comparisons of academic performance.

We spend part of this chapter looking at the characteristics of effective schools. We also examine adolescents' school achievement in the context of the rest of their lives. Scholars have concluded that adolescents' academic performance is related in crucial ways to their family relationships, friendships, and work and leisure patterns. Cultural beliefs play a key role in determining what is required from adolescents academically.

Just as schools vary in their effectiveness, adolescents vary in their academic achievement. We focus especially on ethnic differences and gender differences in achievement, two areas that have been the focus of much research. We also consider the characteristics of adolescents who are at the extremes of achievement: gifted adolescents, adolescents with disabilities, and adolescents who drop out of high school. At the end of the chapter we turn our attention to emerging adulthood and examine the characteristics of today's college students, the factors related to success and failure in college, and college students' accounts of their educational experiences. We conclude by examining two recent innovations in tertiary education, online courses and the "gap year."

There is a great deal of variability in the quality of American secondary schools and in adolescents' academic achievement.

Secondary Schools, Past and Present

Until the 19th century, most people were illiterate, even in what we today call "developed countries," and until the 20th century, few people continued to go to school during adolescence (Kett, 1977). By then, they were working to contribute to the family economy, on farms, in factories, or as part of a family business. Today, literacy is nearly universal for adolescents, but there continues to be great variation worldwide in school structure, school quality, and adolescents' educational performance.

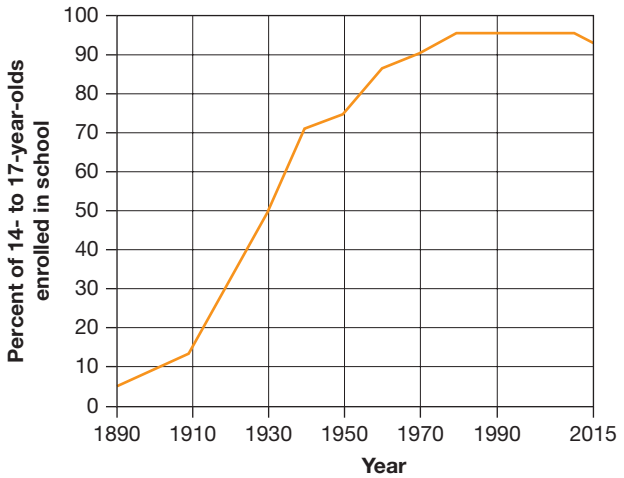
A Brief History of Secondary Schools

10.1 Summarize the history of secondary school enrollment around the world.

Mandatory **secondary school** education is relatively recent. Until about a hundred years ago, most American states did not have any laws requiring children to attend school beyond the primary grades. It was during the Age of Adolescence (1890 to 1920) that this changed dramatically. During this time, states began to pass laws requiring school attendance through the early teens, and the proportion of 14- to 17-year-olds in school rose from just 5% in 1890 to 30% by 1920 (Arnett & Taber, 1994). The trend did not stop there. By 1970, the proportion of 14- to 17-year-olds in school had risen to 90%, and it has remained more than 90% since that time (see **Figure 10.1**).

Figure 10.1 Increasing enrollment in high school, 1890 to the present, United States.

SOURCES: Tanner (1972); Arnett & Taber (1994); NCES (2016).



secondary school

The schools attended by adolescents, usually including a lower secondary school and an upper secondary school.

In other Western countries, a similar trend occurred during these decades. Schooling became the normative experience for adolescents, and an increasing proportion of emerging adults also remained in school. For example, in Norway, as recently as 1950 only 20% of adolescents continued school past age 15; today education is compulsory until age 16, and over 90% of 16- to 18-year-olds are still in school (Hansen & Wold, 2006; OECD, 2015).

In contrast, even now adolescents often do not attend school in developing countries. In those countries, education beyond childhood is mainly for the urban middle class (just as it was in the West a century ago). Adolescents are usually engaged in productive work rather than attending school. Their labor is needed by their families, and they can best learn the skills needed for adult work by working alongside adults rather than by attending school. However, these patterns are changing in many countries due to growing economic development. Virtually everywhere in the world, countries and cultures that were not industrialized 50 or more years ago are now becoming industrialized and entering the global economy. One consequence of economic development in these countries is that adolescents are increasingly likely to remain in school. **Table 10.1** shows the changes in secondary school enrollment that have taken place over the past 35 years or so in various countries. Economic development introduces agricultural technologies that make children's and adolescents' labor less necessary to the family, while staying in school brings increasing economic benefits because more jobs become available that require educational skills.

Table 10.1 Changes in Secondary School Enrollment in Selected Countries, 1980–2016

	Enrolled 1980		Enrolled Latest Year	
	Males (%)	Females (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
Argentina	53	62	86	87
China	54	37	69	69
Egypt	66	41	90	90
Germany	93	87	99	99
India	39	20	72	77
Italy	73	70	98	98
Mexico	51	46	76	80
Nigeria	25	13	47	41
Poland	75	80	98	94
Turkey	44	24	98	96
United States	91	92	86	90

NOTE: Percentages reflect the adjusted net enrollment ratio of students enrolled in lower secondary school in the applicable age group in each country.

SOURCE: UNESCO (2016).

The effects of economic development on adolescents' education in developing countries also are evident in the literacy of today's adolescents compared with their parents and grandparents. For example, in Egypt, 88% of males ages 15 to 24 can read and write, compared with just 30% of males ages 65 and older; among females, 82% of girls ages 15 to 24 can read and write, compared with just 9% of women ages 65 and older (UNICEF, 2012). In Thailand, 97% of males ages 15 to 19 can read and write, compared with 58% of males ages 65 and older; among females, 95% of girls ages 15 to 19 can read and write, compared with just 22% of women ages 65 and older. This suggests that as economic development continues in developing countries, the proportion of adolescents receiving education will continue to rise.

Not only has the proportion of adolescents attending secondary school in the United States changed dramatically in the past century, but the kinds of things adolescents learn in school have changed as well. An examination of these changes is useful for understanding the requirements that exist for adolescents today.

In the 19th century, when few adolescents attended school, secondary education was mainly for the wealthy. The curriculum was constructed to provide young people (mainly males) with a broad liberal arts education—history, art, literature, science, philosophy, Latin, and Greek—with no specific economic purpose (Church, 1976). By 1920, following the steep rise in the proportion of young people attending secondary school, there was a widespread consensus that educational reform was needed. The composition of the student population in secondary schools had changed from the privileged few to a broad cross section of the American population, many of whom were recent immigrants, and it was necessary to adapt the content of secondary education to respond to this change. Thus, the central goal of American secondary education shifted from education for its own sake to more practical goals focusing on training for work and citizenship. It was in the 1920s that the framework for the American high school as we know it today was established, designed to educate a diverse population of adolescents for life in American society. Rather than being restricted to the liberal arts, education in the **comprehensive high school** (as it came to be known) includes classes in general education, college preparation, and vocational training.

Between the 1920s and the middle of the 20th century, the proportion of young people attending secondary school continued to expand, and the diversity of the high school curriculum continued to expand as well. Now the curriculum was enlarged to include preparation for family life and leisure, with courses available on music, art, health, and physical education. The proportion of the population continuing through secondary school continued to rise through the late 20th century, and in the early 21st century nearly all adolescents attend, as Figure 10.1 shows.

comprehensive high school

The form of the American high school that arose in the 1920s and is still the main form today, which encompasses a wide range of functions and includes classes in general education, college preparation, and vocational training.

THINKING CRITICALLY

In your view, should high school courses be offered only on academic subjects such as math and English, or should courses in music, art, and physical education also be available? Justify your view.

Something to keep in mind whenever you hear or read about national educational policies in the United States is that the federal government does not have much direct power to implement policies in American schools. Unlike every other developed country in the world, most decisions about education in the United States are controlled on the local and state levels, not on the national level. This has always been true in the United States, and local control of schools remains an issue of great importance to many people.

Because schools are funded and controlled by states and cities rather than nationally, a great deal of variability exists across the different U.S. school districts in the curriculums they use and in school rules and requirements. School quality varies depending on the financial resources available in the school district and on what the people in the state and the district decide is the best way for children to learn. Experts and critics can form all the committees they like and make recommendations until they turn blue, but no state or school district is obliged to comply. Various efforts have been made to form a national secondary education curriculum, most recently as part of the "Common Core" program, but every effort has been vigorously resisted by people who prefer to have educational policy formed at the local and state levels.

Secondary Education Around the World

10.2 Compare and contrast the forms that secondary school takes today in different regions of the world.

There is a great deal of diversity worldwide in the kinds of secondary schools adolescents attend, and the likelihood that adolescents will attend secondary school at all varies from one region of the world to another. There is an especially sharp contrast between developed countries and

Historical Focus

HIGHER EDUCATION AND CULTURAL BELIEFS

For the most part, today's colleges and universities in Western countries extol independent thinking and intellectual exploration. Although it may be tempting to think that these values are inherently part of the educational mission of higher education, a look at the colleges and universities of a hundred years ago demonstrates that these are values based in cultural beliefs of individualism. A comparison of universities then and now shows how much has changed in American higher education as well as in American cultural beliefs. This comparison was the subject of an essay by Dennis O'Brien (1997).

A century ago, the mission of most colleges and universities was grounded explicitly in religious beliefs. Courses in religious instruction were not only required but considered central to the curriculum. For example, the 1896–1897 catalog of Lafayette College stated, "It is intended that the Bible shall be the central object of study throughout the [student's education]. It is dealt with reverently as the Word of God and as the inspired and infallible rule which God gives to His people."

Colleges and universities required not only religious study, but also religious practice—and not only at private colleges but at public universities as well. For example, at the University of North Dakota, every day began with a brief service in the chapel—with all students required to attend—featuring the singing of hymns, readings from the Bible, and recitation of the Lord's Prayer. The University of Maine required all students to attend daily morning prayer in the chapel. Missing 15% or more of these prayer sessions would lead to admonition by the president; if attendance did not improve, the student would be censured by the faculty.

Over the course of the 20th century, as the power of religious institutions waned and individualism became stronger as the basis of the cultural beliefs of the American majority culture, colleges and universities gradually ceased to promote religious beliefs. Instead, individualism became the basis of universities' educational mission. For example, according to Gettysburg College's mission statement for 1997, the goal of the college is to help students learn to "appreciate our common humanity in terms of such positive values as open-mindedness, personal responsibility, [and] mutual respect…. Students may develop greater freedom of choice among attitudes." The values stated are predominantly individualistic ones. Similarly, the University of North Dakota's 1997 catalog states that "education concerning values is important in general education—not seeking one right way to behave, but recognizing that choices cannot be avoided. Students should be aware of how many choices they make, how these choices are based on values, and how to make informed choices." Again, the individualistic values behind the university's mission are evident. The goal of most higher education today is not to communicate a specific way of looking at the world, but to teach students how to make "informed choices" as individuals, by themselves.

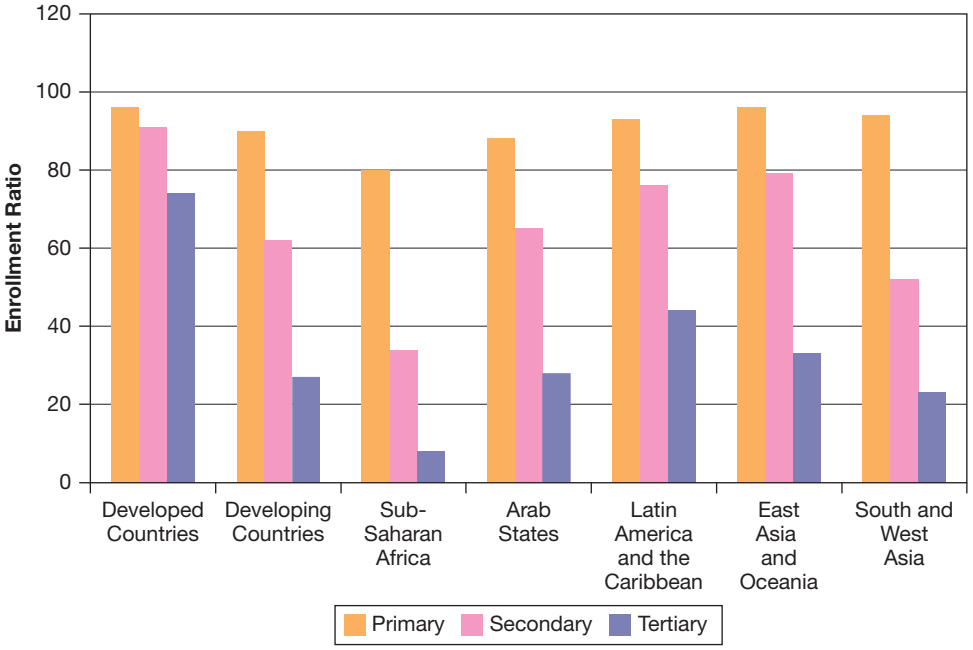
economically developing countries. Virtually all adolescents are enrolled in secondary school in developed countries. In contrast, only about 60% of adolescents in economically developing countries attend secondary school (**Figure 10.2**). Furthermore, **tertiary education** is obtained by about 70% of emerging adults in developed countries but is only for the elite (and wealthy) 25% in developing countries. In this section we look at secondary education first in developed countries and then in developing countries.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES The United States is unusual in having only one institution—the comprehensive high school—as the source of secondary education. Canada and Japan also have comprehensive high schools as the norm, but most other developed countries have several different kinds of schools that adolescents may attend. Most European countries have three types of secondary schools (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006; Marshall & Butler, 2015). One type is a *college-preparatory school* that is similar in many ways to the American high school in that it offers a variety of academic courses and the goal is general education rather than education for any specific profession. However, in Europe these schools do not include classes in recreational subjects such as music and physical education. In most European countries, about one-half of adolescents attend this type of school. A second type of secondary school is the *vocational school*, where adolescents learn the skills involved in a specific occupation such as plumbing or auto mechanics. Usually, about one-fourth of adolescents in European countries attend this type of school. Some European countries also have a third type of secondary school, a *professional school* devoted to teacher training, the arts, or some other specific purpose. About one-fourth of European adolescents usually attend this type of school. Some European countries, such as Germany and Switzerland, also have extensive apprenticeship systems, in which adolescents can attend a vocational or professional school part of the time and also spend time learning a profession in the workplace under the supervision of adults. We will discuss apprenticeships in more detail in the next chapter.

tertiary education
All education and training beyond the secondary level, including colleges, universities, and occupational training programs.

Figure 10.2 Educational enrollment in various world regions. (Number of students at level of schooling divided by number of people of appropriate age for that level of schooling, times 100.)

SOURCE: UNESCO (2016).



One consequence of the European system is that adolescents must decide at a relatively early age what direction to pursue for their education and occupation. At age 15 or 16 adolescents must decide which type of secondary school they will enter, and this decision is likely to have an enormous impact on the rest of their lives. Usually, the decision is made by adolescents in conference with their parents and teachers, based on the adolescents' interests as well as on their school performance. Although adolescents sometimes change schools after a year or two, and adolescents who attend a vocational school sometimes attend university, these switches are rare. However, in recent years most countries have begun to add flexibility to the system by providing young people with an alternative route to university even if they did not attend the college-preparatory high school (Collins, 2014).

Nevertheless, in general the European system tends to require earlier decision making about career directions. A study by Motola et al. (1998) demonstrated how the timing of tracking (or "streaming" in European terminology) into different types of schools influences the timing of adolescents' decisions about which occupational path to pursue. They compared eleventh-grade adolescents in France and Finland. French adolescents are tracked beginning at age 13, and at age 16 they must choose a stream from 5 academic and 16 technical programs, or enter a vocational high school or apprenticeship. In contrast, Finnish adolescents are in one comprehensive school until age 16, then tracked into either an upper secondary school or a vocational school. However, they are not required to make a decision about a specific occupation until they enter university or leave vocational school. In the study by Motola et al. (1998), French adolescents were three times as likely as Finnish adolescents (58% to 19%) to have a clear idea of their chosen occupation. Although no comparable data exist for Canadian and American adolescents, one might expect that they would make such choices even later than Finns, given that they typically do not have to decide on a major until the end

About one-third of adolescents in Europe attend a vocational school. Here, a Hungarian student learns to repair automobiles.

of their second year of college or university (usually about age 20), whereas Finns must decide upon entering university.

Compared with the European system, the system of the comprehensive high school allows for greater flexibility. All adolescents in a comprehensive high school can choose from a broad range of courses. Because all adolescents attend the same high school, for most of them, little about their occupational direction is decided by the time they graduate. At that point, they may decide to enter work full-time, pursue training at a vocational school, attend a two-year college, enroll in a four-year college/university, or pursue some combination of work and school.

However, the great drawback of the comprehensive high school is that adolescents are all in the same school and in many of the same classes, even though by their mid-teens they may have widely divergent educational and occupational interests and abilities. This makes it difficult for teachers to find a level of teaching that will appeal to all adolescents. It can also be frustrating for adolescents who would prefer to be obtaining job-specific skills but are forced instead to take further years of general education (Rosenbaum & Person, 2003).

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES In contrast to developed countries, where attending secondary school is virtually universal for adolescents and the schools are well funded, in developing countries secondary education is often difficult to obtain and relatively few adolescents stay in school until graduation, as Figure 10.2 shows. In addition, the quality of the schools is often low (except for elite private schools) because they are poorly funded. Here we look at secondary education in North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, India, China and Japan, and Latin America.

In most developing countries, boys are more likely than girls to attend secondary school, but the gap is shrinking. Here, boys in the African country of Kenya.

In the Muslim countries of North Africa, there are high rates of illiteracy among parents and grandparents—more than 50% in most countries—but adolescents are much more likely than their parents or grandparents to be literate (Ahmed, 2009; Booth, 2002; Davis & Davis, 2012). Until recent decades, most education was oriented around the study of the *Koran*, the Muslim holy book, but now virtually all countries in the region have a secular educational system. Nevertheless, the influence of Islam remains strong, and most of the secondary schools are segregated by sex, in the belief that this conforms to Islamic values. Girls are considerably less likely than boys to attend secondary school or to go on to college because their household labor is needed and because they are often subject to an early marriage arranged by their parents. Education for girls is rising as the marriage age rises and cultural values change in response to globalization (World Bank, 2016). Still, it remains true that the long-term benefits of education go mainly to men, as few women continue to work after marriage (Davis & Davis, 2012).

Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest rates of secondary school enrollment of any world region. However, rates of secondary school enrollment vary widely among countries, from 94% in Zimbabwe to just 13% in Guinea and Niger (World Bank, 2016). Reasons for low rates include poverty and civil war (Nsamenang, 2002, 2011). Furthermore, the economy is not industrialized in many areas; consequently, school-based knowledge is of limited use, whereas the labor of adolescents is needed for agricultural work, animal care, household work, and child care. Rates of secondary school enrollment are especially low among girls because girls are generally not expected to enter the workplace and they have more responsibility than boys do for household work and for younger siblings.

In India (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012), the educational system is similar to Africa's in that it was devised by a colonial government, in this case the British. The schools were designed on the British model—textbooks, rote learning, and exams—and English remains the main language of government and higher education. Secondary educational enrollment has grown in recent decades (see Table 10.1), but even now only about half of Indian adolescents receive secondary education. There are sharp differences in enrollment by gender, social class, and rural/urban residence. Poor girls in rural areas are the most disadvantaged. They rarely attend secondary school, and nearly 40% of them cannot even read and write (Verma & Saraswathi, 2002). However, India has a high-quality and growing system of higher education that is producing graduates with growing influence in the world economy, especially in computers and information technology (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2012).

The Chinese and Japanese secondary education systems are similar in many ways, although China is a developing country and Japan has one of the most advanced economies in the world (Chen, 2012; Stevenson & Zusho, 2002). In both countries, admission to university is restricted to the highest-performing students, and consequently there is intense pressure at the high school level as students compete to prepare for the university entrance exam. Both countries also emphasize rote learning and memorization in the classroom. Both have long school days that include extensive after-school activities such as martial arts, calligraphy, and team sports. However, there are distinct differences between the two countries in educational attainment. In Japan virtually all adolescents graduate from high school, but in China less than three-fourths of adolescents even attend high school (Chen, 2012; World Bank, 2016). Nevertheless, in China as in much of the rest of the world, enrollment in secondary school is rising.

Latin America, like the other developing regions we have discussed, has experienced a rise in enrollment rates in secondary education in recent decades (Torche, 2010; World Bank, 2016). However, the gender gap that exists in most regions outside the West does not exist in most countries in Latin America. Despite the impressive gender equality in access to secondary school, there are stark differences by social class in many Latin American countries. Public secondary schools are often overcrowded and underfunded. Consequently, most wealthy families send their adolescents to private secondary schools, which are much higher in quality. Among adolescents who attend public secondary schools there is a high dropout rate, 50% in urban areas and 75% in rural areas.

A number of common themes recur in accounts of secondary education in developing countries (Lloyd, 2005; Lloyd, Grant, & Ritchie, 2008; Masino & Niño-Zarazúa, 2015). Most have gender differences (favoring boys) in secondary education enrollment, but the gender gap is decreasing, and all have rising rates of enrollment for both genders. That's about where the good news ends. Many of the schools are poorly funded and overcrowded. Many countries have too few teachers, and the teachers they have are insufficiently trained. Often families have to pay for secondary education, a cost they find difficult to afford, and it is typical for families to have to pay for books and other educational supplies. There tends to be one education for the elite—in exclusive private schools and well-funded universities—and a much inferior education for everyone else.

Comparing secondary education in developed countries and developing countries, what is most striking is how unequal educational opportunities are between the two. If you happen to be born in a developing country, you are likely to get an education through primary school but unlikely to have the resources to finish secondary school, and your chances of attending college are small—especially if you are a girl. In contrast, if you happen to be born in a developed country, it is extremely likely that you will finish secondary school, and it is quite likely that you will have the opportunity to attend college if you wish—especially if you are a girl. In all parts of the world, education is the basis of many of the good things in life, from income level to physical and mental health (Lloyd, 2005; Lloyd et al., 2008; Stromquist, 2007). Yet for the majority of the world's adolescents and emerging adults, their educational fate was already largely determined at birth, simply on the basis of where they were born.

Watch ADOLESCENT SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

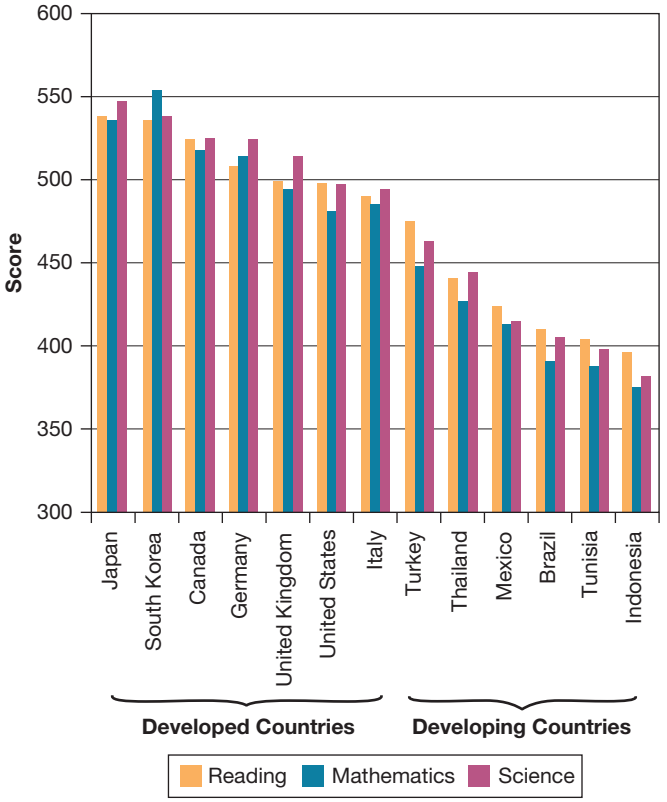
International Comparisons

10.3 Identify the main reason why secondary school performance is higher in some regions of the world than others.

For about 30 years, international studies have been published comparing adolescents on academic performance. **Figure 10.3** shows the most recent performance of adolescents in various countries around the world on eighth-grade achievement tests. The figure demonstrates that the key influence on adolescents' academic performance is the level of economic development in their country. The pattern of results is similar across reading, math, and science. In all three areas, the countries that tend to perform best are the developed countries. The countries below the international average are mostly developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Performance in countries such as Mexico and Turkey has been rising as their economies develop.

Figure 10.3 International performance on eighth-grade tests of reading, math, and science.

SOURCE: NCES (2016).



The academic performance of American adolescents declined in the 1970s and 1980s but rose from the early 1990s to the present. The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), widely considered the most valid national assessment of American adolescents' academic performance, has examined students' performance since 1970 in four areas: math, science, reading, and writing. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the NAEP found declines in eighth-grade math, science, and reading, especially with respect to "higher-order thinking" (Newmann, 1992)—that is, thinking that requires students to interpret, analyze, and evaluate information rather than just memorize it. Students' performance on the NAEP rose during the 1990s in all areas (NCES, 2007). In the past decade, reading and science scores have changed little, but math scores have continued to rise, reaching their highest level ever in 2012 (NCES, 2016).

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Based on the variations in secondary school systems discussed here, what would you say are the strengths and weaknesses of the secondary school system in your country? What changes would you propose?

What Works? The Characteristics of Effective Schools

Schools vary enormously, and some work better than others. Let's take a look at what educational research tells us about the characteristics of effective schools.

Does Size Matter?

10.4 Summarize the research on school size in relation to adolescents' school experiences and performance.

What is the optimal size of schools and classes for adolescents? A considerable amount of educational research has been expended on this question. During the 20th century, as the overall population and the proportion of adolescents attending school steadily grew, the tendency was to build ever-larger schools to accommodate them. But what size school is best for the students?

Increased school size has both positives and negatives. Large schools can be alienating. In general, the larger the school, the less attachment students feel to their teachers and to the school as a whole (Wang & Degol, 2015). However, large schools also have the advantage of being able to offer a more diverse range of classes than smaller schools. For example, students might benefit from having classes available on medieval literature, 19th-century novels, and 20th-century poets rather than simply one course on English literature. With respect to academic achievement, no consistent relationship to school size has been found (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009).

Although smaller schools offer less diversity in extracurricular activities, students in smaller schools are actually *more* likely to participate in them (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009). At larger schools, most students end up being observers rather than participants. At smaller schools, fewer students compete for the available positions, and students are more likely to be recruited because a team or club needs somebody to fill a spot. Consequently, students at smaller schools are more likely to be placed in positions of leadership and responsibility—vice president of the drama club, treasurer of the girls' chorus, and so on. These students typically report that their participation makes them feel more confident in their abilities and more needed and important.

All things considered, scholars have reached a consensus that the best school size for adolescents is between 500 and 1,000 students (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009)—not

too small, not too large, perhaps a size that combines the best of both.

With respect to class size, however, scholars disagree. Some claim that a direct and negative relationship exists between class size and students' academic performance (Boyesen & Bru, 1999). In contrast, other scholars find that variation within the typical range—20 to 40 students—has little effect on students' achievement (McGee, 2004; Rutter, 1983). They agree that for students with academic difficulties, small classes are preferable because each student is likely to need more individual attention. However, in this view it would not benefit most students to have the size of their classes reduced from 40 to 20, and it would cost schools a great deal of money to do so.

School climate is an important indicator of adolescents' school experiences.

School Climate

10.5 Define school climate, and identify the ways that it influences adolescents' experiences in secondary school.

Although many studies indicate that school size and class size can be important influences on adolescents' school experience, most scholars in education would agree that these factors are important only insofar as they influence the kinds of interactions that students and teachers have in the classroom. **School climate** is the term for the quality of these interactions (Jia et al., 2009; Rutter, 1983; Thapa et al., 2013). It refers to how teachers interact with students, what sort of expectations and standards they have for students, and what kinds of methods are used in the classroom.

The term *school climate* was coined by Michael Rutter (1983; Rutter et al., 1979), a British psychiatrist who has done extensive research on adolescents and schools. Rutter and his colleagues studied several thousand young adolescents in British secondary schools. Their study included observations in the classrooms as well as students' attendance records, achievement test scores, and self-reports of delinquent behavior.

The results indicated that the most important differences among the schools were related to school climate. Students were better off in schools where teachers tended to be supportive and involved with students but also applied firm discipline when necessary and held high expectations for students' conduct and academic performance. Specifically, students in schools with this kind of school climate had higher attendance and achievement test scores and lower rates of delinquency compared with students in the schools where the school climate was not as favorable.

This was true even after taking into account statistically the differences in the students' IQ and socioeconomic background. So, it was not simply that the students in the better schools also came from more advantaged backgrounds. The schools themselves made a substantial difference in students' performance, based on differences in school climate.

Another large study compared public and private (mostly Catholic) schools in the United States, and reached conclusions similar to those of Rutter and his colleagues (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982). This study was led by James Coleman, a prominent scholar on adolescents and education, and focused on high school (in contrast to the Rutter study, which had focused on younger adolescents). Like Rutter and his colleagues (1979), Coleman and his colleagues found that students had higher levels of achievement and lower levels of delinquency in schools that maintained high expectations for students along with a spirit of involvement and dedication on the part of teachers. This was true regardless of whether the school was public or private, although private schools generally rated more favorably than public schools on various aspects of school climate. The findings remained true (as in the Rutter study) even after controlling statistically for differences in students' abilities and social class background.

More recent research has confirmed and expanded the findings of the Rutter and Coleman studies, showing that a favorable school climate is related to lower levels of depression and behavior problems as well as higher levels of motivation and participation (Ramelow, Currie, & Felder-Puig, 2015; Thapa et al., 2013). One study of more than 100,000 students in over one hundred American middle schools found that school climate was favorably related to academic, behavioral, and socioemotional

school climate

The quality of interactions between teachers and students, including how teachers interact with students, what sort of expectations and standards they have for students, and what kinds of methods are used in the classroom.

Cultural Focus

JAPANESE HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Japan has been a frequent focus of international educational comparisons for Americans in recent decades, partly because Japan is a major economic competitor to the United States and partly because Japan is often at or near the top in international comparisons of academic achievement. Japanese children and adolescents consistently outperform Americans, and the gap grows larger with age from childhood through adolescence (NCES, 2016). Furthermore, 98% of Japanese adolescents graduate from high school, a percentage higher than in any Western country, and levels of college attendance and graduation are similar to levels in the United States (OECD, 2016; Takahashi & Takeuchi, 2007).

What are the characteristics of the Japanese educational system with regard to adolescents and emerging adults? One notable feature of the Japanese system is the length of the school year. Japanese adolescents attend their high schools for 243 days a year, many more than American adolescents (typically about 180 days), Canadian adolescents, or adolescents in any Western European country. Japanese secondary education is also notable for how smoothly the parts of the curriculum fit together. Japanese adolescents have fewer courses to choose from than American students do and a more structured ordering of courses from one level to the next. The curriculum and the textbooks for each course are chosen on a national basis by the Ministry of Education, so that all Japanese students in a particular grade are learning the same things at the same time (Rohlen, 1983; Stevenson & Zusho, 2002; Yi-min, 2010). The curriculums are connected. For example, in math courses, students who have completed Math I have learned what they will need to know at the beginning of Math II. As a result, Japanese teachers spend much less time than American teachers reviewing material from previous courses before presenting fresh material for the current course. However, Japanese high schools focus almost exclusively on rote learning and memorization, with little time or encouragement for critical thinking.

In Japan, pressure for academic achievement is much greater in high school than in college.

Cultural beliefs are also important to the practices of Japanese schools. Teachers, adolescents, and parents believe that all children are capable of learning the material that teachers present (Nishimura et al., 2011). The Japanese (as well as people in other Asian countries) generally believe that success or failure in school depends on effort, in contrast to the American belief that ability is what matters most. When students do poorly in school, these beliefs result in intense socialization pressure to try harder, pressure that comes from teachers, parents, peers, and the struggling students themselves.

The major underlying source of pressure on Japanese adolescents is the national system of entrance exams to high school and college, which the anthropologist Thomas Rohlen (1983), in his classic ethnography of Japanese high schools, called Japan's "national obsession." These two exams essentially determine young people's occupational fate for the rest of their lives because in Japanese society obtaining a job is

outcomes (Brand et al., 2003). A study of Chinese and American adolescents reported that in both countries, a positive school climate (as measured by support from teachers and other students) was positively related to grades and negatively related to depressive symptoms (Jia et al., 2009).

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Imagine that you have just become the principal of an American secondary school. What could you do to assess the school climate in your school? How would you go about improving it if it were less than satisfactory?

We can conclude from these studies that successful teaching looks a lot like successful parenting in that both combine demandingness and responsiveness. A combination of warmth, clear communication, high standards for behavior, and a moderate level of control seems to work as well in the classroom as it does in the home (Konold et al., 2014). However, as with parenting, the practices that take place in schools are often rooted in a particular set of cultural beliefs. Coleman and his colleagues (1982) concluded that one of the key reasons for the success of the private schools was that a common set of Catholic religious beliefs was held by parents, teachers, and students. These beliefs included respect

based primarily on the status of the schools a person has attended (Verman & Larson, 2003).

To prepare for the entrance exams, the majority of Japanese students not only apply themselves seriously at school and in their homework, but also from middle childhood through adolescence they attend "cram schools" after school or receive instruction from private tutors (Matsuoka, 2015; Takahashi & Takeuchi, 2007). This system goes a long way toward explaining the high level of performance of Japanese children and adolescents. They work intensely on their schoolwork because the stakes are so high, much higher than in the United States where both the higher education system and the job market are much more open and much less of people's occupational future is determined by the time they leave high school.

Is there a cost for the high performance of Japanese adolescents? Surprisingly, most evidence indicates that the intense academic pressure does not make Japanese children and adolescents unhappy and psychologically disturbed. Japanese adolescents do not show higher rates of stress, depression, or psychosomatic ailments than American adolescents do, and rates of suicide are lower for Japanese than for American adolescents (Ono, 2008; Stevenson & Zusho, 2002).

However, Asian cultures, including Japanese culture, have a general taboo against disclosing personal information, so Japanese adolescents may be underreporting their distress for reasons of social desirability. Many Japanese view the exam system as a problem for young people. There is a constant debate in Japanese society about the exam system, with many people objecting that it places too much pressure on young people and takes virtually all the fun out of childhood. With longer school days, a longer school year, cram schools, and private tutors, Japanese adolescents have far less time for after-school leisure and informal socializing with friends than American adolescents do (Rohlen, 1983; Beauchamp & Vardaman, 2015). Reforms in the 1990s reduced the length of the school day and cut the number of school days per week from 6 to 5, but the average school day remains long and cram schools remain the norm (Matsuoka, 2015; Takahashi & Takeuchi, 2007). Also, because Japan has one of the lowest birth rates in the world (1.2 children per woman), competition for spots in colleges is steadily decreasing as the number of 18-year-olds in the population decreases, although it is still intense with respect to the top colleges (Beauchamp & Vardaman, 2015; Fackler, 2007).

For the Japanese, their time of leisure and fun comes during their college years. Once they enter college, grades matter little, and standards for performance are relaxed. Instead, they have "four years of university-sanctioned leisure to think and explore" (Rohlen, 1983, p. 168). This tradition continues today, more than three decades after Rohlen's observations (Beauchamp & Vardaman, 2015; Fackler, 2007). Japanese college students spend a great deal of time in unstructured socializing, walking around the city, and hanging out together. Average homework time for Japanese college students is half the homework time of junior high or high school students (Takahashi & Takeuchi, 2007). For most Japanese, this brief period in emerging adulthood is the only time in their lives, from childhood until retirement, that will be relatively free of pressure. Until they enter college the exam pressures are intense, and once they leave college they enter a work environment in which the hours are notoriously long. Only during their college years are they relatively exempt from responsibilities and free to enjoy extensive hours of leisure.

It should be noted that Japanese society is in the process of dramatic change, and the schools are changing as part of this process (Takahashi & Takeuchi, 2007; Yonezawa, 2014). Over two decades of economic stagnation have led many Japanese to begin to doubt whether their educational system is well suited to today's economy. Critics hold up the American system in favorable contrast for encouraging independent and creative thinking, even though the American system is less successful than the Japanese system at teaching facts. Globalization has made Japan more individualistic than in the past, and students in Japanese classrooms are no longer as orderly and obedient as they once were. The prospect of a lifelong job with a stable, well-paying company is no longer as certain as it was in the days when the Japanese economy was booming. Nor is that prospect as attractive to today's more individualistic adolescents and emerging adults. Nevertheless, Japanese adolescents continue to be near the top of international rankings of academic performance, indicating that the educational system remains one of the chief assets of Japanese society.

for authority (including teachers), consideration for and cooperation with others, and the importance of striving to make the most of one's abilities. Schools did not have to introduce these beliefs to students and persuade them to accept them. The beliefs were taught to the children from an early age, at home and in church, and school simply reinforced the values and attitudes shaped in those settings.

The studies by Rutter and Coleman showed that a favorable school climate succeeds in promoting adolescents' engagement while they are in school. **Engagement** is the quality of being psychologically committed to learning (Guthrie, 2008). It means being alert and attentive in the classroom, and approaching educational assignments with the aim of truly learning the material, not just scraping by with minimal effort. A favorable school climate enhances students' engagement, which in turn results in higher levels of achievement (Bradshaw et al., 2014; Wang & Holcombe, 2010).

engagement

The quality of being psychologically committed to learning, including being alert and attentive in the classroom and making a diligent effort to learn.

Engagement and Achievement in High School: Beyond the Classroom

Although school size and school climate are important for promoting adolescents' engagement, adolescents also have lives outside of school that influence their school performance. For a complete understanding of adolescents' school experiences, it is necessary to examine the relations between school and family environments, peer relations, work and leisure patterns, and cultural beliefs.

Family Environments and School

10.6 Explain how family expectations and parenting are related to adolescents' school attitudes and performance and the difficulties in establishing causation in this research area.

We saw in Chapter 7 that parenting styles are related to a variety of important aspects of adolescent development. Parenting affects not only the quality of the relationship between parents and adolescents but also a variety of other aspects of adolescents' lives, including their attitudes toward school and their performance as students.

One way that parents influence adolescents' academic performance is through their expectations for achievement. Adolescents whose parents expect them to do well tend to live up to those expectations, as reflected in their grades in high school; adolescents whose parents have lower expectations for their school performance tend to perform less well (Juang & Silbereisen, 2002; Simons-Morton & Chen, 2009). Parents who have high expectations also tend to be more involved in their adolescents' education, assisting with course selection, attending school programs, and keeping track of their adolescents' performance. This involvement contributes to adolescents' school success.

However, it is useful to keep in mind the possibility of passive genotype environment interactions here. That is, it is likely to be true that parents with higher intellectual abilities not only have high expectations for their adolescents' educations but also provide their children with a genetic contribution to high intelligence and high academic performance. Studies on parents' expectations in relation to adolescents' academic performance do not control for this possibility.

Parents' involvement in their adolescents' education tends to reflect their overall parenting style (Carolan & Wasserman, 2015; Juang & Silbereisen, 2002). For school as for other areas, authoritative parenting has the most favorable associations with adolescents' development. Adolescents whose parents combine high demandingness with high responsiveness have the highest levels of engagement in school and the highest levels of school success (Bronstein et al., 1996; Ma, Yao, & Ji, 2015). Authoritative parents contribute to adolescents' school success directly by being more involved than other parents in their adolescents' education (Carolan et al., 2015). Such parents also have a variety of favorable indirect effects on their adolescents' school performance. Adolescents with authoritative parents are more likely than other adolescents to develop personal qualities such as self-reliance, persistence, and responsibility, which in turn lead to favorable school performance (Steinberg, 1996).

Adolescents with authoritarian, permissive, or neglectful parents all tend to perform worse in school than adolescents with authoritative parents (DeBaryshe, Patterson, & Capaldi, 1993; Melby & Conger, 1996). Adolescents' academic achievement tends to be worst when they have neglectful parents (low levels of both demandingness and responsiveness; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Masud, Thurasamy, & Ahmed, 2015). These are adolescents whose parents know little about how they are doing in school and who also know little or nothing about how the adolescent's time is spent outside of school. Adolescents with such parents have the lowest estimation of their abilities, the weakest engagement to school, and the poorest grades (Steinberg, 1996).

Of course, here as with other parenting research, the direction of effects is not clear and the results should be interpreted carefully. It could be that authoritative parenting helps adolescents do well in school, or it could be that adolescents who do well in school are easier to parent with an admirable combination of demandingness and responsiveness. Some studies have shown that schools can design effective programs to increase parents' involvement in their adolescents' education (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010). When parents become engaged, their adolescents' engagement and academic achievement also tend to improve. Such programs are especially important in the light of studies showing that, in general, parents tend to be less involved in their adolescents' education than they were when their children were younger (Castro et al., 2015).

Peers, Friends, and School

10.7 Summarize how friends may influence each other's school engagement, and distinguish between the influence of friends and the influence of peers.

"I knew a lot of people in this school, I had a lot of friends who would just bring you down. You know, it would be like, 'Oh, well, we can cut this class today. We can always make it up tomorrow.' But there's never a tomorrow."

—MARY, AGE 17 (WAY, 1998, P. 200).

Although the influence of friends tends to be strongest in relatively less important areas such as dress, hairstyle,

Research Focus

TWO APPROACHES TO RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENTS' SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

Two of the most important studies of adolescents' school experiences provide a striking contrast in research methods. The study by Laurence Steinberg (1996) is a classic of quantitative, questionnaire-focused research. Consider some of the features of this study:

- 20,000 students participated in the study.
- The students were from nine different schools in two states (Wisconsin and California). The schools were in urban, rural, and suburban communities.
- Forty percent of the sample was African American, Asian American, or Latino.
- Data were collected from the adolescents each year for 4 years, so that patterns of change over time could be investigated.
- Before any data were collected, planning and **pilot testing** of the measures took 2 years. (Pilot testing means trying out the measures on a small number of potential participants before the larger study begins to make sure the measures have adequate reliability and validity.)
- Questionnaire measures were included on adolescents' academic attitudes and beliefs, academic performance, psychological functioning, and problem behavior, among other topics. Questionnaires were also included on adolescents' views of their parents' parenting practices, on their views of their peers' attitudes and behavior with regard to education and other areas, and on adolescents' work and leisure attitudes and behavior.

The study yielded an enormous amount of useful and interesting information on school engagement, academic performance, and many other topics, summarized in the book by Steinberg (1996) and in numerous articles in academic journals.

In contrast, Niobe Way (1998) interviewed 24 adolescents of various ethnic backgrounds at one urban school over a 3-year period. Although her study was much smaller in scale than the Steinberg (1996) study, she got to know the adolescents and their school extremely well. Her interviews yielded many insights into their experiences in school and the intersection between school and the rest of their lives. For example, take this comment from Chantel:

> "I was coming to school for a while and doing no work. I just sat there and was like I didn't want to deal with nothing. When I was having problems with my father, and then I had broke up with my boyfriend. . . . I just didn't care any more." (p. 192)

Or this comment from Sonia:

> "It gets boring sometimes. . . . I fall asleep sometimes. . . . I was working every night 'til 10 o'clock [at a local pharmacy]. So I would come home so tired that I wouldn't even think about homework." (p. 195)

In addition, Way's (1998) own ethnographic experience within the school gave her vivid and disturbing insights into the quality of education the adolescents received:

> "During my time working and conducting research at this school, I have repeatedly seen teachers spend entire class periods having their students fill out worksheets rather than actively engaging with them about class materials. I have heard about and seen teachers arrive fifteen or twenty minutes late to their fifty-minute classes. . . . I have watched teachers reading a book or a newspaper during class while the students slept, threw notes, or chatted among themselves. I have heard students and teachers yelling at each other, calling one another "animals," "fat slob," "slut," or "bitch" in the classroom or in the stairwells. . . . I have witnessed some teachers—especially the new ones—put tremendous efforts into trying to create cohesive and supportive environments for their colleagues and students only to be met with hostile and resentful responses from the school administrators, teaching staff, and the students themselves." (pp. 201–202)

Steinberg's information is of the kind that can only be obtained with a large-scale study; Way's insights can be obtained only through the kind of qualitative, ethnographic research she conducts. Both kinds of research are valuable, and the combination is essential for a complete understanding of adolescent development.

Watch TWO APPROACHES TO RESEARCH ON ADOLESCENTS' SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

pilot testing
In research, trying out measures on a small number of participants to ensure that the measures have adequate reliability and validity.

and music, school is one important area in which friends' influence is in some respects greater than the influence of parents. Several studies have found that in high school, friends' influence is greater than the influence of parenting practices in a variety of school-related ways: how

consistently adolescents attend class, how much time they spend on homework, how hard they try in school, and the grades they achieve (Simons-Morton & Chen, 2009).

Of course, as we have seen in Chapter 8, the influence of friends is not necessarily negative and may in fact be quite positive. Adolescent friends with high educational achievements and aspirations tend to give each other support and encouragement for doing well in school (Im, Hughes, & West, 2016). This is true even taking into account selective association (the fact that adolescents tend to choose friends who are similar to themselves). When low-achieving adolescents have high-achieving friends, over time the high achievers tend to have a positive influence, so that the low achievers' grades improve (Epstein, 1983; Zedd et al., 2002). Low-achieving adolescents with high-achieving friends are also more likely to plan to attend college, compared with low achievers whose friends are not high achievers.

However, the influence of having high-achieving *friends* appears to be different from the influence of being in a school of high-achieving *peers.* (Remember the distinction made in Chapter 8 between friends and peers.) Adolescents in schools where their peers have lower average levels of school achievement tend to have better academic self-concepts and higher expectations for academic attainment than adolescents surrounded by high-achieving classmates (Zedd et al., 2002). Educational researchers call this the "big fish in a little pond effect" (Marsh & Hau, 2004; Thijs et al., 2010). Adolescents naturally compare themselves to their classmates. If classmates mostly seem to be doing fair or poor in their schoolwork, the slightly above-average adolescent is likely to feel pretty good about how school is going—like a "big fish," in other words. However, in a school of high achievers, the same adolescent may well feel inferior to others in academic abilities and prospects. One study of over 100,000 adolescents in 26 countries found that the "big fish" effect existed in all 26 countries: adolescents in less selective schools had a significantly higher academic self-concept than adolescents in more selective schools (Marsh & Hau, 2004).

Studies suggest other reasons for concern about the influence of friends and peers on adolescents' school performance. By the time they reach middle school, many adolescents become concerned with concealing a high-achievement orientation from their peers. For example, in one study eighth-grade students indicated that they wanted their teachers to know that they worked hard in school—but not their peers, because they feared that their peers would disapprove (Juvonen & Murdock, 1995).

In school, as in other areas, the influences of parents and peers are often intertwined (Simons-Morton & Chen, 2009). On the one hand, parents influence adolescents' choices of friends, which can in turn influence school performance. On the other hand, having friends who denigrate school tends to be related to lower school success, even for adolescents with authoritative parents.

Work, Leisure, and School

10.8 Identify the ways that working and leisure activities may impact adolescents' school performance, and specify the threshold of hours per week beyond which working has negative effects.

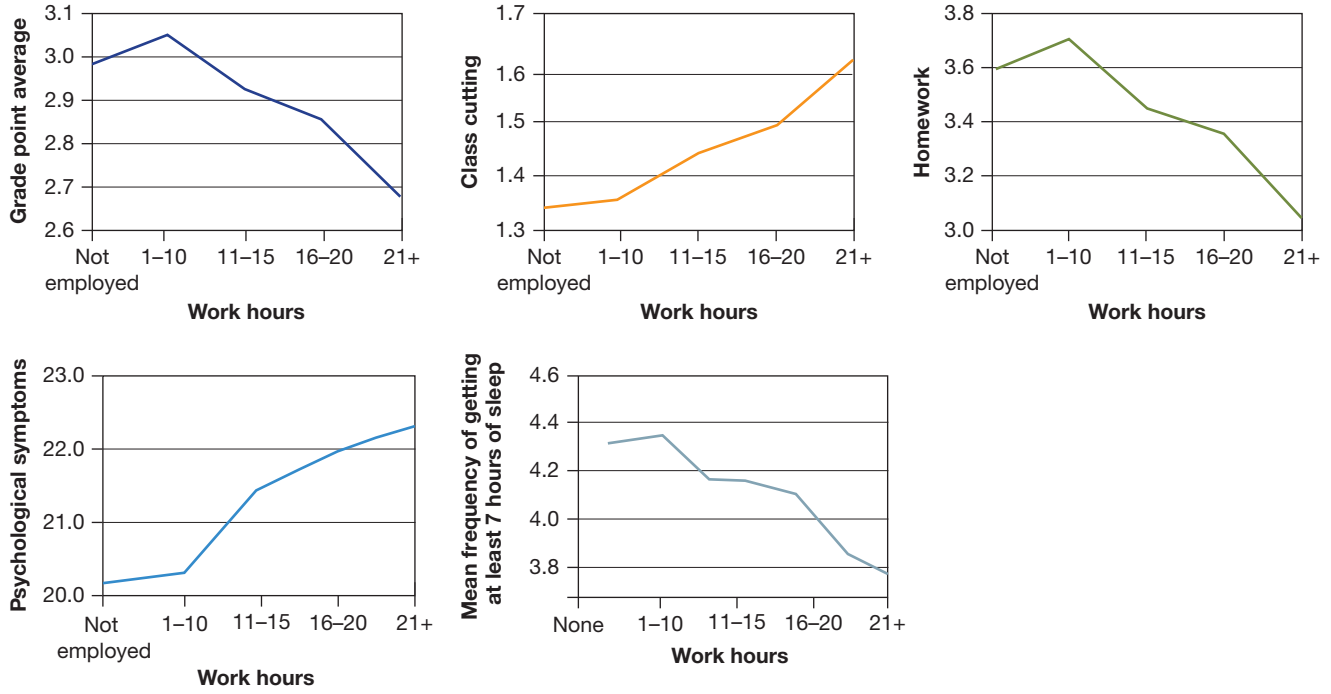
Part-time work in high school tends to be damaging to school performance in a variety of ways, especially for adolescents who work more than 10 hours per week. Beyond 10 hours a week the more adolescents work, the lower their grades, the less time they spend on homework, the more they cut class, the more they cheat on their schoolwork, the less committed they are to school, and the lower their educational aspirations (Marsh & Kleitman, 2005; Staff et al., 2015). **Figure 10.4** illustrates some of these patterns. Of course, some degree of self-selection is involved here—students may decide to work more because they do not care about school (Staff, Schulenberg, & Bachman, 2010; Zierold et al., 2005). Nevertheless, evidence indicates that working more than 10 hours has effects beyond self-selection. In one study, one-third of adolescents said they took easier courses because of their jobs, and the same proportion said they were frequently too tired from their jobs to do their homework (Steinberg, 1996). In the course of the 3-year study, students who increased the number of hours they worked also reported declines in school commitment, whereas those who decreased the number of hours they worked reported increased school commitment.

Abundant leisure also interferes with adolescents' attention to school and schoolwork. Steinberg (1996) found that socializing with friends was adolescents' most common daily activity. Adolescents reported socializing—activities such as "hanging out with friends" and "partying"—an average of 20 to 25 hours per week, more than the average time they worked and more than the amount of time they spent in school. In turn, amount of time spent socializing was negatively associated with grades in school. However, it should be noted that adolescents who participate in organized activities (such as sports and music) have better academic performance and are less likely to drop out of high school (Vandell et al., 2015). So, unstructured socializing is negatively related to academic performance, but structured leisure in organized activities appears to have positive effects. Media use is also a big part of adolescents' daily leisure, as we will explore in detail in Chapter 12, but thus far the relation between media use and academic performance is uncertain.

For both work and leisure, the ethnic comparisons are striking, especially with respect to Asian Americans. According to Steinberg (1996), Asian American adolescents are less likely than other adolescents to have a part-time job and less likely to work 10 or more hours per week if they are employed. On average, Asian Americans spend only half as

Figure 10.4 Relation between work hours and school performance. Beyond about 10 hours per week, the more adolescents work, the poorer their school performance.

SOURCES: Steinberg & Dornbusch (1991); Bachman & Schulenberg (1993).



much time socializing, compared with adolescents in other ethnic groups. Because they spend less time on part-time employment, less time on socializing, and more nonschool time on academics, Asian Americans have the highest levels of academic achievement of any ethnic group, including Whites (NCES, 2016; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008).

Cultural Beliefs and School

10.9 Identify the differences between American and Asian views of what schools should require of adolescents, and explain how social class is connected to cultural beliefs about school within American society.

The practices of schools and the attitudes of parents, peers, and adolescents themselves toward school are ultimately rooted in cultural beliefs about what is valuable and important (Arnett, 2006c). Although Americans do a lot of public hand-wringing about the state of their educational system, the truth is that education—at least at the high school level—is not as highly valued by Americans as it is by people in many other developed countries. Sure, Americans would like to see their adolescents perform better in international comparisons with adolescents from other countries. But would most Americans support a law restricting employment for persons younger than age 18 to no more than 10 hours a week? Would Americans support restricting participation in high school athletics to a similar time commitment, no more than 10 hours a week? Would parents of American adolescents be pleased if high school teachers began assigning homework that routinely required three or four hours per day after school and began handing out failing grades to adolescents who did not measure up to a high and inflexible standard of performance?

All the evidence indicates that the answer to these questions is a resounding "no" (Steinberg, 1996). For example, the majority of American adults are opposed to lengthening the school day or the school year. Although Americans value education and would like to see their adolescents perform well, for most Americans it is more important that their adolescents have time for fun in addition to schoolwork and also have time for a variety of nonacademic interests so that they can be "well-rounded." In contrast to Asian and European secondary schools, most American secondary schools allow time for physical education, art, and music, although less time now than in past decades (Farbman, 2015).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think more should be required of adolescents in high school in your country? Why or why not?

The contrast between American and Asian cultural beliefs regarding education is striking and informative. Asian cultures have a long tradition of valuing education. In India and China, for example, the high value on education is a tradition thousands of years old. Today's educational systems for adolescents in Asian countries are built on this

Asian American adolescents tend to have high levels of academic achievement.

tradition. The value placed on education is so high that the focus on school performance often comes first in adolescents' lives, and other aspects of life are expected to be given a much lower priority, including time with friends, romantic involvements, and organized activities (Lee & Larson, 2000; Way et al., 2013). We will discuss this tradition further in the next section, specifically with respect to Asian American adolescents.

Family social class represents a cultural context that is important to consider in understanding adolescents and school. Numerous studies have found a positive association between family socioeconomic status (SES) and adolescents' grades and achievement test scores, as well as between family SES and the highest level of education that adolescents or emerging adults ultimately attain (Bathmaker, Ingram, & Waller, 2013). These social class differences appear long before adolescence. Even before entering school, middle-class children score higher than working-class and lower-class children on tests of basic academic skills. By middle childhood, these class differences are clearly established, and class differences in academic achievement remain strong through high school (Kelly, 2004). Middle-class emerging adults are also more likely than emerging adults from lower social classes to attend college following high school (Albrecht & Albrecht, 2011; NCES, 2016).

What makes social class so important in predicting academic achievement? Social class represents many other family characteristics that contribute to achievement. Middle-class parents tend to have higher IQs than lower-class parents, and they pass this advantage on to their children through both genes and environment; in turn, IQ is related to academic achievement (Firkowska-Mankiewicz, 2011). Middle-class children also tend to receive better nutrition and health care than lower-class children, beginning prenatally and continuing through adolescence; for lower-class children, health problems may interfere with their ability to perform academically (Reichman, 2005). Lower-class families tend to be subject to more stresses than middle-class families, with respect to major stresses (such as losing a job) as well as day-to-day minor stresses (such as the car breaking down), and these stresses are negatively related to adolescents' school performance (Gutman & Eccles, 1999). One longitudinal study of adolescents from Mexican, Chinese, and European American backgrounds found that across groups, family stressors predicted academic problems (Flook & Fuligni, 2008).

Parents' behavior also varies by social class in ways that are related to adolescents' academic achievement. Middle-class parents are more likely than lower-class parents to have an authoritative parenting style that contributes to their children's school success (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg, 1996). Middle-class parents are also more likely than lower-class parents to be actively involved in their adolescents' education, through behavior such as guiding adolescents' selection of classes and attending parent-teacher conferences (Gutman & Eccles, 1999; Lee & Croninger, 1994). However, social classes are large categories, and substantial variability exists within each social class. In the lower class as well as the middle class, adolescents' academic performance benefits from authoritative parents and from parents who are involved in their education and have high expectations for their academic achievement (Annunziata et al., 2006).

Academic Achievement in High School: Individual Differences

Adolescents' academic achievement is related not only to characteristics of their environments but also to characteristics of the adolescents themselves. In this area, ethnic differences and gender differences in achievement are two issues that have been of particular interest to scholars. We will examine these two issues first, then examine the characteristics of students at the extremes of achievement: gifted adolescents, adolescents with disabilities, and adolescents who drop out of high school.

Ethnic Differences

10.10 Explain the differences in adolescents' academic performance among American ethnic groups.

"You don't have to go to school to necessarily become successful. You can go about it another way. . . . If you do drop out, you can still make it in life, because I know people who dropped out at an early age like 14 and they're still making it."

—TONY, URBAN AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT (IN FIGUEIRA-MCDONOUGH, 1998)

Watch DAILY LIFE OF A LATINA

Although looking at the overall academic performance of American adolescents provides interesting insights and information, the overall patterns obscure the sharp differences that exist between different ethnic groups. It is well established that Asian American adolescents have the best academic performance of any ethnic group in American society, followed by Whites, with the performance of African American and Latino adolescents below Whites (NCES, 2016). These differences exist even in early primary school, but they become more pronounced in adolescence.

What explains these differences? To some extent, the explanation lies in ethnic group differences in the factors we have already discussed as important in school success, such as social class, parenting practices, and friends' influences. With regard to social class, African Americans and Latinos are more likely than Asian Americans or Whites to live in poverty, and living in poverty is negatively associated with academic performance regardless of ethnicity (Murphy et al., 2010).

We have seen the importance of parental expectations in adolescents' educational achievement, and ethnic differences exist here as well. As noted previously, although the majority of parents in all ethnic groups say they value education highly, the emphasis on education is especially strong in Asian cultures, and Asian American parents tend to have higher educational expectations than parents in other ethnic groups (Mistry et al., 2009; Way et al., 2013). Furthermore, Asian American parents and adolescents tend to believe that academic success is mainly as a result of *effort*; in contrast, parents and adolescents in other ethnic groups are more likely to believe that academic success is due mainly to *ability* (Eng et al., 2008). Consequently, Asian American parents are less likely than parents in the other ethnic groups to accept mediocre or poor academic performance as because of fixed limitations in their adolescents' academic abilities, and are more likely to insist that their adolescents address academic difficulties by trying harder and spending more time on their schoolwork.

Ethnic differences can also be seen in friends' attitudes toward education. The differences correspond to ethnic differences in academic achievement—Asian Americans are most likely to have academically oriented friends, African Americans and Latinos least likely, with Whites somewhere in between (Yu et al., 2010). Specifically, Asian American adolescents are most likely to study with friends, most likely to say their friends think it is important to do well in school, and most likely to say they work harder on schoolwork to keep up with their friends. Although the influence of friends on school performance is usually positive for Asian Americans, for adolescents in other ethnic groups the influence is more likely to be negative (Goza & Ryabov, 2009).

Although ethnic groups differ in social class, parenting, and friends' influence in ways that explain ethnic differences in adolescents' academic achievement, many scholars have argued that other forces are at work as well, forces related specifically to prejudice and discrimination against ethnic groups in American society. In particular, some scholars have argued that the relatively low achievement of African American and Latino adolescents is due substantially to these adolescents' perception that even if they excel educationally, their prospects for occupational success will be limited due to prejudice against them (Chavous et al., 2008; Thompson & Gregory, 2011). Some scholars have asserted that such prejudice leads many Black adolescents to view striving for educational achievement as "acting White" (Neal-Barnett et al., 2010; Ogbu, 2003). Studies have found that minority adolescents who believe that their opportunities are unfairly limited by ethnic discrimination have lower achievement than their minority peers who do not believe this (Thompson & Gregory, 2011; Wood & Clay, 1996). Educational expectations decline from eighth grade through high school for many Black adolescents, especially those from lower SES families, perhaps reflecting a growing perception of their limited opportunities after high school (Trusty, Harris, & Morag, 1999).

However, other studies have reported that African American and Latino students were equal to White and Asian students in their perceptions of the potential value of academic achievement for promoting future career success (Figueira-McDonough, 1998; Whaley & Noel, 2011). Where the adolescents in these studies differed was in their perceptions of the consequences of *not* succeeding academically. African American and Latino students generally agreed that doing well in school helps in finding later employment, but they also tended to believe that they could succeed in a career even if they

did not obtain a high level of academic achievement, whereas White and Asian American students—especially Asian American students—tended to believe that failing to succeed academically would have more serious negative consequences. Thus, contrary to the view that African American and Latino adolescents are inhibited from academic achievement by a pessimistic view of the value of academic success, this research indicates that these adolescents may have less motivation to strive academically because they are optimistic about their chances of succeeding in the future even without excelling academically.

Is it true that achieving well in school will not help African Americans in the workplace because of discrimination against them? For the most part, the answer is no. In fact, African American women who obtain a four-year college degree earn about 20% more than White women with the same education (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 2005). Black men with a college degree earn slightly less than White men with the same education, but they still earn 35% more than the average White high school graduate (NCES, 2016).

For adolescents whose families have immigrated to the United States in recent generations, one consistent finding is that their school performance is related to how long their families have been in the United States. One would reasonably expect that the longer an adolescent's family has been in the United States, the better the adolescent would do in school, because English would more likely be the language spoken at home, the adolescent would be more familiar with the expectations of American schools, the parents would be more comfortable communicating with teachers and other school personnel, and so on.

However, research shows *just the opposite*. The more generations an Asian American or Latino adolescent's family has been in the United States, the *worse* the adolescent tends to do in school (Fuligni et al., 2009). This is known as the **immigrant paradox** (Hofferth & Moon, 2016). The main reason for the immigrant paradox seems to be that the longer the family has been in the United States, the more "Americanized" the adolescent is likely to become—that is, the more likely the adolescent is to value part-time work and socializing with friends over striving for academic excellence. For example, in one study, first-generation Chinese immigrant adolescents were highly motivated to work hard in school and valued demanding teachers, whereas those who were second-generation—that is, born in the United States, not in China—valued more entertaining teachers and did not want to work as hard for school success (Kaufman, 2004). Becoming American means becoming more likely to have adopted the American cultural value of placing good times before academic achievement in adolescence.

Nevertheless, every ethnic group has a substantial amount of individual differences. Not all Asian American adolescents do well in school; many African American and Latino adolescents excel. The kinds of parenting practices that we have discussed as important to academic achievement—high expectations, high involvement, and so on—make a difference within every ethnic group (Zhang et al., 2011).

immigrant paradox

The research finding that the more generations an immigrant family has been in the United States, the worse the children do in school.

Gender Differences

10.11 Identify the reasons why girls' academic performance generally exceeds boys'.

As we discussed in Chapter 5, few differences in intellectual abilities exist between males and females. However, gender differences do exist in academic achievement. For the most part, these differences favor females. From the first grade of primary school to the last grade of high school, girls tend to achieve higher grades than boys and have higher educational aspirations (NCES, 2016). Girls are also less likely to have learning disabilities, less likely to be held back a grade, and less likely to drop out of high school. The gender differences in favor of girls are especially strong among African American adolescents (McMillian et al., 2011). The female advantage continues into emerging adulthood. Young women are more likely to attend college and more likely to graduate (NCES, 2016). From grade school through college, the female advantage in academic achievement exists not only in the United States but also across all Western countries (OECD, 2016).

What explains girls' superior performance in school and the relatively poor performance of boys? One reason is that girls tend to enjoy the school environment more. Adolescent girls report more positive experiences and interactions in the classroom than adolescent boys and have more favorable relationships with their teachers (Rueger et al., 2010). For example, in one national (American) survey, nearly one-third of boys in grades 7 through 12 stated that they feel that teachers do not listen to what they have to say, compared with one-fifth of girls (Public Education Network, 1997). In another survey, adolescent girls had more contact with teachers and were more likely to feel that teachers and administrators cared about them (Horatio Alger Association, 1998). A second reason lies "beyond the classroom." Adolescent girls

Girls generally perform better academically than boys at all levels.

are more likely than adolescent boys to feel supported by their parents, academically as well as in other areas, and are more likely to have supportive relationships with adults outside the family as well (Rueger et al., 2010). Boys also do less homework, watch more TV, and read fewer books on their own (Kackar et al., 2011; Marshall et al., 2006).

Even in the area of math and science, where males once had greater levels of achievement in adolescence and beyond, the most recent evidence indicates that gender differences in math and science orientation have nearly disappeared. Girls are as likely as boys to take math courses in high school, and they perform as well as boys in those courses (NCES, 2016). Although women continue to be less likely than males to choose college majors such as engineering and the physical sciences, female representation has grown in all traditionally male-dominated fields in the past two decades, as we will see in more detail later in the chapter. These trends indicate that progress is being made in eroding the gender biases that have kept females out of traditionally male fields emphasizing math and science skills.

When considering gender differences, in academic performance as in other areas, it is important to keep in mind that gender comparisons involve comparing one-half of the population to the other half, and there is a great deal of variability within each group. Girls generally do better academically than boys, but many boys excel and many girls struggle. Although the group differences are genuine, we should avoid stereotypes that might lead us to prejudge the abilities and performance of any individual boy or girl.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Much more research has been conducted on why adolescent girls do less well than adolescent boys in math and science than on why boys generally do worse than girls on virtually every other measure of academic achievement. What hypotheses would you propose to explain why boys generally do worse than girls academically, from grade school through emerging adulthood?

Extremes of Achievement

10.12 List the distinctive qualities of gifted adolescents, and describe the most common learning disabilities and their treatments.

Because American secondary schools place all students in the same school regardless of their abilities and interests, schools often have policies for addressing variations in students' learning abilities and particular talents or problems that students may have. Here we examine the characteristics of adolescents at the high end of achievement—gifted students—as well as students who have disabilities that interfere with their academic achievement. Then we examine the characteristics of adolescents who drop out of school, including a look at programs for preventing dropping out.

GIFTED ADOLESCENTS In recent decades, programs for **gifted students** have become more common. Traditionally, the criterion for considering students gifted was an IQ of at least 130, the top 3% (Winner, 1996). Today, however, partly in response to Gardner's (1999) theory of multiple intelligences (presented in Chapter 3), many schools have gifted programs that recognize special talents that students may have, for example, in art or music (Castellano & Frazier, 2011; Sarouphim, 2004). Other qualities, such as creativity, leadership, and wisdom, are touted as aspects of giftedness (Neihart, Pfeiffer, & Cross, 2015; Oades-Sese et al., 2007).

gifted students

Students who have unusually high abilities in academics, art, or music.

Four characteristics distinguish children and adolescents who are gifted (Winner, 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005; Petersen, 2013):

- *Precocity.* Adolescents who are gifted usually showed signs of precocity, meaning that their gifts were evident at an early age. Typically, they could read, write, and do simple math at an earlier age than normal. Giftedness in music, art, and athletics also tends to be evident in childhood. It is unusual for a person suddenly to show signs of exceptional intelligence or other abilities in adolescence if they have not before that time.
- *Independence.* Gifted children and adolescents tend to prefer to work independently. They need less instruction and support than other children and adolescents do. They prefer to work at their own pace and solve problems on their own.
- *Drive for mastery.* Children and adolescents who are gifted display an intense drive to master the area of their gifts. They are capable of focusing for long periods on the topic or challenge before them.
- *Excellence in information processing.* Gifted children and adolescents excel at information processing (discussed in Chapter 3). This means that they process information faster, learn more quickly, make fewer reasoning errors, and use more effective learning strategies, some of which they may develop themselves.

Many American high schools have **Advanced Placement (AP) classes** for gifted students, in specific subjects such as math or English. These classes have higher-level material than normal classes to provide a challenging curriculum for gifted students (Dixon, 2009). Students who take AP classes often like these classes better than their other classes because they find the more challenging material more engaging (Bleske-Rechek et al., 2004). By performing well on national AP exams at the end of their AP classes, gifted high school students can earn college credits. Participation in the AP program has grown rapidly in recent years. The number of AP tests taken by high school students increased by over 50% from 2008 through 2015 (College Board, 2016).

Many American high school students have Advanced Placement classes for high-achieving students. Here, adolescents in an AP class.

A problem with keeping gifted children and adolescents in regular classrooms is that they may become bored and alienated from school. According to scholars on giftedness, children and adolescents who are gifted often become socially isolated in regular classrooms (Dixon, 2009; Winner, 1996). High-achieving adults often recall their school experiences negatively, as a time of being bored and frustrated because there was so little for them to learn (Howe, 1999). Other students may resent their abilities, and their detachment and disinterest in what other students are learning may be evident to both students and teachers. It has become rare now for gifted children to skip a grade in school to be in a grade that would match their abilities, because such children often had difficulty with the social adjustment of being surrounded by children who were older. AP courses allow gifted adolescents to have a challenging curriculum without skipping a grade.

ADOLESCENTS WITH DISABILITIES At the other extreme of achievement are adolescents who have disabilities of various kinds that make it difficult for them to succeed in school. Some of the common disabilities related to school difficulties are speech handicaps, emotional disorders, and learning disabilities (Hallahan & Kauffman, 2003). In this section we will discuss **learning disabilities** in detail, as they are the most common category of disability.

The diagnosis of learning disability is made when a child or an adolescent has normal intelligence but has difficulty in one or more academic areas and the difficulty cannot be attributed to any other diagnosed disorder. Research indicates that learning disabilities may indicate deficits in brain development and brain functioning (Brown et al., 2008). However, currently the diagnosis of a learning disability is based not on a neurological test but on a gap between intelligence test scores and academic achievement test scores. About 8% of adolescents in American schools have been diagnosed with a learning disability (NCES, 2016).

Advanced Placement (AP) classes

Classes for gifted students in high schools that have higher-level material than normal classes to provide a challenging curriculum.

learning disability

In schools, a diagnosis made when a child or adolescent has normal intelligence but has difficulty in one or more academic areas and the difficulty cannot be attributed to any other disorder.

Boys are twice as likely as girls to have a learning disability (NCES, 2016). The reasons for this are not well understood, but it contributes to the pattern we discussed previously, of girls generally having more success than boys in school. African Americans and Latinos are more likely to have learning disabilities than Whites and Asian Americans are (NCES, 2016). Again, this is part of a larger pattern of more academic difficulties among African Americans and Latinos.

Reading is the academic area that is the most common source of difficulty for adolescents with a learning disability, but learning disabilities also exist for written language and math (NCES, 2016). Adolescents with learning disabilities often have social and emotional difficulties that compound their difficulties in school, and they are at high risk for dropping out of school (Deshler, 2005; Hutchinson et al., 2004; Rosetti & Henderson, 2013). Interventions to address learning disabilities have been shown to be most effective if introduced as soon as children enter school (Goldstein, 2011). By adolescence, the learning problems resulting from learning disabilities are firmly entrenched and are difficult to ameliorate. However, interventions with adolescents who have learning disabilities can be effective if they are delivered by teachers who are highly committed and involved (Deshler, 2005; Zambo & Davidson, 2013).

Attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) is a disability that includes problems of inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsiveness. ADHD is classified as a learning disability, and about one-half of learning-disabled adolescents have been diagnosed specifically with ADHD (Hallahan & Kauffman, 2003; NCES, 2016). Most adolescents who have ADHD also have an additional learning disability. Because so much of school requires sitting quietly in a classroom, adolescents with ADHD often find school to be a stressful, unpleasant experience (Brook & Boaz, 2005).

About 5% of American children have been diagnosed with ADHD by age 17 (CDC, 2016). Boys are over twice as likely as girls to be diagnosed with ADHD (National Resource Center on ADHD, 2016). ADHD is usually diagnosed in childhood, but the majority of children with ADHD still have the disorder in adolescence (Hill, 2015; Holbrook et al., 2016). The causes of ADHD are unclear, but it appears to be at least partly inherited because nearly 50% of children and adolescents with ADHD also have a sibling or parent with the disorder (Guyer, 2000).

Nearly 9 of 10 American children and adolescents diagnosed with ADHD receive Ritalin or other medications to suppress their hyperactivity and help them concentrate better (National Resource Center on ADHD, 2016). Medication is often effective in controlling the symptoms of ADHD, but studies find that the combination of medication and behavioral therapy is more effective than either one alone (Hill, 2015). Effective behavioral therapies include parent training, classroom interventions, and summer programs (Hoza et al., 2008).

attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)
Disorder characterized by difficulty in maintaining attention on a task along with a high activity level that makes self-control problematic.

Watch ADHD TREATMENT: EFFECTS OF RITALIN

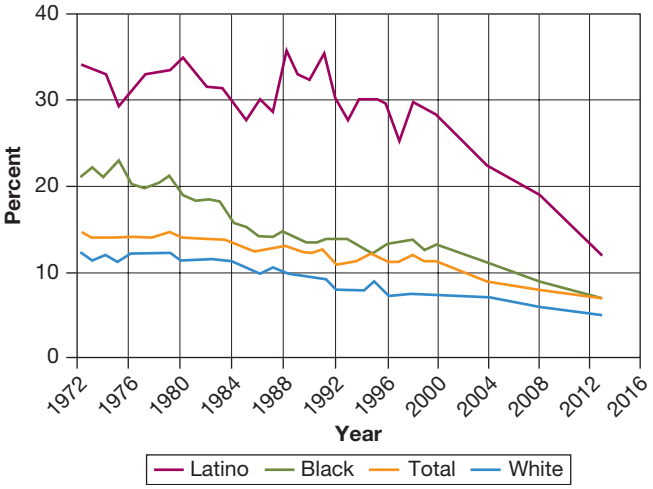
Although most research on ADHD has taken place in the United States, one large study of ADHD was conducted in Europe, involving more than 1,500 children and adolescents (ages 6 to 18) in 10 countries (Rothenberger et al., 2006). In this Attention-deficit/hyperactivity Disorder Observational Research in Europe (ADORE) study, pediatricians and child psychiatrists across Europe collected observational data on the children and adolescents at seven time points over 2 years, with data including diagnosis, treatment, and outcomes. Parents also participated, and their assessments showed high agreement with the pediatricians and child psychiatrists.

Like the American studies, ADORE found higher rates of ADHD among boys than among girls, but the ratios varied widely among countries, from 3:1 to 16:1 (Novik et al., 2006). Symptoms of ADHD were similar among boys and girls, but girls with ADHD were more likely than boys to have additional emotional problems and to be bullied by their peers, whereas boys were more likely than girls to have additional conduct problems. For both boys and girls, having ADHD resulted in frequent problems in their relations with peers, teachers, and parents (Coghill et al., 2006). Parents reported frequent stresses and strains due to children's and adolescents' ADHD behavior, including frequent disruptions of family activities and worries about the future (Riley et al., 2006). In contrast to the American approach of relying heavily on Ritalin and other medications, the European approaches to treatment were diverse: medications (25%), psychotherapy (19%), combination of medications and psychotherapy (25%), other therapy (10%), and no treatment (21%) (Preuss et al., 2006).

Dropout rates have fallen sharply for Latino and African-American adolescents over the past 40 years.

Figure 10.5 Ethnic differences in high school dropout rates.

SOURCE: NCES (2016).



High School Dropouts

10.13 State the reasons why some adolescents drop out of school.

"I didn't like school. I just didn't like it. There was nothing I liked about it. Having to do all this reading and writing, and all that stuff. I had better things to do. I didn't want to be tied down with some schoolwork that I wasn't even going to remember in six weeks, or six days. I just found it all pointless. I'd rather go out in real life and learn real-life things than sit in a classroom and read a book, and answer questions from a teacher."

—RICH, AGE 17, HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT (ARNETT, 1996, P. 120)

Fifty years ago in American society, leaving high school before graduation was not unusual and did not severely affect a young person's occupational prospects. Many well-paying manufacturing jobs were available in automobile factories, steel mills, and the like, which made it possible for a young person to earn an adequate income without obtaining a high school degree. Today, however, with the economy having changed from a manufacturing base to a services and information base, the consequences of having low educational attainment are much harsher. Young people who fail to obtain a high school diploma are at high risk for unemployment (NCES, 2016). Dropouts who do obtain employment often find themselves in low-paying service jobs.

As the importance of obtaining education has increased over the past half-century, the proportion of young people who fail to complete high school has steadily declined. By the year 2015, only 7% of young Americans had not obtained a high school diploma by age 24 (NCES, 2016). A higher percentage, about 25%, actually leave high school before graduating, but many of them obtain a General Education Development (GED) certificate afterward—which is considered to be equivalent to a high school diploma—to lower the overall "dropout rate" to 7% by age 24.

There are ethnic differences in dropout rates (NCES, 2016). As **Figure 10.5** shows, dropout rates in all ethnic groups have declined over the past 30 years. Latinos have a relatively high dropout rate, 12%, but their dropout rate has declined by more than 50% since 2000, the fastest decline of any group. African Americans have also experienced a steep decline in dropout rates over the past 30 years, and currently their dropout rate is just 7%. Dropout rates are lowest among Whites (5%) and Asian Americans (2%). In all ethnic groups except Asian Americans, males are slightly more likely than females to drop out.

What leads adolescents to drop out of school? For most, dropping out is not a sudden event but the culmination of many years of school problems (Barton, 2005). Adolescents who drop out are more likely than other adolescents to have repeated a grade. They are also more likely to have had a history of other school difficulties, including low grades, behavior problems, and low scores on achievement and intelligence tests (Jozefowitz-Simbeni, 2008). Given the difficulties they have in school, it is not surprising that dropouts often report that they disliked school and found it boring and alienating (Janosz et al., 2008).

Personal characteristics and problems are also related to adolescents' risk of dropping out. Dropouts sometimes have aggressive, active, high-sensation-seeking personalities that make it difficult for them to endure the typical classroom environment, which often involves working alone quietly or listening to someone else talk (Trampush et al., 2009). Adolescents who have learning disabilities of various kinds are more likely than other adolescents to drop out, in part because their difficulties in learning may have left them hopelessly behind their peers by the time they reach high school. For girls, having a child puts them at high risk for dropping out, although such girls often report

lower school engagement even before becoming pregnant (Leadbeater & Way, 2001; McGaha-Garnett, 2008).

A variety of family factors also predict adolescents' risk for dropping out of school. Parents' education and income are strong predictors. Adolescents with parents who have dropped out of school are at high risk of dropping out themselves, as are adolescents whose families are in poverty (Barton, 2005). The two often go together, of course—parents who have dropped out often have low incomes. Parents who have dropped out provide a model of dropping out and often have lower educational expectations for their children (Rumberger, 1995). Also, families with low incomes often live in low-income neighborhoods where the quality of the schools is poor (Lansford et al., 2016). In addition, the stresses of living in a low-income family make it more difficult for parents to support their children's education, for example, by helping them with their homework or attending school conferences. Rates of dropping out are higher for adolescents in single-parent families, largely because of the lower incomes and higher stresses experienced in such families (Barton, 2005). Among Latinos, difficulty using English is an important contributor to dropping out (NCES, 2008; Singh & Hernandez-Gantes, 1996).

School characteristics also predict adolescents' risk of dropping out. Here as in other areas we have discussed, school climate is of primary importance. Dropout rates are lower in schools where teachers are supportive of students and dedicated to teaching and where the classroom environment is orderly (Connell et al., 1995; Salmela-Aro et al., 2008). Dropout rates are higher in larger schools, at least partly because it is more difficult to sustain a healthy school climate in large schools (Jozefowitz-Simbeni, 2008).

Dropping out of high school is related to a variety of present and future problems (Lansford et al., 2016). Rates of substance use are considerably higher among dropouts than among adolescents who stay in school (Wu et al., 2003). Dropouts are also at high risk for depression and other psychological problems. Job prospects for dropouts are limited, both in the short term and the long term (NCES, 2016). Even for those who do obtain a job, it is likely to be a low-paying one. Dropouts earn less in adolescence, emerging adulthood, and beyond than their peers who obtain more education. High-paying manufacturing jobs are no longer widely available, and as a result, wages for dropouts have actually *declined* by 35% over the past 40 years, adjusted for inflation (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006; NCES, 2016).

Because dropping out predicts a variety of future problems, intervention programs have been designed to assist adolescents who drop out or who are at risk for dropping out because of poor school performance or because of attending a school where the dropout rate is high. In general, these programs have concluded that because the problems that lead to dropping out are diverse, programs to prevent dropping out need to be adapted to adolescents' individual needs and problems (Chappell et al., 2015). One promising approach is the establishment of alternative schools for students who are at risk for dropping out (Franklin et al., 2007; Wilkins & Bost, 2015). Evaluations of these programs have shown that students in the alternative schools are half as likely to drop out as students in control groups who were similarly at risk but did not participate in the programs.

The key to the success of the alternative school programs appears to lie in three factors: attention from caring adult staff members who serve as counselors and social workers; low student–teacher ratios, so that each student receives a substantial amount of attention from teachers; and starting the program in middle school, because by high school students may have fallen too far behind for the interventions to succeed. As one administrator of these programs observed, "If you get kids into a controlled environment where the expectations are high and there is a lot of adult contact and a lot of adult supervision, guess what: They do pretty well." (Boyle & Lutton, 1999, p. 19).

Tertiary Education: College and University

All over the world, more and more adolescents are continuing their education into emerging adulthood, moving from secondary education to tertiary education, as part of a worldwide shift from manufacturing to a "knowledge economy" based on information and technology (Arnett, 2015). In this section we will first examine current characteristics of American college undergraduates. This will be followed by a discussion of what leads to educational success in college—or the lack of it. We will also examine the short-and long-term consequences of tertiary education, and two new innovations in the college experience.

Watch TERTIARY EDUCATION ACROSS CULTURES

Characteristics of College Students

10.14 Summarize the historical trend in tertiary education participation in the United States and current variations by ethnic group and gender.

The proportion of Americans attending college has risen dramatically in recent decades, as **Figure 10.6** shows. The extension of education has been an important influence in creating a distinct period of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000a, 2015). Emerging adulthood is characterized by exploration in a variety of aspects of life, and attending college allows young people to explore various possible educational directions that offer different occupational futures. Colleges in the United States and Canada also allow for the exploration of ideas that may be unrelated to any occupational future. You may be a business major and nevertheless enjoy courses in literature or art or philosophy that lead you to explore a variety of ideas about what it means to be human. You may be a psychology major and yet find it engaging to explore ideas in astronomy or chemistry courses. In contrast, students in European universities must decide on a specific field of study before they arrive, and they study only that subject.

In the United States, although nearly 70% of recent high school graduates enter college, rates of college attendance are not equal in all groups in American society. Females are more likely than males to enter college; currently, the undergraduate population is 58% female (NCES, 2016). In European countries as well, more females than males obtain higher education (OECD, 2016). According to a worldwide survey, there are more young women than young men in higher education in 83 of 141 countries, including many developing countries (Arnett, 2011).

In the United States, Asian Americans are the ethnic group most likely to attend college with 81% of them entering college following high school, compared with 67% of Whites, 66% of Latinos, and 56% of Blacks (NCES, 2016). In the past three decades, these percentages have increased for all ethnic groups.

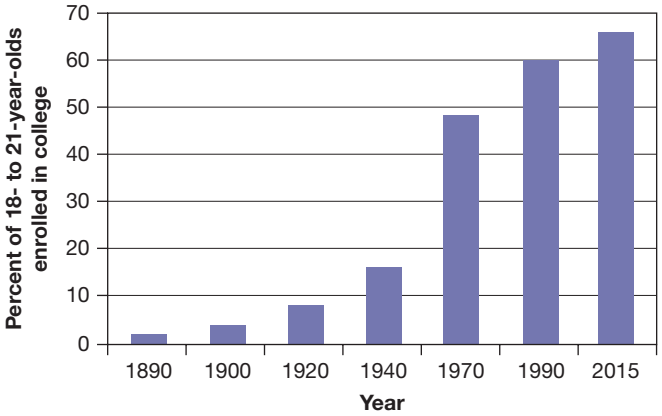
The areas of study chosen by college students reflect the current shift to a knowledge economy (NCES, 2016). Business is chosen by about 20% of students. Health professions are chosen are by 10% of American college students, psychology and other social sciences by 9%, and education by 6%.

There are distinct gender differences in the major preferences stated by college students, and the extent of some of these gender differences has changed substantially over recent decades (NCES, 2016). Females are about four times as likely as males to major in education and about three times as likely to major in psychology. Males and females are about equally represented in biological sciences, business, premed, and prelaw; in all of these areas, female representation has increased since 1972. In 1972 females were only one-fourth as likely as males to major in the physical sciences, but now they are nearly equal to males. Males continue to be about four times as likely as females to major in computer science and engineering.

Gender differences have also changed dramatically in attainment of postgraduate degrees (NCES, 2016). Women

Figure 10.6 College attendance over the past century.

SOURCES: Adapted from Arnett & Taber (1994); Bianchi & Spain (1996); NCES (2016).



The proportion of women in fields such as medicine and law has increased dramatically since 1970.

earn one-third of dentistry degrees, up from just 1% in 1970. They also earn half of medical doctor degrees (8% in 1970), half of law degrees (5% in 1970), and nearly half of master of business administration (MBA) degrees (4% in 1970). Across fields, women earn 60% of postgraduate degrees, up from just 10% in 1960.

For most young people, it takes longer now to obtain a 4-year undergraduate degree than it did two or three decades ago. Currently, it takes an average of 5 to 6 years for students to obtain a "4-year" degree (NCES, 2016). A number of factors explain why it now takes students longer to graduate (Dey & Hurtado, 1999). Financial concerns are at the top of the list. Tuition rates have increased to a shocking extent and were over *four times higher* (even taking into account inflation) in 2007 than they were in 1982 in both public and private colleges and universities (Lewin, 2008). Financial aid has also shifted markedly from grants to loans, which has led many students to work long hours while attending college to avoid accruing excessive debt before they graduate (Dey & Hurtado, 1999; HERI, 2012). In 2010, 41% of full-time college students were employed (compared to 32% in 1970), and 76% of part-time students (NCES, 2012). Also, some students prefer to extend their college years to switch majors, add a minor field of study, or take advantage of internship programs or study-abroad programs.

In Europe, university education traditionally lasted even longer than in the United States, often 6, 7, 8 years, or more. Most European systems offered a university degree that was like the American bachelor, master's, and doctoral degrees rolled into one, so naturally it took longer than the American bachelor's degree. However, in recent years the European system has changed to match the American system, with separate bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. This was done to shorten the time European emerging adults spend in university, and to promote the development of coordinated programs between European and American universities. It also reflects the growing globalization of education.

Educational Success in College

10.15 Identify the factors that contribute to college retention and dropout.

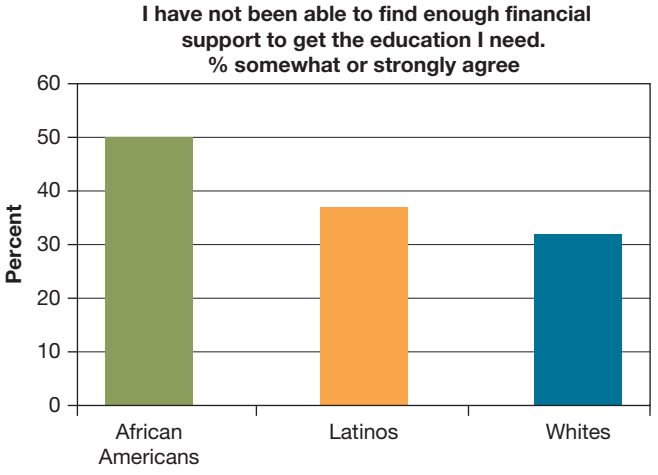
Although college students take an average of 5–6 years now to graduate with a 4-year degree, even at 6 years or more graduation is by no means inevitable. In fact, nearly half of students who enroll at 4-year colleges or universities drop out before obtaining a degree (NCES, 2016). For years, researchers have been studying factors that contribute to individual decisions to stay in or leave higher education. **Retention** is the term for maintaining students in college until they graduate (Tinto, 1993). Some factors related to retention are students' previous academic performance, ethnic background, and family SES. A variety of studies have found that retention is higher among students of higher academic ability and better precollege academic performance (DeBerard et al., 2004; Friedman & Mandel, 2009). Retention is higher among White students than among African American or Latino students, in part because minority students often come from high schools where they received poor academic preparation for college (Seidman, 2007).

Retention is also positively related to students' family SES—the higher the students' family SES, the more likely they are to stay in college until they graduate. As tuition rates have increased substantially over the past two decades, college costs as a percentage of family income have grown, especially for low-income families (HERI, 2012). Furthermore, surveys indicate that families that need financial aid the most often know the least about what aid is available (Shea, 2003). Consequently, it is not surprising that lack of adequate financial support often causes students' premature departure. As **Figure 10.7** shows, this is especially a problem for African American and Latino students because they tend to come from families with less money than White and Asian American students do (Arnett & Schwab, 2012; Seidman, 2007). Finally, personal concerns may also contribute to students' decisions to leave before graduating. Some of these personal concerns are marriage, family responsibilities, health problems, and accepting a new job (Tinto, 1993).

In an effort to enhance retention rates, many colleges and universities have instituted programs for this purpose (Braxton et al., 2007; Hoxby & Turner, 2013). Programs have

Figure 10.7 Ethnicity and college affordability in the United States, emerging adults ages 18–29.

SOURCE: Arnett & Schwab (2012).



retention

The degree of success in maintaining students in college until they graduate.

also been developed specifically for students from ethnic minorities who have the lowest retention rates, including African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans. Successful programs have used a variety of approaches, such as peer mentoring and special programs to support first-year students (Braunstein et al., 2008; Shotton et al., 2007). Scholars in this area recommend emphasizing the strengths of minority students and not just their problems (Maton et al., 2008). Also, it is important to recognize that many adolescents in minority families are the first in their families to attend college, and they and their parents may not know about possible sources of financial aid. The College Board has launched a new initiative to reach these students and inform them and their families of opportunities for college scholarships (Leonhardt, 2013).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think that by the end of the 21st century nearly all emerging adults will attend college, just as high school education became nearly universal for adolescents in the 20th century? Why or why not?

Students' College Learning Experiences: Four Student Subcultures

10.16 Name the four main student subcultures identified by Clark and Trow, and assess whether they still apply to students today.

What kind of experiences do emerging adults have at college? What kind of an education do they get? What sorts of things do they learn and fail to learn? How do they change during the course of their college years? These questions have been the target of considerable research over the past 25 years.

At the outset, it should be noted that the college experience is many different things to many different people. The colleges emerging adults attend vary widely, from enormous research-oriented universities with tens of thousands of students to small liberal arts colleges with a few hundred students, to community colleges whose students are mostly people who work as well as go to school. The nature of the college experience also depends on the goals and attitudes of the students themselves.

One useful way of characterizing young people's college experiences was developed in the early 1960s by the sociologists Burton Clark and Martin Trow (1966), who described four student "subcultures": the collegiate, the vocational, the academic, and the rebel. The *collegiate* subculture centers around fraternities, sororities, dating, drinking, big sports events, and campus fun. Instructors, courses, and grades are a secondary priority. Students in this subculture do enough school work to get by, but they resist or ignore any encouragement from faculty to become seriously involved with ideas. Their main purpose during their college years is fellowship and partying. This subculture thrives especially at big universities.

Students in the *vocational* subculture have a practical view of their college education. To them, the purpose of college is to gain skills and a degree that will enable them to get a better job than they would have otherwise. Like collegiates, students in the vocational subculture resist instructors' demands for engagement in ideas, beyond the requirements of the course work. But vocationals have neither the time nor the money for the frivolous fun of the collegiate subculture. Typically, they work 20 to 40 hours a week to support themselves and help pay their college tuition. Students who attend community colleges are mostly in this category.

The *academic* subculture is the one that identifies most strongly with the educational mission of college. Students in this subculture are drawn to the world of ideas and knowledge. They study hard, do their assignments, and get to know their instructors. These are the students instructors like best because they are excited about and engaged with the materials their instructors present.

Students in the *rebel* subculture are also deeply engaged with the ideas presented in their courses. However, unlike academics, rebels are aggressively nonconformist. Rather than liking and admiring their instructors, they tend to be critically detached from them and skeptical of their expertise. Rebels enjoy learning when they feel the material is interesting and relevant to their lives, but they are selectively studious. If they like a course and respect the instructor, they do the work required and often receive a top grade, but if they dislike a course and find it irrelevant to their personal interests they may slack off and receive a low grade.

Clark and Trow (1966) described these student subcultures in the early 1960s, four decades ago. Do the same subcultures still apply to today's emerging adults attending college? Observers of higher education think so (Sperber, 2000), and from my experience as a professor I would agree their description still rings true. All of these subcultures are likely to be familiar to anyone who teaches college students. But it is important to emphasize that these are types of subcultures, not types of students. Most students are blends of the four subcultural types, to different degrees, although most identify with one subculture more than the others.

To put it another way, the four subcultural types represent different kinds of goals that emerging adults have for their college experience. As collegiates they pursue fun, as vocationals they pursue a degree, as academics they pursue knowledge, and as rebels they pursue an identity. Most students hope to make all of these things a part of their college years. For example, in one national study of American college freshmen, 82% responded that it was "very important" for them during college "to learn more

about the things that interest me," an academic goal, and nearly as many, 75%, intended "to get training for a specific profession," a vocational goal, but 52% also intended "to find my purpose in life," a rebel/identity goal (HERI, 2016).

APPLYING *your* KNOWLEDGE

Do you think the four student subcultures described here exist at your college or university? What subcultures might you delete or add? Which subculture do you identify with most, personally?

Is College Worth It? Short-Term Experiences and Long-Term Effects

10.17 Summarize the benefits of a college education, according to students and according to research on long-term outcomes.

The college experience is romanticized in American society—the sunny quad filled with Frisbee-tossing students on a spring afternoon, the football stadium roaring on a crisp fall day, the inspiring instructor teaching a life-changing course—but colleges and universities are also frequent targets of critiques and laments. Some critics have even advocated in recent years that emerging adults would be better off skipping the time and cost of a college education all together, or assembling their own college curriculum for free via the Internet.

So, is college worth it, or not? It is certainly true that during their college education, a large majority of students respond favorably to survey questions assessing their experience. In a national survey of more than 9,000 students, Arthur Levine and Diane Dean (2012) found that 87% indicated that they were "Satisfied with the teaching at your college." Also, 76% indicated that there were faculty at their college who took a special interest in students' academic progress, and 78% had instructors who had "greatly influenced" their academic career. More than half also had instructors whom they felt they could turn to for advice on personal matters. In all respects, students' satisfaction with their academic experience at college had increased compared to earlier surveys Levine and colleagues conducted in 1969, 1976, and 1993. Students tend to be more satisfied at small colleges with small classes than at large universities where the classes are often enormous (Pascarella et al., 2004; Seifert et al., 2010).

Beyond college, too, there is abundant evidence for the rewards of a college education. In terms of financial rewards, college grads make about a million dollars more over the course of a career, compared to their peers who obtained no education beyond high school (Carnevale, Jayasundera, & Cheah, 2011). There are differences among majors, of course, with engineering, computer science, and mathematics majors earning the most and liberal arts, communications, and journalism majors making the least, but graduates in all majors earn more than the typical non-graduate. College graduates are also more likely to be working. The unemployment rate is consistently at least twice as high for 25- to 29-year-olds with only a high school degree than it is for those who have a 4-year college degree (NCES, 2016).

Most college grads are well aware of the benefits of having a degree. The Pew Research Center (2012) found that 84% of college grads said that their degree had been a good investment; only 7% said it had not. Some may be frustrated when they have trouble finding a good job in their field in the first year or two after graduating, but they recognize that a college education nearly always pays off over the course of a career.

A large body of research supports students' accounts that college has multiple benefits. Ernest Pascarella and Patrick Terenzini (1991; Pascarella, 2005, 2006) have conducted research on this topic for many years. They find a variety of intellectual benefits from attending college, in areas such as general verbal and quantitative skills, oral and written communication skills, and critical thinking. These benefits hold up even after taking into account factors such as age, gender, precollege abilities, and family social class background. Pascarella and Terenzini also find that in the course of the college years students become less "vocational" in their college goals—that is, they place less emphasis on college as a way to a better job—and more "academic"—that is, they place more emphasis on learning for its own sake and for the sake of enhancing their intellectual and personal growth.

In addition to intellectual, academic benefits, Pascarella and Terenzini describe a long list of nonacademic benefits. In the course of the college years, students develop clearer aesthetic and intellectual values. They gain a more distinct identity and become more confident socially. They become less dogmatic, less authoritarian, and less ethnocentric in their political and social views. Their self-concepts and psychological well-being improve. As with the intellectual benefits, these nonacademic benefits hold up even after taking into account characteristics such as age, gender, and family social class background.

The long-term benefits of going to college are also well established, according to research by Pascarella and Terenzini as well as many others (Arnett et al., 2011; Carnevale, Smith, & Strohl, 2013). Emerging adults who attend college tend to have considerably higher earnings, occupational status, and career attainment over the long run, compared to those who do not attend college. College graduates are also less likely to divorce and have lower rates of substance abuse and mental health problems.

It seems clear, then, that going to college yields a variety of rewards for emerging adults, both personally and professionally. Could the college experience offered to emerging adults be improved? Certainly. Nevertheless, going to college pays off in multiple ways for emerging adults.

Tertiary Education's (Possible) Digital Future: Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs)

10.18 Explain what MOOCs are, and analyze their potential advantages and disadvantages in delivering tertiary education.

The university is an ancient institution, going back at least a thousand years. In some ways, surprisingly little has changed over that millennium. Instructors present information and ideas, based on texts believed to represent current knowledge. Students read the texts, and in classes, students ask questions and instructors and students discuss and perhaps investigate key issues. Eventually, instructors evaluate students on their grasp of the materials.

This is still, essentially, how colleges and universities educate students today. However, there are many ideas and proposals in the air for changing tertiary education so that it is better suited to the 21st century. Most notably, the Internet, which has changed so much in our lives in recent decades, seems poised to change tertiary education as well. If instructors can tape their lectures so that students can watch them online and discuss the materials with each other and (perhaps) the instructor, is it really necessary any more for students to live on or near a campus and go to a classroom to watch an instructor do essentially the same thing and to have the same kinds of discussions with other students? Students still have to be evaluated on their comprehension of the materials, but they could be evaluated electronically, by taking an exam or writing a paper that an instructor (or a computer program) then grades.

Currently there is much excitement about the potential of the electronic university. It seems to offer the possibility of vastly reducing the costs of obtaining a college degree. For students who have little or no money, whether they are among the lower social classes in developed countries or live in developing countries where universities are few, the electronic university may open doors to knowledge that would otherwise be closed to them. Much of the excitement has concentrated on **Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs).** Prominent universities and well-funded private corporations have already made available a wide range of courses taught by renowned instructors, and millions of students worldwide have enrolled. And this is just the beginning. The idea is only a few years old and is sure to grow in the years to come.

Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs)

College courses presented electronically, via the Internet, usually at no cost to the student.

So, is the excitement merited? Will MOOCs usher in a new era of tertiary education that is easy, inexpensive, and available to nearly everyone? MOOCs are so new that there is little research yet on their effectiveness, but there are several reasons to think that students will not learn as well with MOOCs as they would in a traditional college classroom (Arnett, 2015).

The main reason is that MOOCs require a great deal of personal initiative, focus, and self-discipline on the part of the students, to a degree that most people may not possess—and certainly not at the "college age" of the late teens and early twenties, when, as most of them acknowledge, they have not yet attained an adult level of maturity and responsibility (Arnett, 2015). It is true that MOOCs offer an astonishing range of information, but so do encyclopedias, and without some kind of formal structure, students are no more likely to make a complete education out of MOOCs than they would be to make it past aardvark in the encyclopedia. It is estimated that more than 90% of students who sign up for MOOCs fail to finish, and even among the less than 10% who do, it is not clear how many of them actually read and understood the materials (Dennis, 2012). MOOCs are moving toward having students evaluated in a more systematic way, for example by going to a testing site for a monitored exam, or having students monitored by a Webcam as they take the exam on their computer. But cheating is a problem even in a classroom vigilantly monitored by an instructor, so it will be a challenge to make these less direct methods effective.

Remember, too, that students say that the most important things they learn in the course of their college education are personal and interpersonal (Levine & Dean, 2012). Instructors are more than simply founts of information; they are—at least some of them are, some of the time—figures of admiration and inspiration who can influence students in profound ways. Beyond the classroom, college teaches students how to work with others, how to organize their time, and how to carry out responsibilities (Magolda & Taylor, 2015). It also helps them clarify their identities and lays out an array of possibilities that often allows students to find one that seems like a calling, something that fits just right with their abilities and interests, that offers the promise of the modern ideal of enjoyable, identity-based work (Arnett, 2015). It is difficult to see MOOCs being able to accomplish the same goals.

On the other hand, there may be many topics that can be taught effectively through these methods. No one needs the magic of the classroom to learn auto mechanics, or statistics, or photosynthesis (although personal instruction surely helps the learning process, in all cases). The majority of students taking MOOCs may not have the self-direction and self-discipline required to make the most of them, but some will. There is also a great deal

of potential, MOOCs aside, in using electronic methods to make the traditional college classroom more interactive, for example by having students give immediate electronic feedback to the instructor on material that has been presented. A great deal of educational research demonstrates that students learn far more through active learning than through passively listening to a lecture, and electronic methods can be developed to promote active learning (Bean, 2011).

The potential of MOOCs may be greatest for ambitious, highly motivated emerging adults in developing countries, for whom MOOCs may prove to be a valuable—and their only—road to knowledge. But they are unlikely to replace or even threaten the college and university system.

What's the Hurry? The Option of the "Gap Year"

10.19 Describe the prevalence, motivations, and benefits of taking a gap year between secondary school and tertiary education.

Given that only about half of American students who enter a four-year college or university have attained a degree six years later (NCES, 2016), and that students especially struggle during their first year, there is a lot of room for ideas on how to improve the success of the college experience. One idea popular in some countries is the **gap year**—that is, taking a year or two after high school to mature and have other experiences before entering tertiary education.

Taking a gap year is rare in the United States. It is estimated that only 2% of American emerging adults deliberately wait a year or two after high school for other planned experiences, then enter college. However, it is far more common in the United Kingdom, Australia, Israel, and northern Europe (Curtis, Mlotkowski, & Lumsden, 2012). Consequently, research on the gap year has taken place almost entirely in these populations, but it suggests the potential benefits of making the gap year more common in the United States and Canada.

Andrew Jones (2004), an education researcher at the University of London, summarized the results of research in the United Kingdom, where taking a gap year has become increasingly common in recent decades. British emerging adults have a variety of motivations for taking a gap year, including:

- Desire for a break from formal education;
- To gain a broader perspective on life;
- To develop personal skills;
- To earn money;
- To experience other people, places, and cultures; and
- To do some good in the world, either locally or abroad.

U.K. "gappers" are similarly diverse in the range of their gap year experiences. Many simply find a job. Others seek work overseas, for example as an au pair, an English instructor, or doing seasonal work. Some volunteer in service organizations, either in their community or internationally.

Taking a gap year has a variety of benefits, according to Jones's (2004) review. Gappers have higher motivation when they enter tertiary education afterward, compared to non-gappers. They report developing life skills, social values, and nonacademic skills and qualifications during their gap year. They clarify their educational directions and career choices. Once they enter tertiary education, their educational performance is higher than non-gappers, and once they graduate, having a gap year enhances their employability and their career opportunities. There are drawbacks, too, for some. Unless some kind of formal activity is planned, there is the risk of a wasted year. As one gapper in Jones's report warned, "You've got to avoid the danger of lying in bed for a year doing nothing else than watching daytime TV." But for most emerging adults in the United Kingdom, taking a gap year turns out to be a rewarding choice.

So, why is taking a gap year so common in the United Kingdom, Australia, and northern Europe, and so rare in the United States? One reason may be that there is a long tradition of something like a gap year in the United Kingdom and Europe, going back to the 19th century (Kett, 1977). Another reason is the difference on how the tertiary education systems are structured. In the United Kingdom and northern Europe, tertiary education is focused on one professional area. Whether your focus is on accounting, electrical engineering, or computer programming, you enter tertiary education to learn that topic, specifically. So, you have to have a fairly well-developed identity—a sense of your abilities and interests—to choose a course of tertiary education. In contrast, as discussed previously in the chapter, the American university is structured so that the first two years are general education in a wide range of subjects. You are not required to have any idea, when you enter, of what your eventual focus will be. Consequently, British and northern European emerging adults wait until their identities are clarified, then make their choice (King, 2011). Americans, in contrast, can allow themselves two years of identity development within the college context before they have to make a comparable choice.

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gap year

A year between finishing secondary education and beginning tertiary education.

Summing Up

10.1 Summarize the history of secondary school enrollment around the world.

Secondary enrollment in developed countries grew during the 20th century from rare to nearly universal. Today, secondary enrollment is relatively low in developing countries but growing rapidly. Over the past century, the secondary school curriculum in the United States has changed from a focus on liberal arts to a curriculum intended to prepare students for work and citizenship, to a curriculum that includes a wide range of courses from math and English to music and physical education. These changes have taken place partly in response to the different characteristics of the young people attending secondary school, and partly in response to changes in cultural beliefs about what adolescents need to learn.

10.2 Compare and contrast the forms that secondary school takes today in different regions of the world.

In some developed countries, secondary education takes the form of the comprehensive high school, which teaches a general education to all students. In other developed countries, mainly in Europe, there are three types of secondary school, a college-preparatory school, a vocational school, and a professional school. Secondary education around the world varies greatly in terms of availability and quality. Developed countries tend to provide relatively high-quality secondary education for most adolescents. Adolescents in developing countries are less likely to complete secondary school and the quality of secondary education available to them is often poor.

10.3 Identify the main reason why secondary school performance is higher in some regions of the world than others.

In international comparisons, developed countries rank higher than developing countries in academic performance because schools in developed countries are better funded and adolescents in developing countries have greater work and family responsibilities.

10.4 Summarize the research on school size in relation to adolescents' school experiences and performance.

Large schools have the advantage of a broad range of classes, but can be alienating for students. At smaller schools, students are more likely to participate in extracurricular activities. No clear relation has been found between school size or class size and academic achievement, but scholars generally agree that the optimal school size is 500 to 1,000 students.

10.5 Define school climate, and identify the ways that it influences adolescents' experiences in secondary school.

School climate—the quality of the classroom interactions between teachers and students—affects students' academic performance and their participation in delinquency. The same qualities of warmth and moderate control that are effective in parenting are also effective in schools.

10.6 Explain how family expectations and parenting are related to adolescents' school attitudes and performance, and the difficulties in establishing causation in this research area.

Adolescents tend to perform better in school when their parents are involved and have high expectations for educational performance. However, because adolescents receive both genes and family environment from parents in biological families, it is difficult to tell how much of parents' contribution to adolescents' school success is genetic and how much is environmental. Adolescents' performance rises when programs succeed in increasing parents' engagement with the school.

10.7 Summarize how friends may influence each other's school engagement, and distinguish between the influence of friends and the influence of peers.

Adolescents tend to choose friends who share their level of academic engagement and achievement, and friends usually reinforce adolescents' engagement, whether it is positive or negative. High-achieving adolescents may try to conceal their success from peers, but an environment of high-achieving peers can lead adolescents to lower their academic self-esteem and expectations for achievement.

10.8 Identify the ways that working and leisure activities may impact adolescents' school performance, and specify the threshold of hours per week beyond which working has negative effects.

Employment in adolescence is related to a wide range of negative outcomes, including poorer grades, cheating, and less commitment to school. The negative effect becomes apparent above 10 hours per week, and worse still above 20 hours per week. Unstructured socializing is related

to lower academic achievement, but organized activities enhance adolescents' school engagement.

10.9 Identify the differences between American and Asian views of what schools should require of adolescents, and explain how social class is connected to cultural beliefs about school within American society.

Americans value academic success but generally believe it should not come at the expense of time with friends and participation in organized activities, including sports, art, and music. There is a long tradition of Asian cultures valuing education, including the belief that academics come first during adolescence and other activities should be minimized. Within American society, adolescents in lower social classes often perform less well in school, due to family stresses as well as to lower parental engagement in adolescents' school performance.

10.10 Explain the differences in adolescents' academic performance among American ethnic groups.

Asian Americans have the highest academic performance, with African Americans and Latinos lowest and Whites in-between. Ethnic differences in adolescents' academic performance are explained in part by social class differences and in part by culturally different influences from family and friends.

10.11 Identify the reasons why girls' academic performance generally exceeds boys'.

Girls perform better than boys on nearly all measures of academic performance, and in recent years they have become increasingly likely to pursue math and science. They are less likely than boys to have learning disabilities, more likely to do their homework, and they watch less television. They also feel more supported by teachers in school, by parents at home, and by other adults as well.

10.12 List the distinctive qualities of gifted adolescents, and describe the most common learning disabilities and their treatments.

Gifted adolescents are distinguished by precocity, independence, a drive for mastery, and exceptional information processing skills. About 10% of adolescents have a learning disability, with half of these diagnosed as ADHD. The most effective treatment for ADHD combines behavioral therapy and medication. Interventions for reading problems are most effective if they begin long before adolescence.

10.13 State the reasons why some adolescents drop out of school.

Dropping out of high school is predicted by a variety of factors, including previous problems in school, personality characteristics, and family difficulties. Successful programs to prevent dropping out have focused on providing alternative schools.

10.14 Summarize the historical trend in tertiary education participation in the United States and current variations by ethnic group and gender.

Tertiary participation rose steadily through the 20th century and is now just under 70%. There are more female undergraduates than male (58% to 42%), and Asian Americans have the highest rates of tertiary participation, followed by Whites. African Americans and Latinos are lowest, but their participation has risen substantially in recent years.

10.15 Identify the factors that contribute to college retention and dropout.

Cost is the number one reason for dropping out of college, but other reasons include physical, mental health, and family problems. Dropout rates are higher among African Americans and Latinos because they often come from poorly funded secondary schools that have not prepared them adequately for the demands of college. Retention programs have been successful that focus on peer mentoring and special programs for first-year students.

10.16 Name the four main student subcultures identified by Clark and Trow, and assess whether they still apply to students today.

The four student subcultures are collegiate, vocational, academic, and rebel. Most students today are not pure types but have a blend of motives and goals for attending college.

10.17 Summarize the benefits of a college education, according to students and according to research on long-term outcomes.

Most college students are satisfied with the education they receive, and abundant research indicates that college has multiple benefits, from higher future income to lower likelihood of divorce. There are many cognitive benefits

to college, as well as personal benefits such as becoming more confident socially.

10.18 Explain what MOOCs are and analyze their potential advantages and disadvantages in delivering tertiary education.

MOOCs are Massive Open Online Courses, and they are available free or at low cost via the Internet. They hold the promise of providing courses to many people who could otherwise not afford them or live in places where they would otherwise have no access to tertiary education. However, according to research only 10% of people who sign up for MOOCs complete them, and it would be problematic to assess performance without the opportunity for cheating.

10.19 Describe the prevalence, motivations, and benefits of taking a gap year between secondary school and tertiary education.

Taking a gap year is common in Europe and Australia, but only about 2% of Americans take one. Research indicates that taking a gap year enhances motivation and performance once students enroll in tertiary education, so long as they have a clear plan for making their gap year productive.

Key Terms

secondary school, p. 300
comprehensive high school, p. 301
tertiary education, p. 302
school climate, p. 307
engagement, p. 309
pilot testing, p. 311
immigrant paradox, p. 316
gifted students, p. 317
Advanced Placement (AP) classes, p. 318
learning disability, p. 318
attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), p. 319
retention, p. 323
massive open online courses (MOOCs), p. 326
gap year, p. 327

Chapter 11
Work

Learning Objectives

11.1 Describe the main forms that work has taken for adolescents in traditional cultures.

11.2 Explain how globalization has both positive and negative effects on adolescents' work in traditional cultures.

11.3 Summarize the types and conditions of adolescent work in the West before 1900.

11.4 Explain how the frequency and types of adolescent work changed in the West from the early 20th century to the present.

11.5 Summarize adolescents' workplace experiences in Canada and the United States.

11.6 Identify the ways working in adolescence is related to psychological functioning, and specify the number of hours per week where the relation becomes evident.

11.7 Describe how working promotes problem behavior in adolescence.

11.8 Summarize the positive effects of working on adolescent development.

11.9 Identify the skills adolescents need to learn to be prepared for jobs in today's economy.

11.10 Summarize the areas where job growth is likely to be strongest in the next decade, and describe the range of approaches countries are using to prepare adolescents for the workplace.

11.11 Describe the Job Corps program, and summarize the research on its effectiveness.

11.12 Identify the main characteristics of apprenticeship programs in Europe.

11.13 Summarize Super's theory of occupational development and identify its limitations.

11.14 Summarize Holland's theory of occupational choice and identify its limitations.

11.15 Describe the typical experiences of emerging adults in looking for a job.

11.16 Summarize the main reasons for high unemployment rates among emerging adults in urban areas in the United States.

11.17 Summarize the ways community service in adolescence promotes healthy development.

11.18 Describe the main forms of community service in emerging adulthood.

11.19 Compare and contrast the military experiences of emerging adults in the United States and adolescents in developing countries.

"I like working. I mean, you work in school, but you don't get money for it. You just get a paper that says you completed your courses in high school. You work and you get money for it, so I like that. But working at Burger Barn did interfere with school a little bit. My grades went down some. My mom was, 'If you don't bring your grades up you have to quit.' Then I brought my grades up real quick. Work do interfere if you don't know how to level with it."

—TAWANA, AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT, NEW YORK CITY (NEWMAN, 1999)

"I always knew I wanted to be a doctor. But premed took up too much time and I didn't have a life, and I figured that once I became a doctor I still wouldn't be able to spend time with kids. And I want to have kids and be around them. So I figure the next best thing is to be a nurse."

—CHALANTRA, AGE 20 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 149)

"I average about $16 an hour [as a server in a restaurant], so I mean, where else can I go right now and make that much money? I'm just kind of lazy right now. I'm just taking it easy. I'll probably end up being an engineer. I'm really good at math and I know I could pick up on it real easy. I could also own or manage a restaurant, because I've been in the restaurant business for eight years so I know a lot about it. I cook, I've waited tables, I've bartended. But right now, I'm just kind of 'treading water,' as my mom says."

—SCOTT, AGE 23 (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

"This is my fourth year teaching. It's very fulfilling. I love it! I mean, I enjoy everything that I do. I went into English teaching because I love literature and I love writing and I wanted to talk about books, and I get to do that. It's great. I mean, I always tell people 'I can't believe that someone's going to pay me to read books and to talk about them with other people.'"

—SIMON, 25-YEAR-OLD ASIAN AMERICAN (ARNETT, UNPUBLISHED DATA)

"LOVE AND WORK" WAS SIGMUND FREUD'S TERSE response when he was asked what a person should be able to do well to be considered psychologically healthy. Work is, in all cultures and in all historical times, one of the fundamental areas of human activity. Earlier, we discussed preparation for adult roles as one of the three principal goals of socialization. All cultures expect their members to contribute some kind of work, whether it be paid employment; cooperative hunting, fishing, or farming; or taking care of children and running a household. Adolescence is often a key time of preparation for adult work roles. Whatever work young people may have contributed as children, adolescence is the time when work expectations grow more serious, as adolescents prepare to take their place as full members—which always means working members—of their culture.

In this chapter, we begin by discussing adolescent work in traditional cultures. This is a good place to start because work has a special prominence for adolescents in traditional cultures. Unlike adolescents in developed countries, most adolescents in traditional cultures are no longer in school, and most of their day is devoted to work. Then we look at how the economies of traditional cultures are changing with globalization and how adolescents in these cultures increasingly work in new industries that offer them economic opportunities but often exploit them.

Adolescents in developing countries are now in a position, with regard to work, that is similar to what was experienced by adolescents in developed countries a century ago. In both cases, prolonged schooling was rarely available or useful to adolescents, given the jobs available in their economy. In both cases, industrialization left adolescents vulnerable to exploitation in unhealthy and unsafe working conditions. Both cases involve an economy rapidly becoming industrialized. In the second part of this chapter, we examine these issues in the history of adolescent work in developed countries.

Following this discussion, we take a look at various issues related to adolescent work as it currently takes place in developed countries. This will include a look at what adolescents typically do in their jobs and at how work influences various aspects of their development. We will also look at the transition from school to work, both for emerging adults who attend college and for those who do not. This will include an examination of the occupational choices that young people make and of how emerging adults view work. At the end of the chapter we will examine the characteristics and experiences of young people who perform volunteer work.

Adolescent Work in Traditional Cultures

For many millennia of human history before industrialization, most human work involved the same basic activities: hunting, fishing, and gathering edible fruits and vegetables; farming and caring for domestic animals; and caring for children while doing household work. These kinds of work are still common in many traditional cultures, and we will first look at adolescents' participation in such work. However, because virtually all traditional cultures are in the process of industrializing, it will be important to look at adolescents' experiences in industrial settings as well.

Adolescent boys in traditional cultures learn the work of adult men.

Traditional Forms of Work

11.1 Describe the main forms that work has taken for adolescents in traditional cultures.

As noted in earlier chapters, in traditional cultures adolescents typically work alongside adults, doing the kind of work that adults do. Thus, we begin this chapter by taking a look at the types of work that occupy adolescents and adults in most traditional cultures.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND GATHERING Hunting and fishing in traditional cultures are typically undertaken by men, and adolescent boys learn how it is done by accompanying their fathers and other men on hunting or fishing expeditions (Gilmore, 1990). Females are rarely the principal hunters, but they sometimes assist in the hunting enterprise by holding nets, setting traps, or beating the bushes to flush out game.

Hunting often provides not only food but also materials for tools, clothing, and other purposes. As such, it serves many important functions in cultures that rely on it, and success at hunting may be required of adolescent boys as a way of showing that they are ready for manhood. For example, among the nomadic Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert in southwest Africa, an adolescent boy is not considered a man—and is not allowed to marry—until he has successfully killed his first antelope. Doing so is a way of demonstrating that he will be able to provide for a family as part of his adult work role.

Fishing is another form of work that adolescent boys learn through observing and assisting their fathers and other men. The skills required for success at fishing include not only fishing itself but also boating and navigation. For example, adolescents in the South Sea Islands in the Pacific Ocean traditionally learned complex systems of nighttime navigation from their fathers, using a "star compass" through which they set their course according to the positions of the constellations (Gladwin, 1970; Hutchins, 1983).

Often in cultures where males have the responsibility for hunting or fishing, women have a complementary responsibility for gathering. This means that they find edible wild fruits and vegetables growing in the surrounding area and collect them to contribute to their families' food supply. This can be a substantial contribution. Anthropologists have observed that in cultures that rely on a combination of hunting and gathering, women contribute as much or more to the family food supply through gathering as men do through hunting (Dahlberg, 1981).

Hunting and gathering cultures have rapidly changed in the past half-century in response to globalization, and only a few such cultures exist in the present (Schlegel, 2003; Schlegel & Barry, 1991; Schlegel & Hewlett, 2011). The nomadic way of life typical of hunting and gathering cultures—moving from place to place, following the food supply—is not well suited to the global economy, with its stable communities and its property boundaries. Fishing, too, has largely disappeared as a central basis for a culture's economy. Even in cultures that have a long tradition of fishing, such as in Norway and Japan, modern fishing techniques are so advanced that a small proportion of people engaged in fishing can provide more than enough fish to feed the entire population.

FARMING AND CARE OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS Farming and care of domestic animals often go together in the same way that hunting and gathering tend to go together—one for providing meat, the other for providing grains, vegetables, and fruit. Adolescents in cultures with economies based on farming and care of domestic animals often provide useful work to their families. Care of domestic animals is a frequent responsibility of adolescents and even preadolescents all over the world—cattle in southern Africa, sheep and goats in northern Africa and southern Europe, small livestock in Asia and Eastern Europe—perhaps because such work requires little in the way of skill or experience. Farming often requires a higher level of training and skill, particularly if the amount of

land to be farmed is large. This enterprise is typically carried out by fathers and sons working together, with the sons not only contributing to their families in the present but also learning how to manage the land they will eventually inherit.

Even today, farming remains the main occupation of a substantial proportion of the world's population. In developing countries such as Brazil, India, and the Philippines, more than half of the adult males are employed in agricultural work (UNDP, 2016). However, in all developing countries, the proportion of people in farming is declining in the course of industrialization. Just as with fishing, advanced technology and equipment make it possible for a few people to do work that once required hundreds.

CHILD CARE AND HOUSEHOLD WORK When it comes to child care, women and girls have the main responsibility in most traditional cultures, with men and boys occasionally providing support. The work of child care usually begins quite early in life for girls. If they have younger siblings, girls often become at least partly responsible for taking care of them as early as age 6 or 7 (Koller et al., 2015; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). By the time she reaches adolescence, the oldest girl in a family may have several younger siblings to help care for, and perhaps cousins as well.

Adolescent girls in traditional cultures typically have responsibility for household work such as food preparation. Here, a girl of the Sahelian culture of northern Africa prepares a meal.

Along with child care, working alongside her mother often means household work for an adolescent girl living in a traditional culture. A great deal of household work needs to be done in a traditional culture that has no access to electricity and the many conveniences that go along with it. Chores such as collecting firewood, starting and tending the fire, and fetching water must be done on a daily basis. Preparing food is also heavily labor intensive in such cultures. Want a chicken for dinner? You have to do more than defrost it and zap it in the microwave oven (or stop by the drive-through window at Chuck-Full-O-Chicks)—you have to kill it, trim it, and pluck it before you can cook it.

With so much work to be done, women in these cultures often enlist the help of their daughters from an early age, and by adolescence, daughters typically work alongside their mothers and other women of the family as near-equal partners (Lloyd, 2005). By doing this kind of work, the adolescent daughter prepares herself for her adult work role and also demonstrates to others, including potential marriage partners, that she is capable of fulfilling the expectations for running a household that are typically required of women in traditional cultures.

By adolescence, girls and boys are capable of selling household products in order to contribute to their family's income. In India, this may mean selling tea at a roadside stall. In Central and South America, it could involve selling tortillas in the town market. In Africa, many different kinds of products are sold on the streets by children, depending on the culture.

Watch AN ADOLESCENT IN CONGO SELLS CAKES

Globalization and Adolescent Work in Traditional Cultures

11.2 Explain how globalization has both positive and negative effects on adolescents' work in traditional cultures.

Adolescents and adults in traditional cultures have been doing the kinds of work described for thousands of years. However, as we have seen in previous chapters, all

traditional cultures today are being influenced by globalization. An important aspect of globalization is economic integration, including expanding trade between countries and increasingly large-scale agriculture and manufacturing in many cultures and countries that have known only small, local, family-based economic activity until recently. Globalization has certainly conferred some economic benefits on the people in these cultures. Preindustrial economic life can be hard. Simply providing the everyday necessities of life is a lot of work without industrialization, as the chicken example illustrates. Entry into the global economy is usually accompanied by increased access to electricity, which often makes preparing food, obtaining water, washing clothes, and other tasks considerably easier. Entry into the global economy is also usually accompanied by increased access to education and medical care.

The globalization of economic life thus holds the promise of making life better for people in the many cultures around the world that are just now being introduced to it. Adolescents and their families derive several benefits when adolescents do industrial work (Larson et al., 2010). Poor families in developing countries often depend on adolescents' contributions to the family income for basic necessities like food and clothing. Adolescents gain status and respect within the family by being able to bring money into the family. Although jobs in industrial settings are often difficult and may even be hazardous, the alternative of agricultural work is just as hard, and working in an industrial setting is often seen as a way for adolescents to gain skills and contacts that will eventually lead to a better job and a higher income.

However, the transition from a preindustrial economy to the global economy is proving to be problematic in many places. Currently, many people are experiencing not increased comfort and opportunity but brutal work in terrible conditions for miserable pay. And the burden of much of this work is falling on the shoulders of adolescents, mainly those between 10 and 15 years of age, who are more capable than children of doing useful industrial work and less capable than adults of asserting their rights and resisting maltreatment.

The **International Labor Organization (ILO)** has estimated that more than *200 million* children and adolescents are employed worldwide and that 95% of them are in developing countries (ILO, 2002, 2004, 2012; IPEC, 2013). They are numerous in Latin America and Africa, but the greatest number of adolescent workers and the worst working conditions are found in Asia (including countries such as China, India, Bangladesh, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam). Agricultural work is the most common form of employment for adolescents, usually on commercial farms or plantations, often working alongside their parents but for only one-third to one-half the pay (ILO, 2012).

In addition, many adolescents in these countries work in factories and workshops where they perform labor such as weaving carpets, sewing clothes, gluing shoes, curing leather, and polishing gems. The working conditions are often horrific—crowded garment factories where the doors are locked and the adolescents (and adults) work 14-hour shifts, small poorly lit huts where they sit at a loom weaving carpets for hours on end, glass factories where the temperatures are unbearably hot and adolescents carry hot rods of molten glass from one station to another (ILO, 2004). Other adolescents work in cities in a wide variety of settings, including domestic service, grocery shops, tea stalls, road construction, and prostitution.

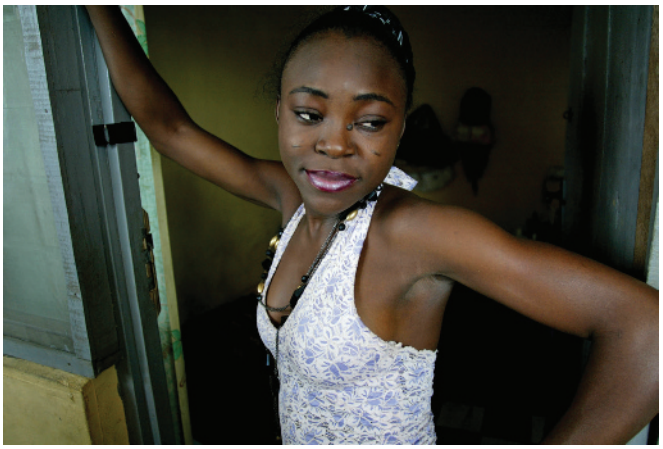
In India, a common and particularly brutal system for exploiting adolescent labor is called **debt bondage** (Bhattacharya & Bhattacharya, 2015; Basu & Chau, 2007). Debt bondage begins when a person needs a loan and has no money to offer for security, so instead pledges his labor or that of his children. The poor of India are most often the ones desperate enough to accept this kind of loan. Because many of them are illiterate, they are easily exploited by lenders who manipulate the interest and the payments in such a way that the loan becomes virtually impossible to pay back. In desperation, parents sometimes offer the labor of their children in an effort to pay off the debt.

Adolescents are especially valuable for bonded labor because they are more productive than children. According to the ILO, adolescents most often end up as bonded laborers in agriculture, domestic service, prostitution, and industries such as the manufacture of hand-knitted carpets. Once adolescents have been committed by their parents to debt bondage, it is extremely difficult for them to free themselves of it; in fact, the United Nations has condemned debt bondage as a modern form of slavery (ILO, 2004).

Perhaps the worst form of exploitation of adolescents' work is prostitution. Estimates of the number of adolescent sex workers in developing countries vary, but it is widely agreed that adolescent prostitution is a pervasive and growing problem, especially in Asia, and within Asia especially in Thailand (Rafferty, 2013). Of course, there are adolescent sex workers in developed countries as well, but the problem is much more widespread in developing countries.

International Labor Organization (ILO)
An organization that seeks to prevent children and adolescents from being exploited in the workplace.

debt bondage
Arrangement in which a person who is in debt pledges his labor or the labor of his children as payment.



Many adolescent girls in developing countries have been forced into prostitution. Here, a young former sex worker at a rehabilitation center in Brazil.

For the most part, sex work by adolescent girls is not voluntary but is **commercial sexual exploitation**, in which girls are deceived or forced into it (Jiminez et al., 2015). Some are kidnapped and taken to a separate country (Rafferty, 2013). Isolated in a country where they are not citizens and where they do not know the language, they are highly vulnerable and dependent on their kidnappers. Some are rural adolescent girls who are promised jobs in restaurants or domestic service, then forced to become sex workers once the recruiter takes them to their urban destination. Sometimes parents sell the girls into prostitution, out of desperate poverty or simply out of the desire for more consumer goods (ILO, 2004). A large proportion of the customers in Asian brothels are Western tourists. The proportion is large enough that the United States and several European countries now have laws permitting prosecution of their citizens for sexually exploiting young adolescent girls in other countries. The demand is increasingly for younger adolescent girls because they are perceived to be less likely than older girls to be carrying HIV.

Although the exploitation of adolescents in developing countries is widespread and often brutal, signs of positive changes can be seen. According to the ILO, the number of child and adolescent laborers fell substantially during the first decade of the 21st century (ILO, 2012). This decline took place because the issue of child and adolescent labor has received increased attention from the world media, governments, and international organizations such as the ILO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Furthermore, many countries have taken legislative action to raise the number of years children and adolescents are legally required to attend school and to enforce the often-ignored laws in many countries against employing children younger than their mid-teens (IPEC, 2013). For example, India now has a program, monitored by UNICEF, to mark carpets that have not involved child labor with a RUGMARK label—a logo of a smiling child superimposed on a drawing of a carpet. In the area of commercial sexual exploitation, recently an international body called the World Congress Against the Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents has formed to coordinate the efforts of governments, nongovernmental organizations, and researchers against this horrifying practice (Beddoe, 2015). Amid such signs of progress, it unfortunately remains true that millions of adolescents work in miserable conditions all around the world (IPEC, 2013).

commercial sexual exploitation

The practice of coerced or forced sex work for purposes of economic gain.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Do you think people living in the West have any responsibility for the conditions of adolescent work in developing countries? Why or why not? Do they have more responsibility if they buy the items that such adolescents produce through their labor?

The History of Adolescent Work in the West

As noted at the outset of the chapter, adolescents' work in the West has followed a historical path similar to the one now being experienced by adolescents in traditional cultures. Previous involvement in farming and other family economic activities became exploitation in the factories and other early settings of industrialization. In response to this exploitation, governments in developed countries restricted adolescent work early in the 20th century. By mid-century most adolescents attended high school, and few high school students held part-time jobs. Since 1950, adolescents have increasingly combined school with part-time work, especially in the United States.

"A twelve-year-old boy fell into a spinning machine and the unprotected gearing tore out two of his fingers. 'We don't have any accidents in this mill,' the overseer told me. 'Once in a while a finger is mashed or a foot, but it don't amount to anything.'"

—LEWIS HINE, PHOTOGRAPHER OF CHILD AND ADOLESCENT WORKERS, 1908 (FREEDMAN, 1994, P. 35)

Adolescent Work Before 1900

11.3 Summarize the types and conditions of adolescent work in the West before 1900.

Before industrialization began in the 17th and 18th centuries, adolescent work in the West was much like adolescent work today in traditional cultures whose economies center on farming and care of domestic animals. Boys helped their fathers on

the farm from middle childhood onward, and in adolescence they gradually learned to take over the responsibilities for running the farm they would eventually inherit. Girls helped with the care of the domestic animals and worked alongside their mothers to turn the harvests and the animals into meals on the table, with adolescent girls becoming near-equal partners to their mothers in running the household.

As industrialization proceeded in the 18th and 19th centuries, it became increasingly common for adolescents to work in factories. Over the course of the 19th century, the proportion of the labor force working in farming in the United States declined from more than 70% to less than 40% (Hernandez, 1997). (Today it is about 2%.) For many adolescents, this meant a transition from working alongside their parents on the family farm to working in a city, often in a factory setting. Industrialization created a huge demand for cheap labor, and adolescents were often recruited to fill this demand. By the 1870s, young men ages 16 to 20 comprised nearly half the male workforce in New England textile mills and about one-third of the workers in rubber factories and agricultural tool factories. In boot and shoe factories, over 40% of the female workers were ages 16 to 20 (Kett, 1977). Adolescents also worked in large numbers in coal mines, food canneries, and seafood-processing plants (Freedman, 1994).

Working in factories, mines, and processing plants often meant working long hours under dangerous and unhealthy conditions. A typical work schedule was 10 to 14 hours a day, six days a week. Of course, adults were subject to the same conditions, but children and adolescents were more vulnerable to accident and injury. It is estimated that the accident rate for children and adolescents in factories was twice as high as for adults (Freedman, 1994). Their developing bodies also made them more vulnerable than adults to illness from unhealthy working conditions. For example, young millworkers often developed tuberculosis, bronchitis, and other respiratory diseases. Children and adolescents who worked in cotton mills were only half as likely to live past age 20 as those outside the mills.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Compare the history of adolescent work in the West to the recent history of adolescent work in developing countries. What are the similarities and differences?

Adolescent Work in the 20th Century

11.4 Explain how the frequency and types of adolescent work changed in the West from the early 20th century to the present.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the pattern of adolescents being typically engaged in full-time work began to change during the Age of Adolescence, 1890 to 1920.

Before industrialization, most adolescents in the West grew up on a family farm.

Concern developed over the exploitation of children and adolescents—a striking parallel to what is going on currently in developing countries—and laws were passed that restricted the times and places children and adolescents could work and that required children to attend school. Nevertheless, the changes in patterns of child and adolescent labor took place slowly. Even as recently as 1925 the majority of American adolescents left school by age 15 to become full-time workers (Horan & Hargis, 1991; Modell, Furstenberg, & Hershberg, 1976). Most families viewed the labor of their adolescents as an important contributor to the family income, and only relatively affluent families could afford the luxury of keeping their adolescents in school past their early teens.

However, the trend toward increasing time in school that had begun early in the century continued steadily, and in the 1930s the proportion of adolescents staying in school through their mid-teens continued to grow. Furthermore, increasingly adolescents were either in school or working, but not both. By 1940, fewer than 5% of the 16- to 17-year-olds attending high school were also employed (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1940). American adolescents lived in two separate worlds, with 70% of 14- to 17-year-olds in high school and most of the other 30% in the full-time labor force.

This pattern changed dramatically in the decades following World War II, toward combining school with part-time work. One reason for this new trend was the shift in the American economy. From 1950 through the 1990s, the fastest-growing sectors of the American economy were retail trade and services (Aronson et al., 1996). In the late 20th century, jobs became numerous for young people who were willing to work part-time for relatively low wages in jobs such as cook, restaurant server, or clerk in a department store.

And American adolescents proved to be willing. By 1980, one-half of high school sophomores and two-thirds of high school seniors were working in part-time jobs (Lewin-Epstein, 1981), and by the late 1990s, over 80% of seniors had held at least one part-time job by the time

Historical Focus

WORK AMONG BRITISH ADOLESCENTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

As we have seen in this chapter, the working conditions currently experienced by adolescents in developing countries are in many ways dangerous, unhealthy, underpaid, and exploitative. Adolescents in developed countries generally work in conditions that are much more favorable, but this is a relatively recent development. In fact, the working conditions of adolescents in the 19th century in developed countries were remarkably similar to the conditions experienced today by adolescents in developing countries.

Information on child and adolescent labor in the 19th century is especially abundant in Great Britain, where government statistics were kept much more systematically and accurately than in the United States. The history of child and adolescent labor in Great Britain is described in a book by Pamela Horn (1994), *Children's Work and Welfare, 1780–1890*.

Because Britain was the first country in which industrialization took place, it was also the first country in which child and adolescent employment was widespread. Textile manufacturing (the making of cloth and clothing) was the first area, beginning in the 1770s when for the first time textiles were mass produced in factories rather than made one at a time in homes. Children and adolescents were especially attractive to employers, partly because there was a shortage of adult workers and partly because younger workers could be paid lower wages. Moreover, with their nimble fingers they could perform much of the work even better than adults.

Many of these children and adolescents had no parents and were sent to the textile mills by officials in city orphanages and institutions for the poor, who were glad to be relieved of the cost of caring for them. Young people had no choice but to go and were not free to leave until they reached age 21. For those who did have parents, their parents usually did not object to them working in textile mills but encouraged it to increase the family's income.

Working conditions varied in the mills, but 12- to 14-hour workdays were common, with an hour break for lunch. The work was monotonous, exhausting, and dangerous. A momentary lapse of attention could lead to serious injury, and crushed hands and fingers were common. Dust and residue from the spinning process damaged their lungs and caused stomach illnesses and eye infections.

The first attempts at government regulation of the mills were tentative, to say the least. Because the British economy depended so heavily on the young millworkers, even reformers were reluctant to advocate an end to their labor. There was also little public support for abolishing child and adolescent labor, and labor restrictions were fiercely resisted by parents who depended on their income. Thus, the first law, the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1802, simply limited young workers to 12 hours of labor a day! The act also mandated minimum standards of ventilation and sanitation in the mills, but mill owners widely ignored these provisions.

they left high school (Barling & Kelloway, 1999). By the end of the 20th century, part-time employment during high school had changed from the rare exception to the typical experience. Today, the proportion of American adolescents who are employed at some point during high school remains at about 80% (Staff et al., 2015).

The current rate of adolescent employment in the United States is higher than in any other developed country. In Japan, adolescent employment is almost nonexistent. In Canada, the proportion of adolescents who work by their late teens (45%) is higher than in Japan, but still substantially lower than in the United States (Sears et al., 2007). In Western Europe, rates of work in late adolescence vary among countries from about 30% to 50% (Bonino, Cattelino, & Ciarino, 2007; Meeus, 2006). In many of these countries, adolescents have a longer school day and more homework on a typical evening, leaving less time for part-time jobs. American adolescents are not only willing to work but able to do so because their schools make relatively low demands on them. In turn, pervasive employment among adolescents makes it difficult for high schools to require more academic work from them because many adolescents have little time or energy left over for homework after a day filled with school and work (Staff et al., 2015).

Adolescent Work Today

We have seen what kind of work adolescents do in traditional cultures, and what kinds of work they did in Western countries in the 19th century and most of the 20th century. What kinds of jobs are held by today's adolescents in developed countries? How is work related to other aspects of their development?

Adolescents on the Job

11.5 Summarize adolescents' workplace experiences in Canada and the United States.

You won't find many American adolescents these days whose work involves hunting, fishing, farming, or factory work. Interestingly enough, however, American girls

In addition, the act required employers to provide daily schooling to young workers. Employers generally complied with this requirement because they believed that educated adolescents would be more compliant and more valuable as workers. The result was a significant increase in literacy among young workers. The schooling requirement spread to other industries over the following decades and became the basis of the *half-time system*, in which young workers in factories received schooling for a half day and worked the other half. This system survived in British society until the end of the 19th century.

In the 1830s, regulatory attention turned to mining. Just as changes in textile production had created a boom in jobs in the late 1700s, an increase in the need for coal in the early 1800s created a mining boom. Once again, children and adolescents were sought as workers because they were cheap, manageable, and could do some jobs better than adults. Once again, parents urged their children to become laborers as early as possible to contribute to the family income, even though the work in the mines was especially hazardous.

A workday of 12 to 14 hours per day six days a week was typical for young miners. Many of them descended into the mine before sunrise and came up again after sunset, so that they never saw daylight for weeks at a time except on Sundays. Accidents were common, and coal dust damaged young miners' lungs. The first reforms, in the 1842 Mines Act, prohibited boys under age 10 from working in mines and required boys older than age 10 to be provided with schooling by the mine owners, but did nothing about the working conditions in the mines. As this law and others restricted the employment of children, employment among adolescents became even more widespread.

In the 19th century, adolescents often worked long hours, sometimes in dangerous and unhealthy conditions.

Over the second half of the 19th century, legal regulations on child and adolescent labor slowly and gradually reduced the exploitation of young workers in British industrial settings. Regulations increased concerning the work young workers could be required to do. The half-time system, once celebrated as a way of protecting young workers from exploitation, became viewed as an obstacle to their educational opportunities. Public schools were established, and attendance at school became legally required for all children in the 1880s. This essentially marked the end of child labor in Great Britain, and in the following decades more and more adolescents attended secondary school rather than working, just as in the United States.

in early adolescence have something in common with girls in traditional cultures in that their first kind of work involves child care. Baby-sitting is the most common first job for American girls (Mortimer, 2003). For boys, the most common first job is yard work—mowing lawns, trimming bushes, and so on. But the work done in these kinds of jobs is more or less informal and does not require a substantial commitment of time. An adolescent girl may baby-sit for Mr. and Mrs. Jones on Saturday night every couple of weeks, and for Mr. and Mrs. Peabody on the occasional afternoon until they get home from work. An adolescent boy may mow a couple of neighbors' lawns once a week from early spring to late fall. Typically, these jobs are unlikely to interfere much with the rest of an adolescent's life.

For older adolescents, the work is different, and the amount of time involved tends to be greater. The majority of jobs held by American and Canadian adolescents in high school involve restaurant work (server, cook, busboy/girl, hostess, etc.) or retail sales (Loughlin & Barling, 1999; Staff et al., 2015). These jobs involve a more formal commitment. You are assigned a certain number of hours a week, and you are expected to be there at the times designated. Typically, this does not mean simply a few hours one week and a few the next. On average, employed high school sophomores work 15 hours per week, and employed high school seniors work 20 hours per week (Staff et al., 2015).

That is a substantial number of weekly hours. What are adolescents typically doing during that time? One important source of information on this topic comes from a classic book by Ellen Greenberger and Laurence Steinberg (1986), who studied more than 200 10th and 11th graders in Orange County, California. Rather than relying only on adolescents' reports of what goes on in the places they work, the research team observed adolescents directly in their work settings, recording the behavior of the adolescents, the things they said, and the people with whom the adolescents interacted. The researchers also interviewed the adolescents and had them fill out questionnaires about their work experiences.

By 1980, part-time work had become typical for American high school students.

The kinds of work performed by the adolescents fell into five general categories: restaurant work, retail, clerical (e.g., secretarial work), manual labor (e.g., working for a moving company), and skilled labor (e.g., carpenter's apprentice). With the exception of the jobs involving skilled labor, the work performed by the adolescents tended to be repetitive and monotonous, involving little that would challenge them or help them develop new skills. Twenty-five percent of their time on the job was spent cleaning or carrying things—not exactly work that entails much of a cognitive challenge. Furthermore, the work was almost never connected to anything the adolescents were learning or had previously learned in school. Again, if you think about the work—cooking burgers, taking food orders, answering the phone, helping people find their size in clothes—this is hardly surprising.

With respect to the people they interacted with at work, adolescents spent about an equal proportion of their time interacting with other adolescents and with adults. However, their relationships with adult bosses and coworkers were rarely close. For the most part they did not see these adults except at work, they were reluctant to speak to them about personal issues, and they felt less close to them than to the other people in their lives, such as parents and friends. More recent studies have confirmed what Greenberger and Steinberg (1986) reported three decades ago (Staff et al., 2015).

You can see how different the work experience of American adolescents is, compared with adolescents in traditional cultures (before industrialization) or adolescents in European countries who work in apprenticeships. Unlike these other adolescents, American adolescents rarely do work that involves a close partnership with an adult who teaches them and provides a model. Unlike these other adolescents the work done by American adolescents does little to prepare them for the kind of work they are likely to be doing as adults. Consequently, few adolescents see their high school jobs as the basis for a future career (Mortimer et al., 2008).

Work and Psychological Functioning

11.6 Identify the ways working in adolescence is related to psychological functioning, and specify the number of hours per week where the relation becomes evident.

"I need to work because I need the money for car insurance and the prom. I like being involved in everything, but sometimes I feel really overloaded with my job and schoolwork and baseball and committees, and I need to take time to just chill out."

—BRIAN, A 17-YEAR-OLD HIGH SCHOOL SENIOR WORKING 20 TO 40 HOURS PER WEEK AS A BUSBOY (SALZMAN, 1993)

You might expect that, given the dreary work they do and lack of connection between this work and their futures, the work done by American adolescents has unfavorable effects on their functioning. There is some evidence that this is true, but it depends greatly on the number of hours worked per week. Working up to 10 hours a week is not related to increased psychological symptoms such as anxiety and depression (Lee & Staff, 2007). However, reports of psychological symptoms jump sharply for adolescents working more than 10 hours a week and continue to rise among adolescents working 20 hours a week or more.

Up to 10 hours a week, working has little effect on the amount of sleep adolescents get. However, beyond 10 hours a week, amount of sleep per night declines steadily as work hours increase. Studies also show that working more than 10 hours a week is disruptive to eating and exercise habits (Staff et al., 2015). Canadian research reports that when adolescents take on demanding jobs they reduce their sleep by an hour per night and eliminate nearly all sports activities (Sears et al., 2007).

Some studies report positive findings concerning work and psychological functioning. Working at a job

Research Focus

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS AND WORK

One of the most ambitious studies of adolescents and work has been conducted by Jeylan Mortimer of the University of Minnesota and her colleagues (Mortimer et al., 2003; Mortimer & Finch, 1996; Mortimer et al., 1996, 1999; Mortimer & Johnson, 1998; Mortimer & Staff, 2004; Mortimer et al., 2008). The focus of the study was on work in relation to mental health and post–high school education and employment. The study began in 1987 with a sample of 1,000 adolescents who were randomly selected from a list of ninth graders attending public schools in St. Paul, Minnesota. The adolescents completed questionnaires each year of high school and each year after high school—every year from ages 14 to 30. Their parents also completed questionnaires when the adolescents were in ninth grade and again when they were in 12th grade.

One of the impressive features of this study is the **retention rate**, which means the percentage of participants who continued to take part in the study after the first year. Retention rates are sometimes a problem in longitudinal studies because people move, change phone numbers, or fail to return the questionnaire mailed to them. This issue would especially relevant in a study like this one, in which young people are being followed through emerging adulthood, a time that involves frequent changes of residence for many people. In Mortimer's study, the retention rate was 93% after four years and 78% over eight years (Mortimer et al., 1999). Normally, 50% would be considered adequate after eight years. They were able to keep the retention rate so high in this study by maintaining regular contact with the participants to see whether they had moved or were planning to move.

The longitudinal design of the study enabled Mortimer and her colleagues to provide insights into important aspects of the influences of work on adolescent development. One of the key questions in this area is, does working influence adolescents' problem behavior, especially substance use? It is well established that adolescents who work report higher rates of problem behavior, especially if they work more than 10 hours a week, but this leaves open the question: Does working long hours cause adolescents to engage in problem behavior, or do adolescents who engage in problem behavior also choose to work more? Mortimer and her colleagues (1999), focusing on alcohol use, found that adolescents who work long hours in high school already have higher rates of alcohol use in ninth grade, before they start working long hours. However, they also found that working long hours contributed to even greater alcohol use.

A second, related question is, does the higher rate of alcohol use among adolescents working long hours in high school establish a pattern that continues beyond high school? Again, the answer to this question could only be determined through a longitudinal study that follows adolescents from high school to several years beyond. Mortimer and Johnson (1997) found that four years after high school, the emerging adults who had worked long hours in high school had rates of alcohol use in their early 20s that were no higher than for emerging adults who had worked less in high school. It was not that the high-working adolescents had decreased their use of alcohol as emerging adults, but that the other adolescents had "caught up," reporting higher rates of alcohol use by the time they reached their early 20s.

Longitudinal studies like this one require a great deal of effort and patience (not to mention a considerable amount of money), but they often provide results that help unravel complex questions of cause and effect with respect to development among adolescents and emerging adults.

Watch A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF ADOLESCENTS AND WORK

Video

that involves learning new skills is positively related to psychological well-being and self-esteem (Mortimer, 2003; Mortimer et al., 1992). Also, learning new skills on the job is related to higher life satisfaction (Staff et al., 2010). We will consider the case in favor of adolescent work in more detail shortly.

retention rate

In a longitudinal study, the percentage of participants who continued to take part in the study after the first year.

Work and Problem Behavior

11.7 Describe how working promotes problem behavior in adolescence

"Last week I cut off a pair of jeans to make shorts and my father got angry. He said I was wasting money. But I don't care, because I have a job now and can buy my own clothes. I feel more like an adult."

—CHONITA, AGE 16 (SALZMAN, 1993, P. 72)

One strong and consistent finding in research on adolescents and work is that adolescents who work are more

likely to use alcohol, cigarettes, and other drugs, especially if they work more than 10 hours a week (Bachman et al., 2003; Longest & Shanahan, 2007; Mortimer et al., 1999; Staff et al., 2015; Wu, Schlenger, & Galvin, 2003). However, scholars disagree on whether this means that working leads to greater substance use or whether adolescents who work already have a tendency toward substance use. Some scholars have argued that the relationship is merely correlational. In this view, adolescents who work more than 10 hours a week also have a tendency toward substance use, but this tendency was evident even before they began working long hours (Bachman et al., 2003; Staff et al., 2010). In contrast, other scholars report that increases in work hours *precede* increases in drug and alcohol use, suggesting that working long hours causes an increase in substance use. But these explanations are not incompatible, and both may be valid. Adolescents who work relatively long hours may already have a tendency toward substance use, and that tendency may be further amplified by working long hours. (For further information on this topic, see the Research Focus box.)

The United States is not the only country where part-time work is associated with problem behavior. In a Finnish study (Kuovonen & Kivivuori, 2001) on a nationally representative sample of 15- to 16-year-olds, working more than 20 hours a week was associated with a variety of types of problem behavior, including vandalism, driving while intoxicated, and beating up someone. Adolescents who worked more than 20 hours a week were two to three times as likely as other adolescents to commit these acts. However, because the study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, this does not necessarily show that working intensively caused them to engage in problem behavior. They may have had a propensity for problem behavior even before they became employed.

Not only is working related to problem behavior outside of work, but there is also a considerable amount of on-the-job deviance among adolescents who work (Staff et al., 2015). Greenberger and Steinberg investigated a variety of behaviors they called **occupational deviance** as part of their research on adolescents and work (Ruggiero, Greenberger, & Steinberg, 1982). They had first-time adolescent workers indicate on a confidential questionnaire how often they had engaged in each of nine behaviors that involved some kind of occupational deviance, such as falsely calling in sick and stealing things at work. Altogether, more than 60% of the working adolescents had engaged in at least one type of occupational deviance after being employed for nine months.

That may seem like a lot, and it is, but keep in mind that the study included only adolescents. Adults have also been known to call in sick when they were not, take things from work that did not belong to them, and so on. We have no way of knowing, from this study alone, whether adolescents tend to do these things more than adults do.

occupational deviance

Deviant acts committed in relation to the workplace, such as stealing supplies.

Adolescents who work are more likely to use substances, including tobacco.

Nevertheless, the combination of studies clearly indicates a relationship between work and problem behavior in adolescence. Why would this be the case? The answer seems to be different for occupational deviance than it is for other types of problem behavior. For occupational deviance, the characteristics of the typical adolescent workplace offer likely explanations (Steinberg et al., 1993). The work is often boring and tedious, and adolescents do not see the jobs as leading to anything they plan to be doing in the future, so they rarely have much of a feeling of personal investment in the job. If you get caught doing something wrong, you might get fired, but who cares? There are plenty of other jobs of the same type (i.e., low skilled and low paying) easily available. Also, the adolescent workplace has little adult supervision, and adolescents do not feel close to the adults they work with, so they may feel they have little obligation or responsibility to behave ethically.

With regard to higher rates of substance use among adolescents who work, as we have noted, some scholars believe that this tendency exists among adolescents who work even before they start working. However, other scholars have found that adolescents who work in jobs with a high level of stress are more likely to use drugs and alcohol than adolescents who work in lower-stress jobs (Greenberger, Steinberg, & Vaux, 1981; Staff et al., 2015). This suggests that substance use may be serving as a stress reliever and provides further evidence that the role of work in problem behavior is causal, not just correlational.

Also important is that having a part-time job gives adolescents more money to spend on leisure. Very little of the money they make goes to their family's living expenses or saving for their future education. Instead, it goes toward purchases for themselves, here and now: snazzy clothes, CDs, car payments, gas and insurance for a

car, concert tickets, movies, eating out—and alcohol, cigarettes, and other drugs (Mortimer et al., 2004; Staff et al., 2015). Adolescents tend to spend the money they make at their jobs in pursuit of good times, and for some of them the pursuit of good times includes substance use.

The Case in Favor of Adolescent Work

11.8 Summarize the positive effects of working on adolescent development.

Jeylan Mortimer (2003) and her colleagues at the University of Minnesota argue that the case against adolescent work has been overstated and that in fact a strong case can be made in favor of adolescent work. Although some of Mortimer's own research has revealed certain problems associated with adolescent work, she argues that on the whole, the benefits outweigh the problems.

According to her research, adolescents see many benefits from their work. As **Table 11.1** shows, far more of them see benefits in their work than see problems. They believe they gain a sense of responsibility from working, improve their abilities to manage money, develop better social skills, and learn to manage their time better. More than 40% believe that their jobs have helped them develop new occupational skills, in contrast to the portrayal of adolescent work as involving nothing but dreary tasks (although we might note that 40%, while substantial, is still a minority). Mortimer (2003) also argues that good relationships with the adults they meet in the workplace can be a protective factor for adolescents from difficult and stressful family situations.

Table 11.1 Percentages of Adolescents Indicating Benefits and Costs of Employment

	Girls	Boys
Benefits		
Responsibility	90	80
Money management	66	57
Learned social skills	88	78
Work experience/skill development	43	42
Work ethics	73	68
Independence	75	78
Time management	79	75
Learned about life/shaped future	26	29
Problems		
Less leisure time	49	49
Lower grades	28	25
Less time for homework	48	49
Think about work during class	78	11
Fatigue	51	45

SOURCE: Aronson et al. (1996), Table 2.10.

Mortimer and her colleagues (1999) concede that nearly half of adolescents report that working gives them less time for homework, and more than one-fourth believe that working has negatively affected their grades, as you can see in Table 11.1. However, Mortimer argues that the main activity that working adolescents spend less time on is watching television. According to her argument, American adolescents simply spend too little time on homework for working to make much difference in their school performance. She claims that no consistent relationship exists across studies between working and school performance in adolescence, even among adolescents who work 20 or more hours per week.

My own judgment is that the case against adolescent work more than 10 hours per week is strong. Problems consistently develop across a wide range of areas beyond 10 hours a week of work. Even Mortimer's data indicate that adolescents perceive negative effects of working on their school performance, and enough studies find a relationship between working long hours and poor grades to make this case convincingly (Staff et al., 2015). Also, there is little dispute that working over 10 hours per week leads to higher substance use. However, Mortimer's research is a useful reminder that the effects of work on adolescent development are complex and that work does offer certain benefits to many adolescents.

THINKING CRITICALLY

American adolescents clearly prefer to work, even though the work is often boring and is frequently related to negative outcomes (although to some positive outcomes as well). Given this situation, would you be for or against national legislation to limit adolescents' work (younger than age 18) to 10 hours a week? Justify your answer in terms of development in adolescence and in emerging adulthood.

From School and Part-Time Work to a "Real Job"

As we have observed, few American adolescents see their part-time jobs as the beginning of the kind of work they expect to be doing as adults. Waiting tables, washing dishes, mowing lawns, sales clerking, and the like are fine for bringing in enough money to finance an active leisure life, but generally adolescents view these jobs as temporary and transient, not as forming the basis of a long-term career. Full-time work in a "real job" comes only after adolescents have completed their education—the end of high school for some, the end of college or graduate school for others. Let us take a look at the transition to work, first for those who take on full-time work immediately after high school, then for those who make the transition to full-time work following college or graduate school.

Preparing for the Post–High School Transition to Work

11.9 Identify the skills adolescents need to learn to be prepared for jobs in today's economy.

Although the proportion of American adolescents attending college after high school rose steadily in the 20th century and now is nearly 70% (NCES, 2016), that still leaves over 30% of adolescents who begin full-time work after high school instead of attending college. In most European countries, the proportion of young people entering work immediately after secondary school is even higher (Arnett, 2015). What are the work prospects like for these adolescents, and how successfully are they able to make the transition from school to the workplace?

In 1987, a distinguished panel of scholars, and public policy officials was assembled by the William T. Grant Foundation and asked to address this question with respect to young Americans. They produced an influential and widely read report titled *The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America* (William T. Grant Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, 1988), which contained an analysis of **the forgotten half** of young Americans who do not attend college and a set of policy suggestions for promoting a successful transition from high school to work.

The report began by describing the changes in the American economy in previous decades, with a special focus on the loss of manufacturing jobs (e.g., working in a steel mill or automobile factory) that used to provide well-paying jobs for unskilled workers. "A fast-changing economy has produced millions of new jobs in the service and retail sectors, but with wages at only half the level of a typical manufacturing job," the report states. "Stable, high-wage employment in manufacturing, communications, transportation, utilities, and forestry that was once open to young people leaving high school is rapidly declining. For male high school graduates, employment in these high-wage sectors fell remarkably, from 57 percent in 1968 to 36 percent in 1986" (pp. 1, 19). Largely because of the decline in the number of these high-wage jobs the average income of male high school graduates ages 20 to 24 actually *declined* by 28% (adjusted for inflation) between 1973 and 1986. The decline for dropouts was even steeper: 42%. The commission's recommendations for addressing this problem were of two kinds: better occupational preparation in high school and government job-training programs.

Teaching skills to adolescents directly in the workplace tends to be effective.

The commission's report was published in 1988. How has the situation changed since that time? In 1998, a follow-up report was published, titled *The Forgotten Half Revisited* (Halpern, 1998). This report concluded that in the decade after the commission's original report, prospects for the "forgotten half" became worse, not better. Young people who did not attend college were "still in a free-fall of declining earnings and diminished expectations" (p. xii).

Also in the late 1990s, Richard Murnane (an economist) and Frank Levy (a scholar on education) published a book looking at changes in the job skills needed by members of the "forgotten half" (Murnane & Levy, 1997). The book is titled *Teaching the New Basic Skills: Principles for Educating Children to Thrive in a Changing Economy*.

Murnane and Levy conducted observations in a variety of factories and offices to gain information about the kinds of jobs now available to high school graduates and the skills those jobs require. They focused not on routine jobs that require little skill and pay low wages but on the most promising new jobs available to high school graduates in the changing economy, jobs that offer the promise of career development and middle-class wages. They concluded that six basic skills are necessary for success at these new jobs:

- Reading at a ninth-grade level or higher
- Doing math at a ninth-grade level or higher
- Solving semistructured problems
- Communicating effectively orally and in writing

the forgotten half

The nearly half of young Americans who enter the workplace following high school rather than attending college.

the new basic skills

Skills identified by Murnane and Levy that are required for high school graduates who wish to be able to obtain the best jobs available in the new information-based economy.

- Using a computer for word processing and other tasks
- Collaborating in diverse groups

The good news is that all of what Murnane and Levy (1997) call **the new basic skills** could be taught to adolescents by the time they leave high school. The bad news is that many American adolescents currently graduate from high school without learning them adequately. Murnane and Levy focused on reading and math skills because those are the skills on which the most data are available. They concluded that the data reveal "a sobering picture: close to half of all seventeen-year-olds cannot read or do math at the level needed" to succeed at the new jobs. The half who do have these skills are also the half who are most likely to go to college rather than seeking full-time work after high school. The result of this shortfall in skills is a vicious circle. Employers are wary of hiring high school graduates for the new jobs because they are unimpressed with the skills typical of these graduates; for adolescents the awareness that a high school diploma will be of little help to them in securing a good job gives them little incentive to apply themselves in school; their inadequate skills reinforce employers' perceptions that it is not wise to hire high school graduates. In a more recent book, Murnane and Levy (2004) focused on the growing importance of computer skills, again concluding that high schools are failing to provide adolescents with the knowledge they need to succeed in the new economy. Other books on this topic make a similar argument (Newman & Winston, 2016; Reimers & Chung, 2016).

Of course, this does not mean that the current situation cannot be changed. There is certainly no reason that schools cannot require that high school students can read and do math at a ninth-grade level or higher by the time they graduate. Ensuring that students are capable of "solving semistructured problems" and "communicating effectively orally and in writing" is also quite reasonably part of any high school's objectives and responsibility. Learning to use computer skills is a growing part of the school curriculum, not just at the high school level but from grade school on up. The ability to work in diverse groups is also a teachable skill, and certainly practice in such situations in the school setting would help promote the development of this skill. All together, the results of Murnane and Levy's research suggest that it may be wise for administrators of high schools and job-training programs to revise their curricula to fit the requirements of the new knowledge economy.

Educating Adolescents for the 21st-Century Economy

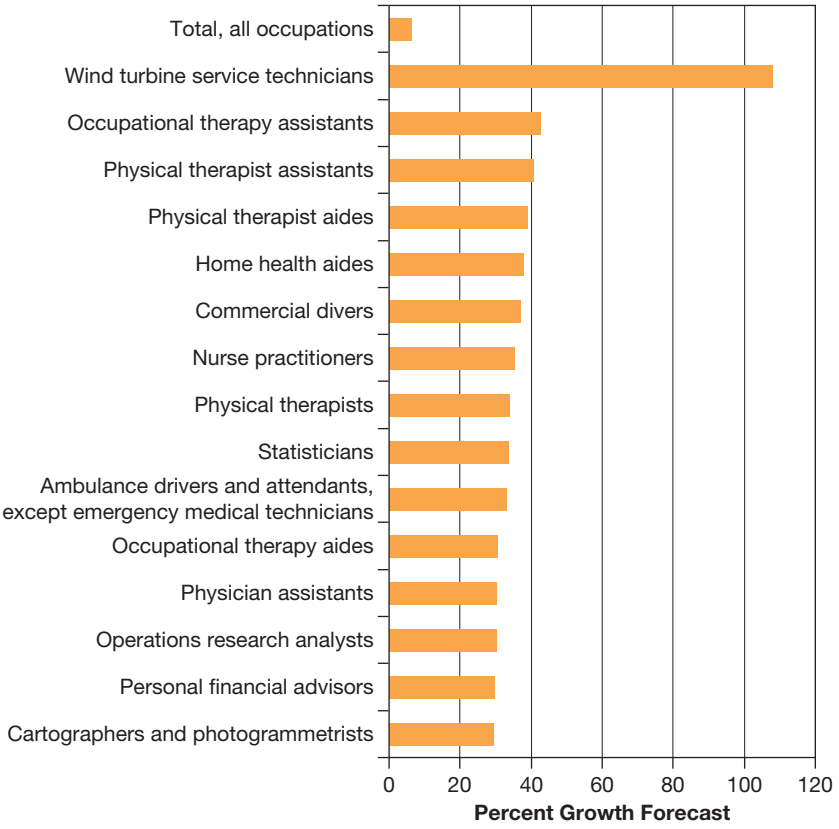
11.10 Summarize the areas where job growth is likely to be strongest in the next decade, and describe the range of approaches countries are using to prepare adolescents for the workplace.

Across countries, the economy of the 21st century is likely to continue the progression from a manufacturing economy to a knowledge economy, where most jobs will require adolescents and emerging adults to know something that other people do not know. **Figure 11.1** shows projected job growth in a variety of fields in the United States. In total, health care is the area where job growth is expected to be strongest in the next decade.

In addition to the analysis by Murnane and Levy (1997, 2004), which focused on the United States, a great deal of thinking, research, and analysis is occurring internationally to generate ways to help prepare adolescents for the jobs of the future. In one recent book, Fernando Reimers and Connie Chung (2016) examined how six different countries—Chile, China, India, Mexico, Singapore, and the United States—have defined the core competencies and skills young people will need for the workforce, and how they are adjusting their school curricula to teach those

Figure 11.1 Fastest-Growing Occupations, 2014–2024.

SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016).



competencies and skills. There are many differences among the countries. For example, China allows less individual choice of educational paths than the United States does, and India devotes more resources to helping adolescents achieve basic literacy and numeracy than the other countries do, because it is currently the least developed of the six countries and has the weakest educational system. However, in all countries there is a shared awareness that the economy of the future will be a knowledge economy, and all countries will need to devote a greater share of their resources to education if they are to prosper in the century ahead.

Occupational Training in the United States

11.11 Describe the Job Corps program, and summarize the research on its effectiveness.

Although there is great concern over the lack of sufficient job skills in high school graduates, no system currently exists that coordinates the requirements of the workplace—for example, as in the "new basic skills" just described—with the educational efforts of the schools. Small-scale apprenticeship programs have shown promise. For example, Stephen and Mary Agnes Hamilton (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2000, 2006, 2009) of Cornell University have developed a program that provides apprenticeships for high school sophomores in three areas: administration and office technology, health care, and manufacturing and engineering technology. The program has demonstrated favorable effects on work-based learning and academic achievement. However, few adolescents in the United States have access to such programs.

There are also job-training programs for emerging adults in the United States. The largest government job-training program is the Job Corps, which began in 1964 and currently serves 62,000 new participants ages 16 to 24 each year at 122 centers in low-income areas all over the United States (U.S. Department of Labor, 2016). An extensive evaluation found that the Job Corps program is highly effective in improving the occupational prospects of noncollege emerging adults (Mathematica Policy Research, 2001). Job Corps participants were compared to a control group of nonparticipants who had applied for the program but were not accepted because of funding limitations. (Thus, they had job-training motivations similar to the program participants.) The results indicated numerous benefits of participation in the Job Corps four years later, compared to the control group, including:

- Employed more hours per week
- Earned more per week
- Improved literacy and numeracy skills
- More likely to earn a GED (42% of participants, 27% control group)
- Less likely to be arrested (29% participants, 33% control group)

The Job Corps is an expensive program, in part because participants actually live on site as they receive educational and occupational training. However, the study described here found that every dollar spent on Job Corps produced $2.02 in returns through higher earnings, taxes paid on the higher earnings, and savings in public expenditures in areas such as criminal justice and welfare. Nevertheless, some critics argue that the goals of Job Corps can be met with less expensive programs. One new program called YouthBuild, which involves having adolescents participate in building and renovating houses while receiving assistance in obtaining a high school diploma or GED, has claimed results similar to those of Job Corps but with less expense per participant (YouthBuild, 2012). However, YouthBuild has not yet been tested with a longitudinal control-group study as Job Corps has.

It should be noted, too, that even the 60,000 people per year participation in Job Corps, large as it may seem, serves only a small proportion of the 20 million Americans ages 16 to 24, millions of whom are low-income members of the "forgotten half." Job Corps—and all other American job-training programs put together—do not begin to approach a national school-to-work program of the kind found in many European countries.

Watch AN OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAM FOR DELINQUENT BOYS

Apprenticeships in Western Europe

11.12 Identify the main characteristics of apprenticeship programs in Europe.

What would it be like to have a coherent national program available to all adolescents, coordinating the curriculum of the schools with the needs of employers and focused on training in the workplace that would lead directly to long-term employment? We do not need to use our imaginations to find out. Western European countries have had such programs for a long time.

The focus of work preparation programs in Western Europe is on apprenticeships (Hamilton, 1994; Hamilton

& Hamilton, 2000, 2006, 2009; Newman & Winston, 2016; Vazsonyi & Snider, 2008). In an **apprenticeship**, an adolescent "novice" serves under contract to a "master" who has substantial experience in a profession, and through working under the master the novice learns the skills required to enter the profession successfully. Although apprenticeships originally began centuries ago in craft professions such as carpentry and blacksmithing, today they are undertaken to prepare for a wide range of professions, from auto mechanics and carpenters to police officers, computer technicians, and child-care workers (Fuller, Beck, & Unwin, 2005; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2000; Newman & Winston, 2016). Apprenticeships are common in Western Europe, especially in central and northern Europe. For example, Germany's apprenticeship program includes more than 60% of all 16- to 18-year-olds (Heckhausen & Tomasik, 2002), and Switzerland's includes about one-third of the adolescents who do not attend college after secondary school (Vazsonyi & Snider, 2008). The Cultural Focus box in this chapter provides more detail about Germany's apprenticeship program.

Common features of apprenticeship programs are (Hamilton, 1994; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006, 2009; Hamilton & Hurrelman, 1994):

- Entry at age 16, with the apprenticeship lasting two to three years;
- Continued part-time schooling while in the apprenticeship, with the school curriculum closely connected to the training received in the apprenticeship;
- Training that takes place in the workplace, under real working conditions; and
- Preparation for a career in a respected profession that provides an adequate income.

This kind of program requires close coordination between schools and employers, so that what adolescents learn at school during their apprenticeships will complement and reinforce what is being learned in the workplace. This means that schools consult employers with respect to the skills required in the workplace, and employers make opportunities available for adolescent apprentices and provide masters for them to work under. In Europe, the employers see this effort as worth their trouble because apprenticeships provide them with a reliable supply of well-qualified entry-level employees (Dustmann & Schoenberg, 2008). Recently, two American sociologists have proposed adopting the European apprenticeship system, arguing that it better prepares adolescents for the 21st-century workplace (Newman & Winston, 2016). However, in Europe there is a whole school-to-work pipeline that has been established over many decades, if not centuries, and it would be difficult to set up the same system in a country where it has never existed, especially in a country as vast and populous as the United States.

apprenticeship

An arrangement, common in Europe, in which an adolescent "novice" serves under contract to a "master" who has substantial experience in a profession, and through working under the master, learns the skills required to enter the profession.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Apprenticeships in Europe appear to work quite well, but they require that adolescents make career decisions by their mid-teens, much earlier than is typical in American society. Do you think the benefits of apprenticeships outweigh the fact that they require these early decisions, or do you prefer the American system of allowing for a longer period of exploration—well into emerging adulthood—before such decisions are made? Is it a question of what is best developmentally, or is it just a question of different values?

Furthermore, although the European school-to-work system has some advantages over the American system, it has some disadvantages as well. Educational psychologist Stephen Hamilton, in comparing the American and European systems, makes a useful distinction between *transparency* and *permeability* (Hamilton, 1994; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). Transparency is Hamilton's term for how clearly the path is marked through the educational

Apprenticeships are common in some European countries. Here, an architect and student in France work on a building plan.

Cultural Focus

GERMANY'S APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM

"Anna is only a few months away from the completion of her apprenticeship in a large [German] manufacturing firm. At age 17, Anna has worked in the firm's accounting, purchasing, inventory, production, personnel, marketing, sales, and finance departments, and studied those functions in school. She is very enthusiastic about the recent news that the company will give her an additional 18 months of training in electronic data processing before hiring her as a regular employee. She is already skilled and reliable enough to have substituted for two weeks in cost accounting during her supervisor's vacation."

This case example is taken from a book about Germany's apprenticeship system by the developmental psychologist Stephen Hamilton (1990) of Cornell University. Hamilton describes Germany's system and suggests how a similar system might be established in the United States.

Germany's apprenticeship system has existed in various forms for several hundred years (Dustmann & Schoenberg, 2008). In the present, more than 60% of all 16- to 18-year-olds are apprentices, making apprenticeships the most common form of education in the final years of secondary school and the primary passage from school to work (Vazsonyi & Snider, 2008). As Anna's example illustrates, the apprenticeships train young people not just for trades or skilled labor, but for professional and managerial positions as well. Young people are usually in the program for three years, and during that time they spend one day a week in a vocational school and the other four in their apprenticeship placement. More than half of apprentices remain with the company that trained them for at least two years after they complete the apprenticeship.

Employers pay all the costs of training their apprentices and in addition pay them a modest salary during the apprenticeship. About 10% of industrial and commercial businesses (e.g., insurance or banking) and 40% of craft businesses take part in the apprenticeship program. What is the incentive for employers? They participate partly out of German cultural traditions and partly because, once an apprentice learns to do useful work, the employer will have relatively cheap labor during the rest of the apprenticeship and a well-trained employee after the apprenticeship is completed (Dustmann & Schoenberg, 2008).

Hamilton's ethnographic research demonstrates the effectiveness of the German apprenticeship system. Apprentices have numerous opportunities for learning on the job, and what they learn on the job is coordinated with, and reinforced by, what they learn in school. Motivation for learning in school is enhanced by the awareness that the knowledge they gain in school will have a direct and immediate application in the workplace. Adolescents work closely with adults who are in charge of instructing them and providing them with learning opportunities, and typically they have a number of different positions during the apprenticeship so that they learn a variety of skills. Furthermore, Hamilton notes, "Germany's apprenticeship system is more than a training program intended to teach the knowledge and skills related to a specific job. In addition to fulfilling that function, it is a form of general education and an institution for socializing youth to adulthood" (1990, p. 63).

Could a system like this work in the United States? In some places it already does, but it is rare—less than 5% of adolescents have participated in an apprenticeship program by the time they leave high school (Hamilton, 1990, 1994; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2000, 2009). A vast government-sponsored system would be required to coordinate schools with employers. It would also require earlier decisions about what road to take occupationally; this decision would have to be made by age 15 or 16, rather than putting it off until well after high school.

However, the benefits would be great. Young people would leave their teens much better prepared for the workplace than they are now. School would be less boring to them and more clearly related to their futures. Hamilton and others are currently conducting small-scale apprenticeship programs in the United States (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2000, 2009), and if the benefit of these programs can be demonstrated, increased enthusiasm may be seen for a national apprenticeship system.

system leading to the labor market. In a transparent system, the educational and training requirements for various occupations are clearly laid out and young people are well informed about them from an early age. Permeability refers to how easy it is to change directions within the educational system. A permeable system makes it easy to drop one educational/career path and move to another.

The American system is low in transparency and high in permeability. Even in emerging adulthood, most Americans have only a limited understanding of how to obtain the education or training that will lead to the job they want, but it is easy to enter college and easy to switch paths once they get there. In contrast, the European system is high in transparency but low in permeability. European adolescents know which education and training path leads to which job, but once they choose a path—as they are required to do at the age of just 14 or 15—the system makes it difficult for them to change their minds. Currently, the European system is becoming more permeable because emerging adults are pushing for more choices and because the traditional system is increasingly viewed as too inflexible to respond to today's rapidly changing knowledge economy.

Occupational Choice

"In talking to my peers, I realize increasingly that there is no one place to find your passion. For myself, like many others, my career decisions included a mix of all these reasons: a lifelong interest in working with people, a need for a sustainable career that will pay the bills, and a feeling of accomplishment at the end of the day. A friend,

paraphrasing the words of novelist Frederick Buechner, once said to me, 'Your place is where the world's greatest need meets your greatest love.' While the needs of the world are infinite, and how we find our interests takes a number of different paths, this formula is the best and most universal advice I've heard for making career decisions."

—EMILY, 3RD-YEAR UNIVERSITY STUDENT (SPENGLER, 2002, P. C10)

As we saw at the outset of the chapter, adolescents in preindustrial traditional cultures (and in Western cultures historically) work alongside their parents—boys with their fathers and other men, girls with their mothers and other women—doing the kind of work adults do. Because the economies in such cultures are usually not diverse, there are few "occupations" to choose from. Boys learn to do what men do, whether it is hunting or farming or something else, and girls learn to do what women do, which is usually child care and running the household, and perhaps some gathering or gardening or other work. There is a certain security in this arrangement—you grow up knowing that you will have useful and important work to do as an adult, and you grow up gradually learning the skills required for it. On the other hand, there is a certain narrowness and limitation to it as well—if you are a boy, you must do the work that men do whether you care for it or not; and if you are a girl, your role is to learn child care and running a household regardless of what your individual preferences or talents might be.

Adolescents in developed countries today face a different kind of trade-off. The economies of developed countries are astonishingly complex and diverse. This means that, as an adolescent or emerging adult, you can choose from a tremendous range of possible occupations. However, every adolescent has to find a place among all of that fabulous diversity of choice. And even once you make your choice, you have to hope that the occupation you decide you want will be achievable for you. More young people would like to be medical doctors, veterinarians, musicians, and professional athletes than is possible (Schneider & Stevenson, 1999).

Let us take a look now at the developmental pattern in how American adolescents make occupational choices and at the various influences that play a part in their choices.

The Development of Occupational Goals

11.13 Summarize Super's theory of occupational development, and identify its limitations.

Although children and adolescents may have occupational dreams—fantasies of being a famous basketball player, singer, or movie star—adolescence and especially emerging adulthood are times when more serious reflection on occupational goals often begins (Arnett, 2015). For emerging adults, decisions must be made about educational and occupational preparation that will have potential long-term effects on their adult lives.

One influential theory of the development of occupational goals was proposed by Donald Super (1967, 1976, 1980, 1992; Giannantonio & Hurley-Hanson, 2006; Tracey et al., 2005). Super's theory begins with adolescence and continues through five stages into adulthood, as follows:

- *Crystallization*, ages 14 to 18. In this initial stage, adolescents begin to move beyond fantasizing and start to consider how their talents and interests match up with the occupational possibilities available to them. During this time, they may begin to seek out information about careers that are of interest to them, perhaps by talking over various possibilities with family and friends. Also, as adolescents begin to decide on their own beliefs and values, this helps to guide their occupational explorations as they consider how various job possibilities may confirm or contradict those values.
- *Specification*, ages 18 to 21. During this stage, occupational choices become more focused. For example, a young person who decided during the crystallization stage to seek an occupation that involves working with children may now decide whether that means being a child psychologist, a teacher, a daycare worker, or a pediatrician. Making this choice usually involves seeking information about what is involved in these occupations, as in the crystallization stage, but with more of a focus on specific occupations rather than a general field. It also usually involves beginning to pursue the education or training required to obtain the desired occupation.
- *Implementation*, ages 21 to 24. This stage involves completing the education or training that began in the specification stage and entering the job itself. This may mean that young people must reconcile any discrepancy between what they would like to do and what is available in the work world. For example, you may have been educated to be a teacher but find out after graduation that there are more teachers than available jobs, so that you end up working in a social service agency or a business.
- *Stabilization*, ages 25 to 35. This is the stage in which young adults establish themselves in their careers. The initial period of getting their feet wet in a job comes to an end, and they become more stable and experienced in their work.
- *Consolidation*, age 35 and up. From this point onward, occupational development means continuing to gain expertise and experience and seeking advancement into higher-status positions as expertise and experience grow.

Although this theory remains important in shaping the way scholars think about occupational development and career counselors provide advice to young people, not everyone fits the pattern prescribed by the theory, and certainly not according to these precise ages. Because education is

stretching out further and further into the 20s for more and more people, it is not unusual for the implementation stage to begin in the mid-20s rather than the early 20s. Perhaps more important, it is less and less common for occupational development to follow the kind of linear path through the life course that is described in Super's theory. Increasingly, people have not just one career or occupation, but two or more in the course of their working lives. Most of today's adolescents and emerging adults will change career directions at least once (Coutinho, Dam, & Blustein, 2008). Also, for women and increasingly for men, balancing work and family goals may mean taking time off or at least working fewer hours during the years when they have to care for young children.

The occupational development theories of Super and others do not take into account the kinds of considerations often faced by women. Traditional theories assume that occupational development follows a single path. However, this assumption ignores the fact that most women in Western societies lead a dual-career life, with their role as homemaker and mother as a "second career" in addition to the out-of-home occupation they hold (Cinamon, 2006; Craig & Mullan, 2010; Hochschild, 1998). Most women have a period of their lives, during the time they have one or more young children, when they spend as much or more time in the homemaker-mother role as they do in the role of their paid occupation. And throughout the years their children are growing up, women face the challenge of integrating these two roles, more so than men because even now in Western cultures (as in Eastern and traditional cultures), women have the main responsibility for child care (Craig & Mullan, 2010; van der Lippe et al., 2006). For this reason, theories of career development that neglect the challenge of this integration do not fit the career paths that today's emerging adult women are likely to follow.

Influences on Occupational Goals

11.14 Summarize Holland's theory of occupational choice and identify its limitations.

Theories of occupational development provide a general outline of how adolescents and emerging adults may progress through their working lives. But how do young people make choices among the great variety of occupations available to them? What influences enter into their decisions? A great deal of research has been conducted on these questions, especially focusing on the influence of personality characteristics and gender.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS One influence on occupational choice in cultures where people are allowed to choose from a wide range of possible occupations is the individual's judgment of how various occupations would be suited to his or her personality. People seek occupations that they judge to be consistent with their interests and talents. One influential theorist, John Holland (1985, 1987, 1996; Gottfredson, Jones, & Holland, 1993), investigated the personality characteristics typical of people who hold various jobs and of adolescents who aspire to those jobs. Holland's theory describes six personality categories to consider when matching a person with a prospective occupation:

- *Realistic.* High physical strength, practical approach to problem solving, and low social understanding. Best occupations: those that involve physical activity and practical application of knowledge, such as farming, truck driving, and construction.
- *Investigative.* High on conceptual and theoretical thinking. Preference for thinking problems through rather than applying knowledge. Low on social skills. Best occupations: scholarly fields such as math and science.
- *Social.* High in verbal skills and social skills. Best professions: those that involve working with people, such as teaching, social work, and counseling.
- *Conventional.* High on following directions carefully, dislike of unstructured activities. Best occupations: those that involve clear responsibilities but require little leadership, such as bank teller or secretary.
- *Enterprising.* High in verbal abilities, social skills, and leadership skills. Best occupations: sales, politics, management, running a business.
- *Artistic.* Introspective, imaginative, sensitive, unconventional. Best occupations: artistic occupations such as painting or writing fiction.

You can probably see the potential for overlap in some of these categories. Obviously, they are not mutually exclusive. A person could have some Artistic qualities as well as some Social qualities, or some Investigative qualities as well as some Enterprising qualities. Holland (1987) does not claim that all people fall neatly into clear types. However, he and other researchers believe that most people will be happiest and most successful in their careers if they are able to find a match between their personality qualities and an occupation that allows them to express and develop those qualities (Dik et al., 2010; Vondracek & Porfelli, 2003). Career counselors use Holland's ideas to help adolescents gain insights into the fields that might be best for them to pursue. The widely used Strong-Campbell Vocational Interest Inventory is based on Holland's ideas.

Keep in mind the limitations of this approach to understanding occupational choice. Within any particular profession, you are likely to find persons with a considerable variety of personality traits. If you think of teachers you have known, for example, you will probably find that they varied considerably in their personalities, even if they may have had some characteristics in common. Their different personalities may have allowed each of them to bring a

Occupations such as nursing continue to be highly gender segregated.

different combination of strengths and weaknesses to the job. So, there probably is not just one personality type that is potentially well suited to a particular type of job.

In the same way, any one person's personality could probably fit well with many of the jobs available in a diverse economy (Lent & Brown, 2013). Because most people's personalities are too complex to fall neatly into one type or another, different occupations may bring out different combinations of strengths and weaknesses in a particular person. For this reason, assessing your personality traits may narrow somewhat the range of fields that you think are suitable for you, but for most people in developed countries that would still leave a considerable number of possible occupations to choose from.

GENDER Gender has a substantial influence on job choice. In Chapter 10 we observed the relation between gender and choice of major in college. This relation holds in the workplace as well. Although the proportion of young women who are employed rose steeply in the 20th century, and although women ages 18 to 25 are now as likely as young men to be employed (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2016), it remains true that some jobs are held mainly by men and others are held mainly by women (Lindsey, 2015; Vondracek & Porfeli, 2003). Jobs held mainly by women are concentrated in the service sector—for example, teacher, nurse, secretary, and child-care worker. Jobs held mainly by men include engineer, chemist, surgeon, and computer software designer. In general, "women's jobs" tend to be low paying and low status, whereas "men's jobs" tend to be high paying and high status. These patterns have changed somewhat in recent years; for example, women are now as likely as men to become lawyers and medical doctors. However, for many jobs the gender differences have proven to be remarkably stable. Even within high-status professions, women tend to have the lower status and lower-paying positions; for example, women who are physicians are more likely to be family practice doctors than surgeons.

Why do these gender differences in job choice persist, despite the fact that women now exceed men in terms of overall educational attainment? Gender socialization is certainly part of it. Children learn early on that some jobs are appropriate for either males or females, in the same way that they learn other aspects of gender roles (Maccoby, 2002; Porfelli et al., 2008). By the time young people reach the age when it is time for them to choose an occupational direction, their gender identities are well established and constitute a powerful influence on their job selection (Desmairis & Curtis, 1999). One study of emerging adult women found that even mathematically talented young women often avoid information technology (IT) fields because they view IT as male-dominated, a perception that in turn perpetuates the male domination of IT (Messersmith et al., 2008). Similarly, a study in the Netherlands found that adolescent girls avoid going into computer science because they believe that others view women in computer science as sexually unattractive (Rommes et al., 2007).

Another important influence is that, already in emerging adulthood, young women anticipate the difficulties they are likely to face in balancing their work and family roles, and this too influences their job selection. It has long been true that wives spend considerably more time on family tasks than husbands do, especially when the couple has young children. Although men now handle more of the child care than in previous generations, wives still do more housework than their husbands, even when both of them work full time (Hochschild & Machung, 2012; Strandh & Nordenmark, 2006; van der Lippe et al., 2006). Sociologists have called this the **second shift**, referring to the domestic work shift that women must perform after they complete their shift in the workplace (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Hochschild, 1990, 1998; Sayer et al., 2009).

THINKING CRITICALLY

How would you explain the fact that wives usually end up doing most of the household work and child care even when they work as many hours as their husbands? Do you think this is likely to change in the current generation of emerging adults?

While they are still emerging adults, young women often anticipate the crunch they are likely to face with their roles as worker, spouse, and mother (Arnett, 2015; Cinamon, 2006). This realization affects their occupational choices, making them less likely to choose jobs that will be highly demanding and time consuming, even if the job is high paying and is in an area they enjoy and for which they have talent (Blair-Loy et al., 2015; Hochschild, 1990, 1998). They anticipate, too, that

second shift
The domestic work shift performed in the household by women after they complete their first shift in the workplace.

they will leave the workplace at some point to focus on caring for their young children. For example, one study asked college seniors majoring in business about their future work and family plans (Dey & Hurtado, 1999). The young women expected to work a total of 29 years full time, nearly 8 years less than their male classmates. Even though these young women were majoring in business, an area that is traditionally "male," they, too, expected to take time away from the workplace to care for their young children.

In contrast, it is extremely rare for young men to take time away from the workplace to raise young children. Even in European countries where the government pays up to 100% of a person's salary for up to a year for those who wish to leave the workplace temporarily while they have infant children, few young men take advantage of these policies (Douglass, 2005; Plantin, 2007). However, this does not mean these patterns will never change. The period of women's entry into the workplace is still relatively brief in historical terms—less than 50 years. Many dramatic changes in gender roles have already taken place that could not have been anticipated a half-century ago. The changes appear to be continuing. Young men now say they give time with family a higher priority than prestigious or high-paying work, more than older men and similar to young women (Arnett & Schwab, 2012; Grimsley, 2000). Furthermore, technologically driven changes in work that allow an increasing proportion of work to be done at home or in flexible shifts may make it easier for both men and women to balance successfully—and equally—the demands of work and family.

Work in Emerging Adulthood

"I didn't really choose my job [as a bank teller]. It chose me. I needed the money. I was so broke! And they pay well. But I hate my job! There's no opportunity for growth there. I want to do something in maybe the health care field or fashion industry."

—WENDY, AGE 25 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 179)

"At first I majored in journalism. Then I got a part-time job at a preschool. They asked me to teach a three-year-old classroom and I did it and I loved it and I thought 'You know, this is what I need to do.' So I changed my major to education. I love teaching. I can't imagine doing anything else."

—KIM, AGE 23 (ARNETT, 2015, P. 174)

Because most Americans hold jobs beginning in their mid-teens, work is nothing new to them when they reach emerging adulthood. They are used to applying for a job, learning the ropes of a new job, and receiving a check at the end of each pay period. However, for emerging adults the stakes are higher, because now they begin to seek jobs that will form the foundation of their adult work lives. Also, for adolescents work is usually part-time and optional, but for emerging adults, especially once they finish their education, work is expected, but they may have difficulty finding a job.

Watch CAREERS IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

Seeking, Planning, Drifting, Floundering

11.15 Describe the typical experiences of emerging adults in looking for a job.

In emerging adulthood it is no longer enough to have just any job. Most high school students do not expect their jobs to provide them with skills that will be the basis for the kinds of work they will be doing as adults. They simply want to find a job that will bring in enough cash to allow them to pursue an active leisure life. In contrast, most emerging adults are looking for a job that will turn into a career, a long-term occupation, something that will not only bring in a paycheck but provide personal fulfillment (Taylor, 2005). In short, they begin looking for **identity-based work** (Arnett, 2015).

Work in emerging adulthood focuses on identity questions: What do I really want to *do*? What am I best at? What do I enjoy the most? How do my abilities and desires fit in with the kinds of opportunities that are available to me? In asking themselves what kind of work they want to do, emerging adults are also asking themselves what kind of person they are. In the course of emerging adulthood, as they try out various jobs they begin to answer their identity questions, and they develop a better sense of who they are and what work suits them best.

Many adolescents have an idea, in high school, of what kind of career they want to go into (Schneider & Stevenson, 1999). Often that idea dissolves in the course of emerging adulthood, as they develop a clearer identity and discover that their high school aspiration does not align with it. In place of their high school notions, many seek another career that does fit their identity, something they really enjoy and really want to do (Vaughan, 2005).

For most American emerging adults, the process of finding the right job takes several years at least. Usually the road to a stable, long-term job is a long and winding one, with many brief, low-paying, dreary jobs along the way. The average American holds 10 different jobs between the ages of 18 and 30 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012).

Some emerging adults engage in systematic exploration as they go about looking for a career path that they wish to settle into for the long term. They think about what they want to do, they try a job or a college major in that area to see if the fit is right, and if it is not, they try another path until they find something they like better. But for many others, "exploration" is a bit too lofty a word to describe their work history during their late teens and early 20s (Arnett, 2015; Mortimer et al., 2002). Often it is not nearly as systematic, organized, and focused as "exploration" implies. *Meandering* might be a more accurate word, or maybe *drifting* or even *floundering* (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2006). Their eventual goal is to find a job they love and that fits their interests and abilities, but virtually all of them have many jobs in their late teens and early 20s that have little or nothing to do with this goal. For many emerging adults, working in emerging adulthood simply means finding a job, any job, that will pay the bills until something better comes along. In Canada and Western Europe, too, job changes and periods of unemployment and part-time employment are common during emerging adulthood (Moreno-Minguez et al., 2012).

Many emerging adults express a sense that they did not really choose their current job; one day they just found themselves in it, like a ball that rolls randomly on a pocked surface until it lands in one of the holes. In my interviews with emerging adults, "I just fell into it" is a frequently used phrase when they describe how they found their current job (Arnett, 2015). For the most part, emerging adults who got their jobs in this random fashion are looking for something else. Falling into a job rarely results in the kind of fit with one's identity that makes a job fully satisfying. Most emerging adults want to find that kind of fit, and any job that does not provide it is viewed as a way station on the road to that goal.

Even for emerging adults who meander or drift through various jobs in their early 20s rather than exploring their options in a systematic way, the process of trying various jobs often serves the function of helping them sort out what kind of work they want to do. When you are in a dead-end job, at least you find out what you do *not* want to do. You may also discover that a job has to be more than a paycheck, that you are not willing to do something boring and pointless in the long run even if it pays the bills, and that you are willing to keep looking until you find something interesting and enjoyable. And there is also the possibility that as you drift through various jobs you may happen to drift into one you enjoy, one that unexpectedly clicks.

However, it is important to add that many emerging adults never find the identity-based work they seek, either because of limited opportunities or because they have trouble finding the right fit (Silva, 2013). In an American survey of 18- to 29-year-olds, 59% agreed that "I haven't been able to find the kind of job I really want" (Arnett, 2015).

Unemployment

11.16 Summarize the main reasons for high unemployment rates among emerging adults in urban areas in the United States.

"I would like for myself to be established in my little house, you know, and everything is together. But I know it's not gonna be that way. It's too hard, you know, the way things is changin'. It ain't gettin' no better, you know."

CURTIS, 29-YEAR-OLD URBAN AFRICAN AMERICAN
(ARNETT, 2015, P. 186)

Although most young people in developed countries are able to find a job once they leave high school or college, this is not true for all of them. In both Europe and the United States, the unemployment rate for emerging adults is consistently at least twice as high as for adults beyond age 25 (Moreno-Minguez, 2012). Most European countries have much higher unemployment rates than the United States does, especially for young people. In both Europe and the United States, unemployment has been found to be associated with higher risk for depression, especially for emerging adults who lack strong parental support (Axelsson & Ejlertsson, 2002; Bjarnason & Sigurdardottir, 2003; Hämäläinen et al., 2005; Mossakowski, 2009). The relation between unemployment and depression has also been found in longitudinal studies (Dooley et al., 2000), which indicates that unemployment leads to depression more often than being depressed makes it hard to find a job.

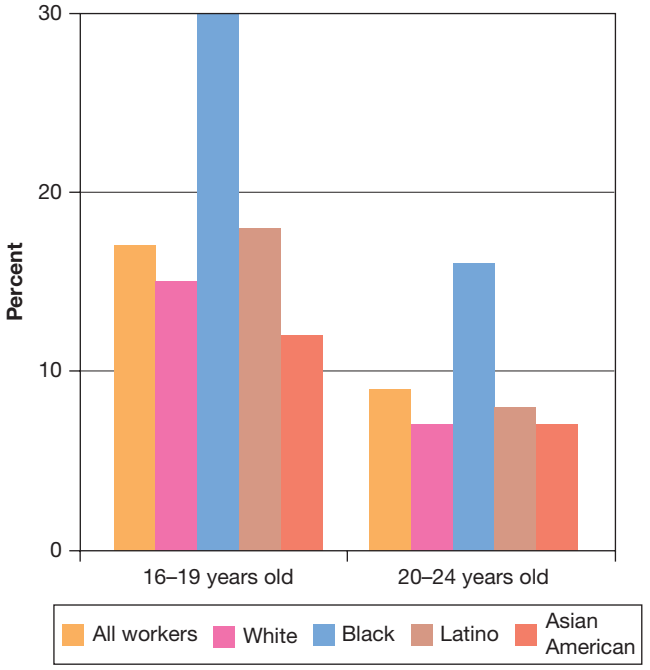
To be **unemployed** does not just mean that the person does not have a job. A large proportion of young people in their late teens and early 20s are attending high school or college, but they are not classified as unemployed because school is considered to be the focus of their efforts, not work. People whose time is devoted mainly to caring for their own children also would not be classified as unemployed. *Unemployment* refers only to people who are not in school, are not working, and are looking for a job.

This status applies to a substantial proportion of young people in the United States. **Figure 11.2** shows the unemployment rates for young people in their late teens and early 20s. As you can see from the figure, unemployment is especially concentrated among Black and Latino adolescents. Also, unemployment is extremely high among young

unemployed
The status of persons who are not in school, not working, and who are looking for a job.

Figure 11.2 Youth unemployment by ethnicity.

SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016).



people who drop out of high school. *Over half* of high school dropouts aged 18 to 21 are unemployed (NCES, 2016).

What explains the high rates of unemployment among minority groups? This was not always the case. Consider that in 1954, the teenage unemployment rate for Blacks was only slightly higher than for Whites—17% for Blacks, and 12% for Whites (Quillian, 2003). To a large extent, the explanation for the change lies in shifting employment patterns in the American economy. As noted, over the past several decades, as the economy has become more strongly focused on information and technology rather than manufacturing, the number of jobs available to unskilled workers has diminished sharply (Carnevale et al., 2013). The days are gone in the United States when stable, high-paying jobs were plentiful in settings such as automobile factories and steel mills. Today, young people with few or no skills are likely to have difficulty finding a job that pays well enough to support themselves and may have difficulty finding any job at all. As we have seen, most of the new jobs, and certainly the best jobs, require people to have at least a minimal level of information skills such as basic math knowledge and ability to use a computer.

Those skills come from education, and young African Americans and Latinos tend to obtain less education than young Whites or Asian Americans. This is especially true for Latinos. As noted in Chapter 10, educational attainment is lower among Latinos than among Whites, African Americans, or Asian Americans (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2009). Among African American adolescents, the dropout rate from high school is only slightly higher than for Whites, but the proportion of Blacks obtaining a college degree is still only half as high as for Whites (NCES, 2016). Without educational credentials, gaining access to jobs in the new economy is difficult.

However, there is more to the problem of minority unemployment than a lack of education. Changes that have taken place in urban areas in recent decades have resulted in a combination of dire conditions that are proving difficult to reverse. The changes began with the decline in high-paying, low-skilled manufacturing jobs (Quillian, 2003; Wilson, 1996, 2006). As economic activity in the inner cities declined, many people followed the movement of jobs out of the cities into the suburbs. The people who took the initiative to move were often the most able, the most educated, and the most ambitious, including community leaders who had been important in building and sustaining institutions such as churches, businesses, social clubs, and political organizations.

With the departure of these community leaders, the downward spiral of life in the cities accelerated. Neighborhoods eroded and crime increased, giving the businesses that had remained in the cities more incentive to join the exodus (Wilson, 1996, 2006). As the tax base of the cities declined with the departure of businesses and the more affluent citizens, the quality of schools also declined from lack of adequate funding. By the early 1980s, many young people living in the cities lacked the basic skills of reading and arithmetic necessary even for low-paying, entry-level jobs. With few jobs available and with many of the young people lacking the skills to qualify for the available jobs, rates of crime, drug use, and gang violence among young people in urban areas climbed steadily higher.

What can be done about this complex and so far intractable situation? Most scholars and policy makers now agree that, given the number and seriousness of the problems in the cities, simply offering job-training programs will not be enough. Sociologist William Julius Wilson (1996, 2006, 2011), one of the most prominent researchers on this topic, has proposed an approach with the following elements:

- *Upgrade education.* The current system of local funding of schools perpetuates inequality because poor areas such as the inner cities have a smaller tax base to draw from than wealthy areas do. Financial support for schools should be more centralized and more equal. Also, the quality of teachers in the inner cities should be enhanced through scholarships to attract promising young people to teach in city schools and through reforms in teacher licensing and certification that require teachers to demonstrate competence in the subjects they teach.
- *Improve school-to-work programs.* Young people in urban areas are especially harmed by the lack of effective school-to-work programs in the United States, as shown in their high rates of unemployment. The programs currently available (such as those described previously in this chapter) are a good start but should be expanded.

- *Improve access to employment.* Because most new jobs are opening up in suburban rather than urban locations, young people in the inner cities are at a disadvantage because few of them own automobiles, and public transportation between cities and suburbs is inadequate in many American urban areas. Organized car pool and van pool networks to carry urban young people to jobs in suburban areas would improve their access to employment. Also, because newly available jobs are most often filled not through want ads but through personal contacts, young people in urban areas with high concentrations of unemployment have less information about available jobs. Creating job information and placement centers in urban areas would address this problem.
- *Provide government-funded public service jobs.* Urban areas have many needs that less skilled workers could help to address in public service jobs. Having young people serve in jobs such as nurse's aides, playground supervisors, bridge painters, pothole fillers, and library staffers would not only give them useful work experience—and provide a substitute for unemployment payments—but would also enhance the quality of life in the areas where they live, both for themselves and for others.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Out of the four steps proposed by Wilson to address urban poverty among young people, which would you support and which would you oppose, and for what reasons?

Volunteer Work—Community Service

In addition to the paid work that adolescents and emerging adults do, a substantial proportion of them also do volunteer work for little or no pay. Scholars refer to such work as **community service** because it involves volunteering to serve members of the young person's community without monetary compensation (Flanagan et al., 2015; Youniss & Yates, 1997, 2000).

Americans are more than twice as likely as people in any other developed country to take part in volunteer work (Wilson, 2012), and this includes a strikingly high proportion of American adolescents. According to national surveys, consistently from the mid-1970s through the present about 22% of high school seniors have reported taking part in volunteer work on a weekly or monthly basis, and an additional 45% have reported yearly participation (McIntosh et al., 2005; HERI, 2016). Taking these two figures together, then, two-thirds of American adolescents report community service at least once per year. This service encompasses a wide variety of activities, such as serving meals to the homeless, cleaning up parks and playgrounds, and collecting money, food, and clothing for the poor. Often, the service takes place under the guidance of a community organization, such as religious groups, 4-H, Boy and Girl Scouts, and Boys and Girls Clubs. Also, local, state, and federal governments have made numerous efforts to promote community service among adolescents. Nearly 30% of American high schools require some type of community service before graduation (HERI, 2012; McNeil & Helwig, 2015)—involuntary volunteer work, you might call it.

community service

Volunteer work provided as a contribution to the community, without monetary compensation.

Community Service and Adolescent Development

11.17 Summarize the ways community service in adolescence promotes healthy development.

Research on adolescents and community service has focused on two main questions: What are the distinctive characteristics of adolescents who do volunteer work? And what effects does volunteer work have on adolescents who take part in it?

A recent meta-analysis of 49 studies concluded that community service has a variety of positive affects on adolescents' academic, personal, social, and civic development (Goethem et al., 2015). Adolescents who volunteer tend to have a high sense of personal competence, and they tend to have higher educational goals and performance than other adolescents. They tend to have high ideals and to perceive a higher degree of similarity between their "actual selves" and their "ideal selves" than other adolescents do. Adolescents who participate in community service often report that one or both parents do so as well (Pancer et al., 2007). By their participation, parents provide both a model for community service and concrete opportunities for adolescents to participate (Yates & Youniss, 1996).

For most adolescents, their community service is motivated by both individualistic and collectivistic values (McNeil & Helweg, 2015). Often, of course, they are motivated by collectivistic values such as wanting to help others or a concern for those who have been less fortunate than themselves. However, perhaps less obviously, studies have found that individualistic values are equal to collectivistic values as a motivation for adolescents' community service. In addition to wanting to help others, adolescents also volunteer because it gives them a sense of personal satisfaction and they enjoy doing the work. As Yates and Youniss (1996) suggest, it may be that performing community service "requires a personal investment in which the action of helping others becomes part of one's identity and, thus, is understood and articulated in terms of what makes one feel good" (p. 91).

With regard to the effects of community service, scholars have observed that such service is often part of

adolescents' political socialization. Through their participation, adolescents become more concerned about social issues and develop an understanding of themselves as members of their society (McIntosh et al., 2005; Pancer et al., 2007; Reinders & Youniss, 2006). In one example of this effect, Youniss and Yates (1997, 2000) studied adolescents who were volunteering in a soup kitchen for homeless people. Through the course of the year of their service, the adolescents began to reassess themselves, not only reflecting on their fortunate lives in comparison to the people they were working with but also seeing themselves as potential actors in working for the reforms needed to address the problem of homelessness. Furthermore, the adolescents began to raise questions about characteristics of the American political system in relation to homelessness, such as policies regarding affordable housing and job training. Thus, their participation made them more conscious of themselves as American citizens but also led them to be more critical of political policies and also more aware of their own responsibility in addressing social problems in American society.

Studies have also examined the long-term effects of taking part in volunteer work in adolescence. In general, these studies indicate that people who take part in volunteer work in adolescence are also more likely to be active in political activities and volunteer organizations as adults (Hart et al., 2007; Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Of course, these studies do not show that community service in adolescence causes people to volunteer in adulthood as well. As we have seen, adolescent volunteers already differ from their peers in ways that explain their greater participation in community service in adolescence and beyond.

Nevertheless, the study by Youniss and Yates (1997, 2000) and other studies (e.g., Flanagan et al., 2015; McIntosh et al., 2005; Metz et al., 2003) indicate that community service does have a variety of favorable effects on the young people who take part in it. One longitudinal study found that among adolescents who were required to perform community service in high school, those who indicated that they would have served voluntarily showed no changes from their participation (Metz & Youniss, 2005). However, those who would not have volunteered to serve without the requirement showed an increase on measures of civic attitudes and behaviors, such as interest in political and social issues and interest in participating in civic organizations. This indicates positive effects of community service even on—in fact, especially on—adolescents who might not have been inclined to serve.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Does the prevalence of community service indicate that American adolescents and emerging adults have stronger collectivistic values than scholars may have realized—or not, because only a relatively small proportion of young people take part in community service on a frequent basis?

Watch TEEN GIRLS BAKE COOKIES TO HELP NEIGHBORS

Community Service in Emerging Adulthood

11.18 Describe the main forms of community service in emerging adulthood.

Like many adolescents, many emerging adults do volunteer work, such as working with children and collecting and distributing food, clothing, and other resources to the poor. However, in emerging adulthood, volunteer work in American society has taken the distinctive form of two major, government-sponsored institutions: the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps.

The **Peace Corps** is an organization that sends American volunteers all around the world to assist people in other nations by providing knowledge and skills in areas such as medical care, housing, sanitation, and food production. The organization began in 1961, when President John F. Kennedy exhorted young college graduates to give two years of their time in service to those in other nations who lacked the basic necessities of life. The Peace Corps is open to adults (age 18 and older) of any age, but the main participants have been emerging adults. Over half of current Peace Corps volunteers are ages 18 to 29 (Peace Corps, 2016).

From its beginnings, the Peace Corps grew rapidly, to a peak of 15,000 volunteers in 1966. All together, over 240,000 people have served as of 2016. Currently, about 7,000 volunteers are in the field in 63 countries. They are a highly educated group: 95% have undergraduate degrees. Volunteers serve in a variety of areas, including education, environment, business, agriculture, and health. During their service they receive a monthly living allowance only high enough to enable them to live at the level of others in their

Peace Corps
An international service program in which Americans provide service to a community in a foreign country for two years.

Volunteers in the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps tend to be emerging adults. Here, a volunteer and friends in Togo, West Africa.

Emerging adults who enter military service are more likely than other emerging adults to come from low-SES family backgrounds.

community—not much, in other words. However, after the completion of their two years of service, they receive a bonus of about $6,000 to assist them in making the transition back to American society.

As benefits of serving in the Peace Corps, the organization points to the enhancement of career prospects from obtaining overseas experience, gaining cross-cultural knowledge, and learning the language of the host country (Peace Corps, 2012). Although returning Peace Corps volunteers have written numerous personal accounts, few systematic studies have been conducted on the volunteers' experience and how it affects them. However, in 2000 the first comprehensive survey of returning volunteers was published (Peace Corps, 2000). Among the findings were that 94% of them indicated they would make the same decision to join if they had it to do again. Also, 78% of returning volunteers had been involved in community service once they returned home.

In contrast to the Peace Corps, the **AmeriCorps** program is relatively recent, with the first group of volunteers serving in 1994. However, AmeriCorps has been larger than the Peace Corps from its inception. Over 20,000 volunteers served in 1994, and by 2016 more than 80,000 AmeriCorps volunteers were serving each year (AmeriCorps, 2016). About half the volunteers are White, 25% are African American, and 13% Latino.

The AmeriCorps agency does not administer a volunteer program but instead sponsors volunteers to work in local community organizations, doing such work as tutoring children and adults, rehabilitating housing for low-income families, immunizing children against diseases, and helping persons with disabilities and elderly persons to maintain independent living. Although AmeriCorps is open to any person aged 18 or older, nearly all volunteers in the program are emerging adults ages 18 to 25. In return for their service they receive a small living allowance, health insurance, and an education award of $4,725 for each year served (one or two years) to be applied toward college expenses, existing student loans, or an approved vocational training program.

Evaluations of the AmeriCorps program have shown the benefits that it provides both to emerging adults and to their communities (Ward, 2014). An assessment of a random sample of volunteers before and after their participation in the program showed that 76% gained significantly in all five "life skills areas" examined: Communication, Interpersonal, Analytical Problem Solving, Understanding Organizations, and Using Information Technology (Aguirre International, 1999). One independent study showed that each tax dollar spent on the AmeriCorps program results in a direct and demonstrable benefit of $1.60 to $2.60 for the community in which the volunteer served (AmeriCorps, 2000). A longitudinal study reported that 8 years after their service in the program, Americorps volunteers were higher than the comparison group (who expressed interest in Americorps but did not enroll) on understanding of community problems, engagement in civic activity such as attending meetings of community organizations, and overall life satisfaction (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2008).

AmeriCorps

The national service program in the United States in which young people serve in a community organization for up to two years for minimal pay.

Adolescents and Emerging Adults at War

11.19 Compare and contrast the military experiences of emerging adults in the United States and adolescents in developing countries.

Military service is another type of service experienced by many emerging adults. Several times during the 20th century—World Wars I and II, the Korean War, and most of the Vietnam War—all young men in the United States were

required to serve in the military, but since the early 1970s the military has been staffed by volunteers. Emerging adults who volunteer for military service tend to be different from other emerging adults in a variety of ways (Bachman et al., 2000; Burdette et al., 2009). They are more likely than other emerging adults to come from low-SES family backgrounds. They tend to have mediocre grades in high school—neither above average nor well below average—and low college aspirations. African Americans and Latinos are more likely than Whites to enlist. Motivations for enlistment include patriotism, of course, but also the prospect of receiving money, educational support, and job training, as well as the belief that military service would promote the development of personal qualities such as maturity, responsibility, and discipline (Griffith & Perry, 1993; Teachman, 2007).

How does serving in the military influence the development of emerging adults? The answer to this question is mixed. Most veterans of World War II and the Vietnam War believed that military service broadened them intellectually and made them more self-reliant, but many of them had difficulty making the transition to civilian employment after their service, and Vietnam veterans were more likely than nonveterans to have problems with alcohol abuse, especially if they had witnessed intense combat (Bookwala, Frieze, & Grote, 1994; MacLean & Elder, 2007). For more recent veterans, since the establishment of the all-volunteer military, the effects of military service have been found to be largely positive (Teachman & Tedrow, 2008; Whyman et al., 2011). Veterans report that their service benefited them in multiple ways, including self-confidence, self-discipline, leadership skills, and ability to work with others. Benefits have been found to be especially strong for African Americans and Latinos, who often receive educational and job-training opportunities in the military that would not be readily available to them in the civilian world. However, the death of more than 5,000 American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan in the early 21st century—mostly emerging adults—is a sobering reminder that for emerging adults who join the military, their expanded educational and occupational opportunities come with serious risks attached.

Adolescents in developing countries are often exposed to war against their will. Over recent decades, millions of children and adolescents in Afghanistan, Africa, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, and other areas of the world have been affected by war. During war, children and adolescents may be exposed to extremely traumatic experiences. For example, a study of more than 300 children and adolescents who were internally displaced after conflict began in Sudan in 2003 found that they commonly witnessed torture (75%) and rape (40%), were threatened with death (50%), experienced the death of a sibling (more than 40%) or parent (24%), or were forced to injure or kill a family member (22%) (Morgos et al., 2007–2008).

When children and adolescents are forced to become **child soldiers**, their exposure to and participation in horrendous behaviors escalate. A rare study in northern Uganda compared the experiences of former child soldiers to other youth (Moscardino et al., 2012). The child soldiers had been abducted when they were between 5 and 17 years old and held for an average of 2 years. Most of the "child soldiers" were actually adolescents; the average age of abduction was 12. The former child soldiers had much higher rates of traumatic experiences than the never-abducted youth. Nearly half had killed someone, and over three-fourths had been beaten.

Watch RECOVERING FROM WAR: A YOUNG SUDANESE MAN REFLECTS

Reviews of studies of children and adolescents exposed to war-time experiences have shown the following consequences (Masten et al., 2015):

1. Adolescents have greater exposure and more trauma symptoms than children do.
2. Girls show more anxiety and depression, whereas boys show more aggressive and disruptive behaviors.
3. Severe and prolonged exposure results in worse and longer-lasting effects.
4. Loss of parenting poses considerable risk.
5. Girls who experience rape sometimes receive little or no support from their communities afterward and are often stigmatized.

Research has found that adolescents sometimes voluntarily join violent conflicts and wars, thereby endangering themselves psychologically and physically. Voluntary participation by adolescents has especially been seen in areas with lengthy histories of political conflict, such as in the Middle East and Northern Ireland (Barber, 2009; Cummings et al., 2012; Dimitry, 2012). Adolescents who

child soldiers
Children and adolescents forced to become soldiers.

join often report gaining a sense of identity and agency (Barber, 2009). They sometimes come to see their engagement as part of a larger purpose.

Child soldiers, even those coerced into service, also sometimes redefine themselves as leaders in an important cause. Adults may exploit adolescents' yearning for a sense of control and meaning, for example, by rewarding those who fall into line with the goals of the group. A longitudinal study in Mozambique found that children who had spent 6 or fewer months as child soldiers described themselves as "victims," whereas those who had spent a year or longer described themselves as "members" of the Mozambique National Resistance (Boothby et al., 2009). As one boy explained, "I first served as his personal servant. Then he made me chief of a group of other boys. I had power" (Boothby & Thompson, 2013, p. 244).

Summing Up

11.1 Describe the main forms that work has taken for adolescents in traditional cultures.

Adolescents in traditional cultures have typically worked alongside their parents, the boys in work such as hunting, fishing, and farming, the girls in work such as gathering, child care, and household work.

11.2 Explain how globalization has both positive and negative effects on adolescents' work in traditional cultures.

Because of globalization, virtually all traditional cultures are moving toward industrialization. The result in many countries is that people in traditional cultures, especially adolescents, are being subjected to hard work in terrible conditions for very low pay, such as on commercial farms and plantations, in factories, and in commercial sexual exploitation. However, participation in the industrialzing economy allows adolescents to contribute to their families and provides adolescents with skills and contacts that may lead to a better economic future.

11.3 Summarize the types and conditions of adolescent work in the West before 1900.

Before industrialization, adolescents in the West typically worked alongside their parents, boys with their fathers mostly in farming, girls with their mothers mostly in child care and household work. During the 19th century, adolescents made up a substantial proportion of the workforce in factories.

11.4 Explain how the frequency and types of adolescent work changed in the West from the early 20th century to the present.

In the early 20th century, adolescents were more likely to be working full-time than to be in school, because their economic contribution was needed by their families. However, with each decade, the proportion of adolescents in school rose and the proportion working full-time declined. Since World War II, the proportion of American adolescents in part-time work has risen steeply, so that by now over three-fourths of high school seniors have had a part-time job. American adolescents are more likely to work part-time than adolescents in other developed countries, because their schools are less demanding.

11.5 Summarize adolescents' workplace experiences in Canada and the United States.

Adolescents' jobs usually involve repetitive and monotonous service work that does not develop skills they will need later in the workplace. They spend their time at work about equally with adults and with other adolescents, but their relationships with the adults usually are not close and supportive.

11.6 Identify the ways working in adolescence is related to psychological functioning, and specify the number of hours per week where the relation becomes evident.

Working in adolescence is related to a variety of negative outcomes when it involves more than 10 hours per week. The negative outcomes include depression, anxiety, less sleep, and less exercise. If adolescents learn new skills at work—which happens rarely—then working is related to higher well-being and self-esteem.

11.7 Describe how working promotes problem behavior in adolescence.

Working many hours per week during adolescence is associated with problem behaviors such as substance use and vandalism. According to one study, about 60% of working adolescents engage in occupational deviance, such as stealing things from work.

11.8 Summarize the positive effects of working on adolescent development.

Adolescents report many benefits from working, such as time management, money management, and developing social skills. However, many working adolescents also report fatigue, less leisure time, and thinking about work during class.

11.9 Identify the skills adolescents need to learn to be prepared for jobs in today's economy.

The "new basic skills" include reading and math at least at the 9th grade level, communicating effectively orally and in writing, collaborating with diverse groups, and using a computer for word processing and other task. However, close to half of American 17-year-olds lack reading and math skills even at this basic level.

11.10 Summarize the areas where job growth is likely to be strongest in the next decade, and describe the range of approaches countries are using to prepare adolescents for the workplace.

In the United States, job growth in the decade to come is projected to strongest in service sectors such as health care. Many countries are developing programs to train adolescents and emerging adults for the economy of the future. Countries emphasize features distinctive to their conditions, such as the achievement of basic literacy in India.

11.11 Describe the Job Corps program, and summarize the research on its effectiveness.

Job Corps is a federal program that pays emerging adults a monthly stipend while training them in the skills for a job. Evaluations of the program indicate that graduates are employed more hours per week, have better literacy and numeracy skills, and are less likely to be arrested, compared to a control group.

11.12 Identify the main characteristics of apprenticeship programs in Europe.

European apprenticeships coordinate school-based training with the needs of employers to prepare adolescents for a wide range of jobs. Entry is at age 16, and programs last for two to three years.

11.13 Summarize Super's theory of occupational development and identify its limitations.

Super's widely used theory of occupational development focuses on adolescence and emerging adulthood as an important period containing stages of crystallization, specification, and implementation. However, many careers do not follow such a linear path, and the theory does not account for how young women must adjust their work paths to accommodate family responsibilities.

11.14 Summarize Holland's theory of occupational choice and identify its limitations.

Holland's theory describes six personality types and the jobs to which they are likely to be best suited. However, most people have personality characteristics that fit into more than one type, and most occupations can be performed with success and satisfaction by persons with a variety of personality characteristics.

11.15 Describe the typical experiences of emerging adults in looking for a job.

Most emerging adults spend several years changing jobs frequently as they seek identity-based work that will not only pay well but will also fit their identity and provide personal fulfillment. Their work explorations often are haphazard and unsystematic.

11.16 Summarize the main reasons for high unemployment rates among emerging adults in urban areas in the United States.

Unemployment is highly prevalent among African American emerging adults living in American cities, mainly because of lack of education and the decline in low-skilled but high-paying manufacturing jobs over the past 30 years. The decline in these jobs triggered a downward spiral of economic and social disintegration.

11.17 Summarize the ways community service in adolescence promotes healthy development.

Volunteer work (community service) is common among American adolescents and emerging adults. Community service has a variety of positive affects on adolescents' academic, personal, social, and civic development, and leads adolescents to be more concerned about and involved in social and political issues. Adolescents participate out of the desire to help others but also for the personal rewards they receive.

11.18 Describe the main forms of community service in emerging adulthood.

Prominent types of volunteering for emerging adults include the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps. Studies have documented many benefits of Peace Corps and Americorps, for emerging adults and for the people they serve.

11.19 Compare and contrast the military experiences of emerging adults in the United States and adolescents in developing countries.

Voluntary military service in the United States shows positive effects such as self-discipline, leadership skills, and ability to work with others, but it can be stressful and life-threatening when it involves combat. Adolescents in developing countries are often exposed to war against their will. When children and adolescents are forced to become child soldiers, their exposure to and participation in horrendous behaviors escalate.

Key Terms

International Labor Organization (ILO), p. 335
debt bondage, p. 335
commercial sexual exploitation, p. 336
retention rate, p. 341
occupational deviance, p. 342
the forgotten half, p. 344
the new basic skills, p. 345
apprenticeship, p. 347
second shift, p. 351
unemployed, p. 353
community service, p. 355
Peace Corps, p. 356
AmeriCorps, p. 357
child soldier, p. 358

Chapter 12
Media

Learning Objectives

12.1 Summarize patterns of media use among adolescents in developed countries.

12.2 Identify the major theories of media use, and describe the Media Practice Model.

12.3 Identify the five major types of media use, and explain why they are especially prominent in adolescence.

12.4 Describe the role of media in adolescent socialization, including whether media tend toward broad or narrow socialization.

12.5 Explain the ways media undermine other sources of socialization.

12.6 Summarize research on the relation between violent television content and aggressiveness in adolescence.

12.7 Describe the uses of violent electronic games by adolescent boys.

12.8 Describe and evaluate the claims that hip-hop instigates aggressive behavior.

12.9 Explain how cigarette advertising aims at the developmental vulnerabilities of adolescents.

12.10 Identify the main uses of social media among adolescents and emerging adults.

12.11 Summarize the evidence that media play a leading role in the globalization of adolescence.

In 1774, the great German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (pronounced gur'-tuh) published *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, about a young man who kills himself in despair over his unrequited love for a married woman. The novel immediately became immensely popular all over Europe, inspiring poems, plays, operas, songs, even jewelry and an "Eau de Werther" scent for ladies. At the same time, the novel inspired immense controversy. It was banned in some parts of Germany for fear that impressionable young readers might interpret it as recommending suicide, and in Denmark a proposed translation was prohibited for the same reason. Although claims that *Werther* caused an epidemic of suicide in Europe are now regarded as unfounded (Hulse, 1989), in one verified case, a young woman who had been deserted by her lover drowned herself in the river behind Goethe's house in Weimar, Germany, with a copy of *Werther* in her pocket. Goethe was sufficiently disturbed by the controversy over the book to add an epigraph to the 1775 edition of the novel urging his readers not to follow Werther's example.

IN GOETHE'S TIME AS WELL AS OUR OWN, THE question of media effects has been a source of public debate and concern, often with a particular focus on the lives of adolescents. One more recent example took place in the autumn of 1993, concerning a movie called *The Program* released by the Walt Disney Company. The movie, about the players and coach of a college football program, quickly became controversial because of a scene in which one of the players demonstrates his manly toughness by lying down in the middle of a busy highway at night as cars and trucks whoosh by him. Some adolescents who had seen the movie proceeded to try the stunt for themselves. An 18-year-old Pennsylvania boy was killed and two other boys were critically injured, one of them paralyzed. In response to the resulting outcry, Disney hastily recalled the film and deleted the scene in question, while strenuously denying responsibility for the boys' reckless acts.

This is about as definite an example of media effects as it is possible to find. There can be little doubt that the boys were imitating the behavior they had witnessed in the movie. They had seen the movie just days before, and friends who accompanied them the night of the accidents testified later that they were imitating the stunt they had seen in the film.

At the same time, this example illustrates why drawing a simple cause-and-effect relationship between the media consumed by adolescents and their subsequent behavior is problematic. Literally hundreds of thousands of people (mostly adolescents) saw the movie with the controversial scene. It was playing in 1,220 theaters at the time, and even estimating modestly at 100 people per theater would put the total number of viewers at more than 100,000. Yet the total number of reported incidents that resulted from adolescents imitating the scene was 3. Even if it were generously estimated that 100 times as many adolescents imitated the scene as were injured in the process, the total proportion of adolescents who were affected by the scene to the point of imitating it would amount to one-fourth of 1% of the people who watched it. Evidently, then, the adolescents who imitated the scene had traits or circumstances that led them to imitate it, even though the vast majority of the people who watched it did not.

This incident illustrates both the potentially profound effects of the media on adolescents and the complexity involved in tracing those effects. Debates over media effects are often polarized, with those at one extreme glibly blaming media for every social ill and those at the other extreme dismissing (just as glibly) all claims of media effects as unverifiable. I believe both extremes are mistaken, and in this chapter I will present you with a more complex (and, I hope, more true-to-life) approach to understanding young people's uses of media.

THINKING CRITICALLY

If one or two people out of a million who watch a particular movie or listen to a particular song are negatively affected by it, is that reason enough to ban or withdraw the movie or song? Or should people—even adolescents—be responsible for how they respond to media?

Adolescents' Interactions with Media: Rates, Theories, and Uses

No account of young people's development would be complete without a description of the media they use. Music, television, movies, and the Internet are part of the daily environment for nearly all young people currently growing up in developed countries (and increasingly, in developing countries as well). Rates are easily established, but as we will see, the question of how adolescents use media and how media become part of their socialization experiences is complex.

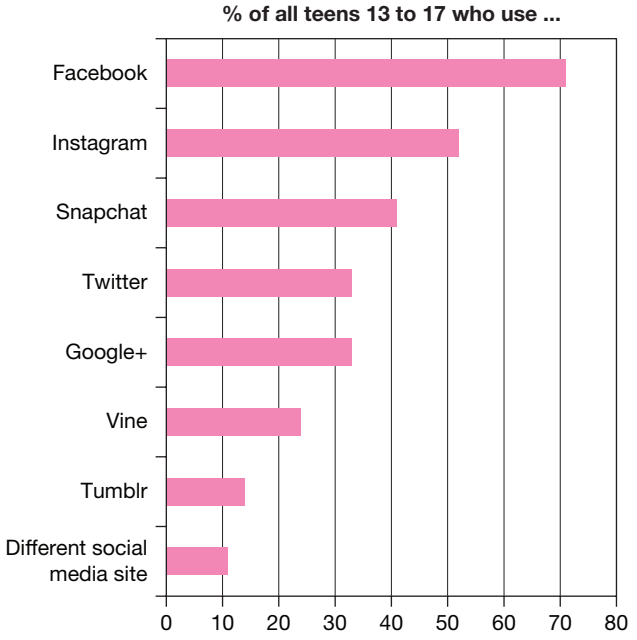
Rates of Media Use

12.1 Summarize patterns of media use among adolescents in developed countries.

In the early 21st century, for adolescents in many developed countries, media are a nearly constant presence in their daily lives. Increasingly, the dominant method of transmission of media content is through mobile phones or smartphones, now known as *digital devices* because placing phone calls is only one of their many uses. In the United States, 88% of adolescents ages 13 to 17 have access to a digital device, according to a national survey by the Pew Research Center (Lenhart, 2015). The Pew survey also reports that adolescents send an average of 30 text messages per day—40 for

Figure 12.1 Top social media platforms for teens

SOURCE: Lenhart (2015)



girls, 20 for boys. Adolescents are avid users of social media, and their digital devices give them ready access to social media all day long. As shown in Figure 12.1, the majority of American adolescents use Facebook and Instagram, and many also use Snapchat, Twitter, and who knows what else by the time you read this. Adolescents usually adopt new social media forms much faster than adults do (Barnett & Benefield, 2015; Hofstra, Corten, & van Tubergen, 2016).

Digital devices provide adolescents with constant access to the Internet, the portal to a near-infinite world of information and stimulation. According to the Pew survey, 92% of 13- to 17-year-olds connect to the Internet daily; 24% say they are connected to it "almost constantly" (Lenhart, 2015). Rates are similar in other developed countries. For example, digital devices are used by 97% of 15- to 19-year-olds in Finland (Taipale, 2009) and by 95% of 14-year-olds in Sweden (Samkange-Zeeb & Blettner, 2009).

Digital devices and social media may be at the heart of adolescents' daily media lives, but the "traditional media" are far from dead. Despite the rise of social media, adolescents still watch a lot of TV, at least 2 to 3 hours per day for American adolescents (Rideout, 2013). This is true in Europe as well (Rey-López et al., 2010). More than 70% of American adolescents ages 11 to 18 have a television in their bedroom, and 64% say the television is typically on during meals in their household (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010). Adolescents also listen to music for several hours a day (Rideout et al., 2010). Add videos and occasional books, magazines, and newspapers, and the total amounts to a large proportion of the daily experience of adolescents. In total, American adolescents use media for about 8 hours a day (Rideout et al., 2010). About one-fourth of their media use involves multiple media—listening to music while playing an electronic game, for example, or texting friends while watching TV. Emerging adults watch TV less than adolescents or older adults do (MarketingCharts Staff, 2014), but they text more and use social media more (Coyne et al., 2015).

Theories of Media Influence

12.2 Identify the major theories of media use and describe the Media Practice Model.

Two theories have been especially prominent in guiding scholars' understanding of how media influence young people. **Cultivation Theory** argues that watching television gradually shapes or "cultivates" a person's worldview, so that over time it comes to resemble the worldview most frequently depicted on TV (Appel, 2008; Gerbner et al., 1994; Morgan, Shanahan, & Signorelli, 2014). For example, adolescent girls who are frequent viewers of the reality show *Teen Mom* have been found to be more likely than other girls to believe that single mothers have enviable lives (Martins & Jensen, 2014).

One aspect of Cultivation Theory is known as **Mean World Syndrome** (Gerbner et al., 1994). In Mean World Syndrome, the more people watch TV, the more they are likely to believe that the world is a dangerous place, that crime rates are high and rising, and that they themselves are at risk for being a victim of a crime (Riddle et al., 2011). According to Cultivation Theory, they believe this because television often depicts crime and violence on dramas and news shows, which leads viewers to cultivate a view of the world as mean, violent, and dangerous.

The second prominent theory of media influence is **Social Learning Theory** (Bandura, 1994; Jennings & Akers, 2011). According to this theory, people will be more likely

Cultivation Theory

Media theory proposing that TV consumption shapes people's worldviews to resemble what is depicted on TV.

Mean World Syndrome

Theory that the more people watch television, the more likely they are to believe that the world is dangerous and that they are at risk for being a crime victim.

Social Learning Theory

Theory proposing that people tend to imitate behaviors they see rewarded when performed by others.

to imitate behaviors they see frequently performed by models who are rewarded or at least not punished. In a famous experiment known as the "Bobo doll" study, children watched an adult kicking and punching a clownlike doll ("Bobo"). Later, the children imitated the adult's behavior almost exactly.

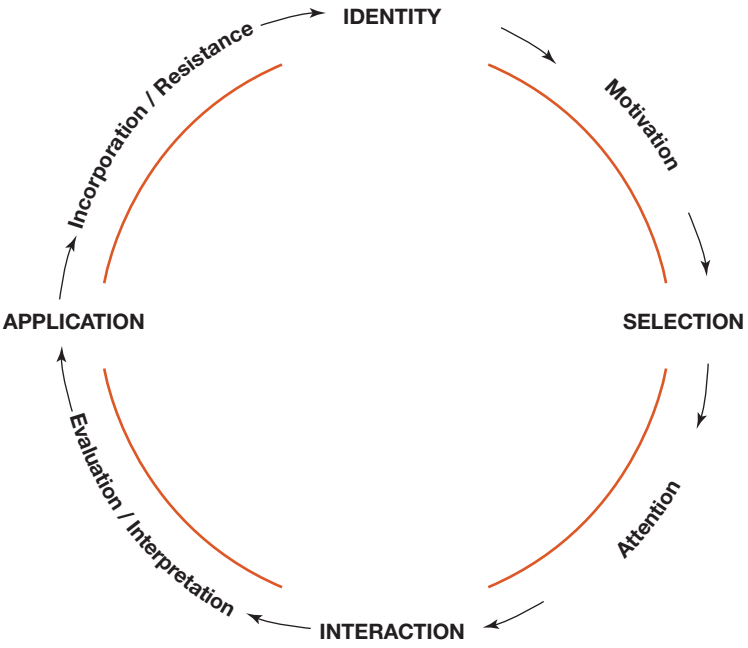
Over the past 50 years, hundreds of media studies have been conducted using Social Learning Theory as the guiding framework (Parke, 2014). For example, studies have found that heavier exposure to sexual content on TV is related to earlier initiation of sexual intercourse, and this has been interpreted as indicating that the adolescents modeled their sexual behavior after the TV characters (Martino et al., 2005). Many of the studies using Social Learning Theory have concerned the relationship between television and aggression, as we will see in more detail later in this chapter.

Both Cultivation Theory and Social Learning Theory are presented mainly in terms of media effects, with the media consumer depicted as relatively passive and easily manipulated. In research using these theories, correlations between media use and attitudes or behavior are routinely interpreted as causation because it is assumed that media have effects and the consumer is a relatively passive recipient of those effects. However, an alternative approach has been proposed that recognizes that the role media play in the lives of adolescents and others is usually more complex than a simple cause-and-effect relationship. This approach is known as the **uses and gratifications approach**, and the emphasis is on viewing people as active media consumers (Rubin, 1993; Slater, 2007; von Salisch, Oppl, & Kristen, 2006; Weiyan, 2015). This approach will serve as the framework for this chapter.

The uses and gratifications approach is based on two key principles. The first is that people differ in numerous ways that lead them to make different choices about which media to consume. For example, not all adolescents like violent TV shows; the uses and gratifications approach assumes that adolescents who like such shows differ from adolescents who do not, prior to any effect that watching violent shows may have (Krcmar & Kean, 2005). The second principle is that people consuming the same media product will respond to it in a variety of ways, depending on their individual characteristics. For example, some adolescent girls may respond to other girls' Facebook photos by feeling more insecure about the way they look, whereas other girls may be relatively unaffected (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015).

Figure 12.2 The Media Practice Model.

SOURCE: Brown et al. (2002), p. 9.



Media researcher Jane Brown and her colleagues have presented a model of how the uses and gratifications theory works in the lives of adolescents (Brown, 2006; Brown, El-Toukhy, & Ortiz, 2014; Steele, 2006). Their model, called the **Media Practice Model**, is illustrated in Figure 12.2. As the figure shows, the model proposes that adolescents' media use is active in a number of ways. Adolescents do not all have the same media preferences. Rather, each adolescent's identity motivates the *selection* of media products. Paying attention to certain media products leads to *interaction* with those products, meaning that the products are evaluated and interpreted. Then adolescents engage in *application* of the media content they have chosen. They may incorporate this content into their identities—for example, girls who respond to thin models by seeking to be thin themselves. Or they may resist the content—for example, girls who respond to thin models by rejecting them as a false ideal. Their developing identity then motivates new media selections, and so on.

Rather than viewing young people as the passive, easily manipulated targets of media influences, the uses and gratifications approach asks, "What sort of *uses* or purposes motivate young people to watch a television show,

uses and gratifications approach

Approach to understanding media that emphasizes that people differ in numerous ways that lead them to make different choices about which media to consume and that even people consuming the same media product will respond to it in a variety of ways, depending on their individual characteristics.

Media Practice Model

Theory proposing that media use begins with identity, then proceeds to selection, attention, interaction, application, and back to identity.

or go to a movie, or listen to a song, or read a magazine, or use the Internet? And what sort of *gratifications* or satisfactions do they receive from the media they choose?" Similarly, the Media Practice Model asks how adolescents select, interact with, and apply media products in the course of developing an identity. We will keep these questions at the forefront as we discuss media in this chapter. Let's start out by taking a look at five of the principal uses that young people make of media.

Five Uses

12.3 Identify the five major types of media use, and explain why they are especially prominent in adolescence.

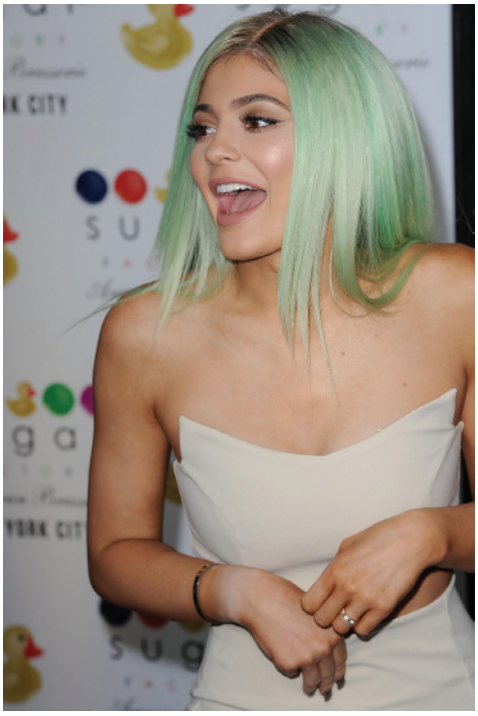
Five uses of media by adolescents can be specified (Arnett, 1995b): entertainment, identity formation, high sensation, coping, and youth culture identification. All of the uses described except entertainment are *developmental* in the sense that they are more likely to be uses of media for adolescents and emerging adults than for children or adults (Arnett, 1995b).

ENTERTAINMENT Adolescents and emerging adults, like people of other ages, often make use of media simply for entertainment, as an enjoyable part of their leisure lives (Brake, 1985; Lenhart, 2015). Music often accompanies young people's leisure, from driving around in a car to hanging out with friends to secluding themselves in the privacy of their bedrooms for contemplation (Larson, 1995). The most common motivation stated by adolescents for listening to music is "to have fun" (Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2000). Television is used by many adolescents as a way of diverting themselves from personal concerns with entertainment that is passive, distracting, and undemanding (Larson, 1995; Roberts & Foehr, 2004). Entertainment is clearly one of the uses young people seek in social media as well, where they share favorite music and video clips (Lenhart, 2015). Young people generally use media for the entertainment purposes of fun, amusement, and recreation.

IDENTITY FORMATION As we have seen in previous chapters, one of the most important challenges of adolescence and emerging adulthood is identity formation—the development of a conception of one's values, abilities, and hopes for the future. In cultures where media are available, media can provide materials that young people use toward the construction of an identity (Davis, 2013; Slater, 2007). Part of identity formation is thinking about the kind of person you would like to become, and in media, adolescents find ideal selves to emulate and feared selves to avoid. The use of media for this purpose is reflected in the pictures and posters adolescents put up in their rooms, which are often of media stars from entertainment and sports (see the Research Focus box). Identity construction and presentation is also a central part of social media use (Davis, 2013), as we shall see in more detail later in the chapter.

Media can also provide adolescents with information that would otherwise be unavailable to them, and some of this information may be used to help construct an identity. For example, adolescents may learn about different possible occupations by watching television or reading magazines (Clifford, Gunter, & McAleer, 1995). They may be inspired by their media heroes to try musical performance or sports.

An important aspect of identity formation, and one for which adolescents may especially make use of media, is gender role identity (Chan et al., 2011; Hust, 2006; Steele & Brown, 1995). Adolescents take ideals of what it means to be a man or a woman partly from the media. Adolescents use the information provided in media to learn sexual and romantic scripts (Brown et al., 2002; Eggermont, 2006)—for example, how to approach a potential romantic partner for the first time, how to resolve problems in a relationship, and even how to kiss. One study of adolescents' messages in Internet chat rooms found that the exchange of identity information allowed participants to "pair off" with partners of their choice, despite the disembodied nature of chat participants (Subrahmanyam, Greenfield, & Tynes, 2004). The authors concluded that the virtual world of teen chat may offer a safer environment for exploring emerging sexuality than the real world. For both girls and boys, gender, sexuality, and relationships are central to the kind of identity exploration and identity formation for which adolescents use media (Harris, 2015; Ward, 1995).



Adolescents take gender ideals in part from media icons. Here, Kylie Jenner.

HIGH SENSATION **Sensation seeking** is a personality characteristic defined by the extent to which a person enjoys *novelty* and *intensity* of sensation. Adolescents and emerging adults tend to be higher in sensation seeking than adults (Zuckerman, 2007), and certain media provide the intense and novel sensations that appeal to many young people. Overall, sensation seeking is related to higher media consumption in adolescence, especially TV, music, and electronic games (Lachlan, 2006; Roberts et al., 2005; Stoolmiller et al., 2010; Zuckerman, 2015).

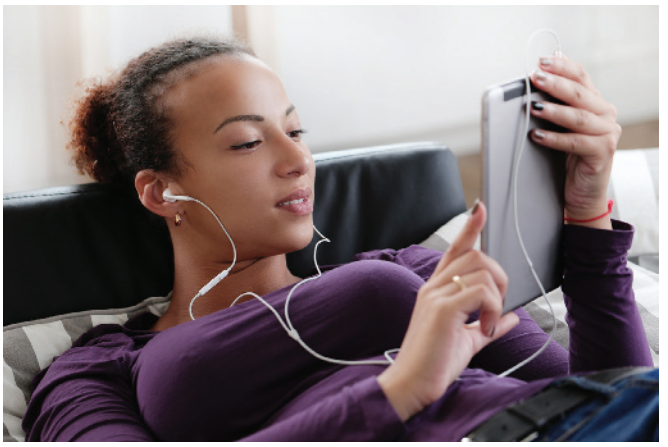
Many media products appeal to adults as well as young people, but some appeal almost exclusively to young people, at least partly because of the high-sensation quality of the stimulation. The audience for "action" films is composed mostly of males in adolescence and emerging adulthood, because this is the segment of the population that is highest in sensation seeking and consequently most likely to be drawn to films that portray scenes involving explosions, car chases (and car crashes), gunfire, and suspense (Hoffner & Levine, 2005; Stoolmiller et al., 2010). Adolescent boys also dominate the audiences for the high-sensation musical forms of rap, heavy metal, and hard rock (Arnett, 1996; Herding, 2014).

Music is a media form that may especially lend itself to high-sensation intensity. Most popular music is created by people who are adolescents and emerging adults or just beyond (with geriatric exceptions such as the Rolling Stones), and the sensory stimulation of most popular music is much higher than for television (think of the volume level of the last rock concert you attended). Adolescents' emotional arousal when listening to music tends to be high, at least partly because of the high sensory and emotional intensity of music (Larson, 1995; Rawlings & Leow, 2008).

COPING Young people use media to relieve and dispel negative emotions. Several studies indicate that "Listen to music" and "Watch TV" are the coping strategies adolescents most commonly use when they are angry, anxious, or unhappy (Konijn et al., 2015; Oliver, 2006). Music may be particularly important in this respect (Saarikallio & Erkkilä, 2007). Adolescents often listen to music in the privacy of their bedrooms while pondering the themes of the songs in relation to their own lives, as part of the process of emotional self-regulation (Larson, 1995; Lincoln, 2012). In early adolescence, when the number of problems at home, at school, and with friends increases, time spent listening to music also increases (Rideout et al., 2010).

sensation seeking

A personality characteristic defined by the extent to which a person enjoys novelty and intensity of sensation.



Adolescents often use music to cope with strong emotions.

Certain types of music, such as hip-hop or heavy metal, may appeal especially to young people who use music for coping (Konijn et al., 2015).

Young people also sometimes use television for coping purposes. Adolescents often turn to television as a way of turning off the stressful emotions that have accumulated during the day (Larson, 1995; Ohannessian, 2009). Adolescents also may choose media materials for specific coping purposes. A study of Israeli adolescents, in the aftermath of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, indicated that the media were an important source of information during the war and that adolescents used the information obtained through the media to help them cope with the stress of the war (Zeidner, 1993).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Why do you think watching television and listening to music have calming effects on adolescents' emotions? Do you think emerging adults would experience the same effects?

YOUTH CULTURE IDENTIFICATION Media consumption can give adolescents a sense of being connected to a youth culture or subculture that is united by certain youth-specific values and interests. In cultures where people change residence frequently (such as the United States), the media provide common ground for all adolescents. No matter where they move within the United States, adolescents will find peers in their new area who have watched the same television programs and movies, listened to the same music, and are familiar with the same advertising slogans and symbols. Music, especially, is a medium for expressing adolescent-specific values (Gregson, 2006; Roe, 1985; Wall, 2013). Worldwide, media are a driving force behind the globalization of youth culture, as we will see in more detail later in the chapter.

Adolescents' identification may be not to youth culture as a whole but to a youth subculture. For example,

youth subcultures in recent decades have been defined by punk, heavy metal, and hip-hop. Adolescents who participate in these subcultures often feel alienated from the mainstream of their societies (Arnett, 1996). A recent book describes the rise of "Muslim cool" among adolescents in Europe who are part of Muslim immigrant communities (Herding, 2014). The distinctive features of this youth subculture include religious rap, street wear with Islamic slogans, and "clean" comedy routines about being a young Muslim in Europe. This is a recent manifestation of a long tradition of adolescents and emerging adults using youth culture to question, critique, and test the boundaries of their societies (Brake, 1985).

Media and Adolescent Socialization

12.4 Describe the role of media in adolescent socialization, including whether media tend toward broad or narrow socialization.

We have seen that media use is a big part of the lives of most adolescents in the West. This prominence is even more striking when we think about it in historical perspective. At the beginning of the 20th century, adolescents' exposure to media would have been limited to print media such as books, magazines, and newspapers. Television, radio, CD players, DVDs, computer games, and the Internet did not even exist. In less than a century, all these media have become a central part of the cultural environment of developed countries.

What does this transformation in the cultural environment imply for young people's development? Essentially it amounts to the creation of a new source of socialization (Arnett, 1995b). Of course, the media have become part of the social environment of people of all ages, but the potential role of media in the socialization of young people is perhaps especially strong. Adolescence and emerging adulthood are times when important aspects of socialization are taking place, especially with regard to identity-related issues such as beginning occupational preparation, learning gender roles, and developing a set of values and beliefs. It is also a time when the presence and influence of the family have diminished relative to childhood, as we discussed in Chapter 7. At the same time that parents' influence on socialization recedes during adolescence, the role of the media in socialization grows. In one national American survey of 10- to 15-year-olds, 49% said they "learn a lot from" television and movies, a higher percentage than learned a lot from their mothers (38%) or their fathers (31%; Kantrowitz & Wingert, 1999).

As a socialization influence, the media tend toward broad socialization in societies that have freedom of speech and where the media are relatively uncontrolled and uncensored by government agencies. In such societies, there is tremendous diversity in the media offerings available, providing adolescents a diverse array of potential models and influences. This is likely to promote a broad range of individual differences in values, beliefs, interests, and personality characteristics because adolescents can choose from diverse media offerings the ones that resonate most strongly with their own particular inclinations.

Most Western societies value free speech highly, so a diverse range of media content is allowed. However, the United States takes this principle further than European countries do. For example, Germany has a legal prohibition against music lyrics that express hatred or advocate violence toward minorities. In Norway, one person in the government reviews all movies before they are allowed to be shown in theaters and prohibits the showing of movies judged to be too violent. Neither of these prohibitions would be likely to survive a legal challenge in the United States because of the protection of free speech in the First Amendment of the Constitution.

Nevertheless, the principle of free speech does not mean that all media must be accessible to all people regardless of age. Age restrictions on access to media are allowable under the First Amendment, and the United States has rating systems for movies, music, television, and computer games that are designed to indicate to children, adolescents, and their parents which media products may be unsuitable for people under a certain age (Funk et al., 1999; Lambe, 2006). However, the enforcement of these guidelines and restrictions requires substantial parental involvement (for the most part they are guidelines, not legal requirements). Because parents are often either unaware of the media their adolescents are using or hesitant to place restrictions, most American adolescents easily gain access to whatever media they like (Common Sense Media, 2012; Lenhart, 2015).

Do Media Undermine Adolescents' Socialization?

12.5 Explain the ways media undermine other sources of socialization.

An important difference exists between media and other socialization agents in the adolescent's environment, such as family members, teachers, community members, law enforcement agents, and religious authorities. Typically, these other socializers have an interest in encouraging the adolescent to accept the attitudes, beliefs, and values of adults to preserve social order and pass the culture on from one generation to the next. In contrast, media are typically presented by people whose primary concern is the economic success of the media enterprise. As a result, the content of media consumed by adolescents is driven not by a desire to promote successful socialization but by the uses adolescents themselves can make of media. Because

Research Focus

MEDIA USE IN ADOLESCENTS' BEDROOMS

Jane Brown and her colleagues have used a number of creative methods to study adolescents' uses of media (Brown et al., 2014). In one study (Brown, White, & Nikopolou, 1993), adolescent girls were asked to keep a daily journal about whatever they saw in the media about sex and relationships. In another study (Steele & Brown, 1995), high school seniors were asked to interview each other about how they used media in their bedrooms at home, including television, magazines, and stereos as well as room decorations that reflected media use (posters of rock musicians, sports stars, etc.). Another method they have used in their research is what they call "room touring," where the researchers actually "tour" adolescents' bedrooms and have the adolescents describe everything that holds special meaning or significance for them, usually including numerous media artifacts (posters, pictures from magazines, CDs, etc.).

All of these research methods are qualitative. The focus is not on quantifying experience into patterns that can be reflected in numbers and analyzed in statistical tests, but on the experience of individuals and how they interpret and articulate their experiences.

Qualitative methods can result in rich data about the lives of individual adolescents, as in these two descriptions:

> In [14-year-old] Rachel's room the bed is covered with clothes, cassette tapes and magazines, a red phone, and the cassette player. The walls are plastered with posters of the Beatles, the B52s, and a leering rock musician with his hand stuck down in his pants. The posters cover over an Impressionist art print of a little girl with flowers. One wall is full of advertisements torn from magazines featuring muscular men and thin women modeling the latest fashions. . . .
>
> Sixteen years old and a sophomore in high school, Jack safeguards an eclectic mix of childhood artifacts and teenage fantasies and aspirations in his bedroom. On one wall a wooden box displays a fleet of multihued model cars, painstakingly crafted during grade school. A shelf is piled high with the audiotaped "mixes" that now occupy his time. Perched on top is a teddy bear dressed in a white sailor suit. . . . On the wall next to his bed are more current concerns: a Ferrari Testarossa poster, and pictures of girls clipped from magazines. "If they look good," Jack explains, "I just put them up on the wall." (Steele & Brown, 1995, pp. 551–552)

In addition to individual examples, qualitative research such as the research conducted by Brown and her colleagues allows scholars to describe general patterns of development. However, for qualitative researchers, these general patterns are usually ascertained through the researcher's insights and judgment rather than on the basis of statistical analyses. For example, in the study in which adolescent girls kept journals of their responses to sexual media content, the researchers concluded that the girls' responses fell into three general patterns (Brown et al., 1993). Those they termed "Disinterested" tended to ignore sexual content in media, and preferred not to talk or think about it even when prodded to do so. Their rooms tended to be filled

the media are largely market-driven, media providers are likely to provide adolescents with whatever it is they believe adolescents want—within the limits imposed on media providers by other adult socializers such as parents and legal authorities.

This means that adolescents have greater control over their socialization from the media than they do over socialization from family or school. This has two important consequences (Arnett, 2006c). First, it results in a great deal of diversity in the media available to adolescents, from classical music to heavy metal, from public television to pornography, from *Seventeen* to *Mad* magazine, as media providers try to cover every potential niche of the market for media products. Adolescents can choose from among this diversity whatever media materials best suit their personalities and preferences, and on any given occasion adolescents can choose the media materials that best suit the circumstances and their emotional state.

Second, to some extent this socialization goes *over the heads* of the other socializing adults in the adolescent's environment (Brown et al., 2014; Strasburger, 2006; Taillon, 2004). Parents may try to impose restrictions on the music, television shows, movies, and electronic games their adolescents consume, but these restrictions are unlikely to be successful if an adolescent is determined to avoid them. The limited time parents and adolescents spend in each other's company makes it difficult for parents to enforce such restrictions. In any case, most parents do not even attempt to impose restrictions. For example, in one national American study, less than half of adolescents reported that their parents had rules about the amount of time they spent watching television or about the content of the TV programs they watched (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010). The percentages concerning computer and Internet use were similarly low.

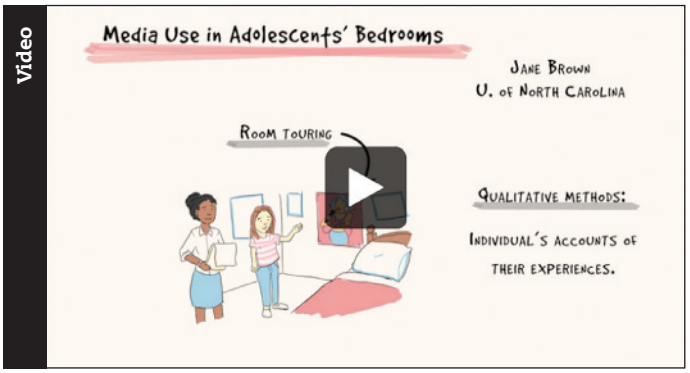
As a source of adolescent socialization, media bear the greatest similarity to peers. With media as with peers, adolescents have substantial control over their own socialization because they make choices with only limited influence from their parents and other adult socializers. With media as with peers, adolescents sometimes make choices that adults find troublesome. Indeed, media scholars have proposed that the media function as

with stuffed animals and dolls rather than media items. In contrast, a second group labeled "Intrigued" had rooms filled with magazines, musical recordings, and television, and their walls were filled with images of popular media stars, including media items with sexual content. A third group, "Resisters," also had rooms with evidence of high media use, but they tended to select images from less mainstream media—political leaders and female sports stars rather than popular music performers. They were termed "Resisters" because they were often critical of sexual media content, particularly the media depiction of women as sexual objects. In the journal of Audrey, age 14, was this critique of cosmetic ads:

> I think that they use these beautiful people to sell their products because they want fat old ladies sitting at home with curlers in their hair watching the soaps to think that if they buy Loreal's [*sic*] 10 day formula they'll end up looking that beautiful. I think that's really stupid because for one, I know perfectly well I don't look like [a movie actress] and Loreal's [*sic*] 10 day formula's not going to change that. (Steele & Brown, 1995, p. 564)

In this and many other examples, Brown and her colleagues show that adolescents are not just passive targets of media but active consumers who use media for a variety of purposes. At the same time, the qualitative focus on the experience of individuals also allows for revealing examples suggesting media effects. Audrey, seemingly so adept at deflecting the lure of media images, reported in her journal a couple of days later that she had spent the afternoon buying "basically cosmetics!"

Watch MEDIA USE IN ADOLESCENTS' BEDROOMS



a **super peer** for adolescents, meaning that adolescents often look to media for information (especially concerning sexuality) that their parents may be unwilling to provide, in the same way they might look to a friend (Brown et al., 2014; Strasburger, 2006).

Examples of how adolescents may use media in ways disturbing to their parents and other adults in their immediate social environment can be seen in relation to each of the five uses of media described previously. They may find *entertainment* in media that many adults consider disturbingly violent. In assembling materials toward *identity formation* they may develop admiration for media stars who seem to reject the values of the adult world, stars who may in fact reject the very idea of "growing up" to a responsible adulthood. Adolescents also may be attracted to *high-sensation* media that adults find disagreeable for precisely the reason it is so appealing to adolescents—the extraordinary high-sensation intensity of it (Zuckerman, 2015). Adolescents may seclude themselves in their rooms and use media in *coping* with their problems in a way that seems to shut out their parents (Konijn et al., 2015; Larson, 1995). Finally, adolescents may become involved in a media-based *youth subculture* that actively and explicitly rejects the future that adult society holds out to them. In all of these ways, socialization from the media may be subversive to the socialization promoted by other adult socializers.

However, this portrayal of adolescents' media use as oppositional should be modified in several respects. First, it bears repeating that media are diverse, and not all of the media used by adolescents are contrary to the aims and principles of adult society. Much of it is, in fact, quite conservative. Many media providers, especially in television, shrink from controversy and tend to avoid topics that could subject them to public attack (and advertisers' boycotts). In most cases, adolescents perceive television programs

super peer

One of the functions of media for adolescents, meaning that adolescents often look to media for information (especially concerning sexuality) that their parents may be unwilling to provide, in the same way they might look to a friend.

as reinforcing conventional values such as "honesty is the best policy," "good wins over evil," and "hard work yields rewards" (Brown et al., 2002). Second, adolescents do not come to media as blank slates, but as members of a family, community, and culture that have socialized them from birth and from whom they have learned ideals and principles that are likely to influence their media choices and how they interpret the media they consume.

Third, the range of media available to adolescents, though vast, is not unlimited. Parents can place restrictions on how adolescents may use media at least when the parents are present; schools often restrict adolescents' media use during and between classes; and many countries have guidelines for the content of television programs (at least on the major networks) and for the magazines and movies that may be sold to adolescents younger than age 18 (Roberts et al., 2005).

The portrait of media socialization presented here applies to the contemporary West, and media socialization may be quite different in traditional cultures. Legal and parental controls over adolescents' access to media are tighter in traditional cultures with narrow socialization, so that adolescents are unlikely to be able to use media as freely (Davis & Davis, 2012). However, today even in many traditional cultures the introduction of Western media is opening up new possibilities to adolescents, loosening the extent of parental control and increasing the extent to which adolescents choose the materials of their own socialization. Later in this chapter, we will look at examples of Western media influencing adolescents in traditional cultures.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Suppose you were the parent of an adolescent who liked to listen to a kind of music you believed was potentially harmful because of the level of violence in it. How would you handle it—would you forbid it, ignore it, discuss it—and why?

Controversial Media

Because adolescents spend a lot of time daily consuming media, and because media play an important role in adolescent socialization, parents and other adults express concern when they perceive the media as containing material that may have damaging effects. In this section, we consider criticisms of controversial media and examine the available research evidence in relation to those criticisms. The areas of controversy discussed here are television and aggressiveness; electronic games and aggressiveness; hip-hop music; and cigarette advertising.

Television and Aggressiveness

12.6 Summarize research on the relation between violent television content and aggressiveness in adolescence.

A great deal of research attention has focused on the extent to which media promote and provoke violence in young people. Most of this research has concerned television, and the majority of it has involved preadolescent children (Anderson et al., 2003; Comstock, Sharrer, & Powers, 2014; Finney, 2006). However, this is an issue of particular importance with regard to adolescents and emerging adults because the overwhelming majority of violent crimes all over the world are committed by young males aged 15 to 25 (Craig & Piquero, 2015).

Unfortunately, most of the studies on adolescents and television violence are correlational studies, which ask adolescents about the television programs they watch and about their aggressive behavior. As often noted in this text, correlational studies do not show causality, and these studies merely indicate the unremarkable finding that aggressive adolescents prefer aggressive television programs (Selah-Shayovits, 2006). They cannot answer the crucial question "Does watching violence on TV cause adolescents to become more aggressive, or are adolescents who are more aggressive simply more likely to enjoy watching violence on TV?" In an effort to address this question, numerous **field studies** have been conducted on the effects of television on adolescent aggression. Typically, adolescents (usually boys) in a setting such as a residential school or summer camp are separated into two groups, and one group is shown TV or movies with violent themes whereas

Does watching violent television programs cause adolescents to become more aggressive?

field studies

Studies in which people's behavior is observed in a natural setting.

the other views TV or movies with nonviolent themes. Then the behavior of the boys in the two groups is recorded and compared. However, the findings of these studies are weak and inconsistent, and overall they do not support the claim that viewing violent media causes adolescents to be more aggressive (Browne & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005; Elson & Ferguson, 2014; Freedman, 1988).

The study most often cited to support claims that violent television causes aggressiveness is a longitudinal study by Eron and Huesmann (Bushman & Huesmann, 2002; Coyne, 2006; Huesmann et al., 1984). They began their study when the participants were 8 years old and continued it until the participants reached age 30. Television-viewing patterns and aggressive behavior were assessed at ages 8, 19, and 30. A correlation was found between aggressiveness and watching violent TV at age 8, not surprisingly. But watching violent TV at age 8 also predicted aggressive behavior in boys at age 19, and by age 30 the men who had watched violent TV at age 8 were more likely to be arrested, more likely to have traffic violations, and more likely to abuse their children. This relation was found even controlling for boys' initial levels of aggressiveness at age 8. So, it was not simply that aggressive persons especially liked to watch violent television at all three ages, but that aggressive 8-year-olds who watched high levels of TV violence were more likely to be aggressive at later ages than similarly aggressive 8-year-olds who watched lower levels of TV violence. The relation between watching violent TV and later aggressive behavior was not found for girls.

A study using a natural experiment provides perhaps the most compelling support for the argument that watching violent television causes aggressive behavior, at least in children (MacBeth, 2006). In this study a Canadian community (called "Notel" by the researchers) was studied before and after the introduction of television into the community. Aggressive behavior among children in Notel was compared with the behavior of children in two comparable communities, one with only one television channel ("Unitel") and one with multiple TV channels ("Multitel"). In each community several ratings of aggressiveness were obtained, including teachers' ratings, self-reports, and observers' ratings of children's verbal and physical aggressiveness. At the beginning of the study, aggressive behavior was lower among children in Notel than among children in Unitel or Multitel, but aggressive behavior increased significantly among children in Notel, so that Notel children were equal to their Unitel and Multitel peers 2 years after the introduction of TV. However, the study involved children in middle childhood rather than adolescents, and there is no information on how the adolescents of the community reacted.

Although the findings of this study are intriguing, overall the research provides only mixed support for the claim that watching violent television causes adolescents to behave aggressively. The evidence is more persuasive that violent television causes aggression in *children* (Browne & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005; Cantor, 2000; Paradise, 2006). As the father of two children who spent a substantial proportion of their childhood pretending to be characters from *Scooby-Doo*, I can attest to the power of television to inspire imitative behavior in children. However, adolescents are not children. Their cognitive abilities usually enable them to reflect on what they are watching and to recognize it as fantasy rather than as a model to be imitated. Even Rowell Huesmann, one of the most prominent proponents of the claim that televised violence causes aggression in children, states that "we do not need to be as concerned about adults' or even teenagers' exposure to media violence as much as we do with children's exposure. Media violence may have short-term effects on adults, but the real long-term effects seem to occur only with children" (Huesmann et al., 2003, p. 219).

This is not to dismiss the potential of televised violence for provoking violence in some adolescents under some circumstances, especially for adolescents who are already at risk for violence because of factors in their personalities and social environments (Browne & Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005; Huesmann et al., 2003; Kronenberger et al., 2005). It is probably true that, for some adolescents, watching television violence acts as a model for their own aggressiveness. However, if watching violent television were a substantial contributor to aggressive behavior among adolescents in general, the relationship would be stronger than it has been in the many field studies and longitudinal studies that have been conducted.

The evidence is stronger that television violence influences *attitudes* toward violence among adolescents, making them more accepting of violent behavior and less empathic toward the victims of violence (Murray, 2008; Paradise, 2006). Also, two scholars have looked at the relation between television watching and relational aggression, which we discussed in Chapter 8. In one of their studies (Coyne & Archer, 2005), more than 300 adolescents ages 11 to 14 were asked to list their five favorite television programs. These programs were analyzed for the amount of relational aggression they contained. Peer-nominated relational aggression was higher among adolescents who watched programs containing relational aggression. In particular, girls high in relational aggression viewed more relational aggression on television than any other group. In a recent longitudinal study by one of the authors (Coyne, 2015), watching relational aggression predicted later relational aggression among adolescents, whereas relational aggression did *not* predict future watching of televised relational aggression. This longitudinal pattern is stronger evidence of causality than the correlations reported in most studies.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Even if violent television does not have clear effects on adolescents' aggressive behavior, is it possible that it has other effects, such as on their moral development? What other effects should be considered, and how would you design a study to test your hypotheses?

Electronic Games and Aggressiveness

12.7 Describe the uses of violent electronic games by adolescent boys.

"The whole thug thing seems kind of cool [in computer games], but in real life, I wouldn't really want to have that life. In the game, you don't mind just getting out of your car and killing somebody, because you're not going to get in trouble for it. You can just turn off the game system and you're done."

—13-YEAR-OLD BOY (OLSON ET AL., 2008, P. 64)

"Last week, I missed one homework and my teacher yelled at me.... When I went home, I started playing *Vice City* and I got a tank and I ran over everybody. And I smashed a lot of cars and blew them up.... I was mad, and I turned happy afterwards."

—14-YEAR-OLD BOY (OLSON ET AL., 2008, P. 66)

A relatively new type of media that has become popular among adolescents is electronic games played on a computer or a digital device. This form of media use has quickly become popular among adolescents, especially boys (Olson et al., 2008). In a national study in the United States, over 90% of boys and about 70% of girls ages 13 to 17 reported playing electronic games (Lenhart, 2015). For many of them, electronic games were a part of their daily lives; 31% reported playing every day, and an additional 21% played 3 to 5 times a week. Similarly, a study in 10 European countries and Israel found that children ages 6 to 16 averaged more than a half hour per day playing electronic games (Beentjes et al., 2001; also see Elson & Ferguson, 2014).

Many of the computer games most popular with adolescent boys have violent themes.

Some of these electronic games are in the category of harmless entertainment. A substantial proportion of the games simply involve having a computerized character jump from one platform to the next; or sports simulations of baseball, tennis, soccer, or hockey; or fantasies in which the player can escape to other worlds and take on new identities (Klimmt, 2006). However, many of adolescents' favorite electronic games involve violence. Analyses of the content of most popular electronic games have found that over 90% contain violence (Haninger & Thompson, 2004; Busching et al., 2015).

Over the past 25 years, many studies have examined the relation between electronic games and aggressiveness (Arriaga et al., 2011; Elson & Ferguson, 2014; Gentile, 2014). The studies have focused mainly on violent electronic games, which are the most popular as well as the source of the most concern. However, scholars disagree about what these studies show. On the one hand are scholars who conclude that violent electronic games cause aggression in children, adolescents, and emerging adults and present a major public health crisis (DeLisi et al., 2013; Gentile, 2014). On the other hand are scholars who believe that this conclusion is erroneous and is driven more by ideology than by science (Elson & Ferguson, 2014). These skeptics argue that the evidence for the relation between electronic games and aggression is mixed at best, and often misinterprets correlation as causation.

Taking a uses and gratifications approach can help to illuminate these issues and highlights the methodological limitations of studies claiming to find that electronic games cause aggression. Let's illustrate this by examining one study in detail. In this study (Anderson & Dill, 2000), college students were assigned randomly to two groups. One group played a nonviolent electronic game, whereas the other played a violent game, *Wolfenstein 3D*, in which the player chooses from an array of weapons to kill Nazi guards, with the ultimate goal of killing Adolf Hitler. Students were "tested" against each other on three different days, supposedly to see how well they played the game. On the third day, they were told to punish their opponent with an unpleasant blast of noise when the opponent lost. Students who played the violent game blasted their opponents for a longer time than students who played the nonviolent game.

The authors' interpretation of the results was that violent electronic games cause aggressive behavior. After all, the participants were randomly assigned into the nonviolent or violent electronic game groups. But do you see the problem in the research design, from a uses and gratifications

perspective? It does not take into account the uses and gratifications insight that people make choices about what media to use. It may sound good to assign students randomly into two different groups, playing either violent or nonviolent games, but in fact this means that you do not know which students would actually have chosen to play the violent games themselves. Although some of the students in the "violent game" condition behaved more aggressively than students who played the nonviolent game, without knowing their game-playing preferences we cannot say if the ones who behaved more aggressively are also the ones who would choose to play the more violent games. So, this design does not really prove causality after all. This is a common research design problem, not just for electronic games studies but for other media studies as well.

A rarely used but promising approach is to ask adolescents themselves about their uses of violent electronic games. In one such interview study (Olson et al., 2008), boys (ages 12 to 14) said they used violent electronic games to experience fantasies of power and fame, and to explore what they perceived to be exciting new situations. The boys enjoyed the social aspect of electronic games, in playing with friends and talking about the games with friends. The boys also said they used electronic games to work through feelings of anger or stress, and that playing the games had a **cathartic effect** on these negative feelings. They did not believe that playing violent electronic games affected them negatively.

It seems likely that with electronic games, as with other violent media, there is a wide range of individual differences in responses, with young people who are already at risk for violent behavior being most likely to be affected by the games, as well as most likely to be attracted to them (Gentile, 2011; Gentile & Bushman, 2012; Unsworth et al., 2007). With electronic games as with television, effects may be less definite for violent behavior than for more common characteristics, such as empathy and attitudes toward violence (Arriaga et al., 2011; Bushman, 2016; Kneer et al., 2016). It is also worth noting that in recent years, violent games have become less popular among adolescents because games involving sports and music have become more popular (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010).

Controversial Music: Hip-Hop

12.8 Describe and evaluate the claims that hip-hop instigates aggressive behavior.

Television and electronic games are not the only media that have been criticized for promoting unhealthy and morally questionable tendencies in adolescents. Music has been criticized just as much, and the criticism goes back even further. Jazz was criticized in the 1920s for promoting promiscuity and alcohol use. Rock and roll was criticized throughout the 1950s and 1960s for promoting rebellion and sexual license (see the Historical Focus box). Heavy metal came under heavy fire by adults in the 1980s and 1990s. In recent decades, the criticism has focused on hip-hop (also known as rap).

Hip-hop began in the late 1970s as street music in urban New York City (Berry, 1995; Decker, 1994). It started out with disc jockeys "rapping" (speaking or shouting rhythmically) spontaneous lyrics to a background of a lively beat and perhaps a repeated line of music. Only gradually did it develop into "songs" that were recorded. It was not until the late 1980s that hip-hop attained widespread popularity. By the 1990s, a wide range of hip-hop groups were appearing on lists of the highest-selling albums, and it remains popular today. Hip-hop is highly popular not only in the United States but in Europe and many other places around the world (Herding, 2014; Motley & Henderson, 2008).

Not all hip-hop is controversial. Some hip-hop performers enjoy a wide mainstream audience for their themes of love, romance, and celebration. The controversy over hip-hop has focused on performers such as Jay-Z and Lil Wayne. The criticism has concerned three themes: sexual exploitation of women, violence, and racism (Muhammad, 2015; Pough, 2015; West, 2009).

Controversial hip-hop has been criticized for presenting images of women as objects of contempt, deserving sexual exploitation and even sexual assault. Women in controversial hip-hop songs are often referred to as "hos" (whores) and "bitches," and sexuality is frequently portrayed as a man's successful assertion of power over a woman (Pough, 2015; Stephens & Few, 2007). In a study of Dutch adolescents, a preference for hip-hop was positively associated with sexualized stereotypes of women (ter Bogt et al., 2010).

Violence is another common theme in the lyrics of controversial hip-hop performers (Watkins, 2006; West, 2009). Their songs depict scenes such as drive-by shootings, gang violence, and violent confrontations with the police. The violence spouted by hip-hop performers is not just a pose but is part of the world many of them live in. In the late 1990s rappers Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G. were shot to death, and other gangsta hip-hop performers have been arrested for offenses ranging from illegal possession of firearms to sexual assault to attempted murder.

With regard to racism, critics of hip-hop have denounced the views toward Whites and Asians that hip-hop performers have expressed in both songs and interviews. Also, research has found that hip-hop songs reinforce racial stereotypes in listeners because the songs

cathartic effect

Effect sometimes attributed to media experiences, in which media experience has the effect of relieving unpleasant emotions.

Historical Focus

ELVIS THE PELVIS

In the spring of 1953, an 18-year-old delivery truck driver named Elvis Presley walked into a recording studio in Memphis, Tennessee, and paid $4 for the opportunity to record two songs as a birthday present for his mother. Three years later, Elvis Presley was 21 years old, a multimillionaire entertainer, and the most famous person on the planet.

How did this happen? Part of the explanation, of course, lies in Elvis's extraordinary talents. He had a uniquely rich, expressive, and versatile singing voice, and he sang with an extraordinary sensual intensity. He had grown up in the South listening to rhythm-and-blues songs performed by Black musicians, and he incorporated the sensuality and power of their styles into his own. Many people recognized the Black influence in his singing, and Elvis himself acknowledged it.

Not only his singing but also his performing was influenced by Black musicians he had seen, as he developed a performance style of bracing himself against the microphone stand and thrusting his pelvis back and forth in a distinctly sexual way (leading to the nickname "Elvis the Pelvis"), his legs pumping rhythmically, his body shaking all over. He made Black rock-and-roll music and styles popular to White audiences at a time in American history when racist beliefs about Black people possessing an uncontrolled sexuality would have made it difficult for a Black person to be accepted by the American majority culture singing in that style.

However, in addition to Elvis's talents, four media forms interacted to fuel his fame: radio, newspapers, television, and movies. His career got its initial burst through radio, when a Memphis radio station played a recording of him singing "That's All Right (Mama)" and within days thousands of adolescents were storming Memphis record stores seeking copies of the record (which had not actually been released yet). Soon, radio stations all over the South were playing "That's All Right" and every other Elvis song as he recorded more of them.

Next, newspapers came into the mix. A Memphis newspaper printed a front-page story with the title "He's Sex!" and it was reprinted in newspapers all over the South. This, along with increasingly widespread exposure on radio stations, gave Elvis a hot reputation as he and his band began to tour and perform in cities throughout the southern states. Everywhere he performed, newspapers covered his concerts, mostly with rave reviews, further enhancing his popularity.

But it was television that made Elvis a world-famous star. Following his first television appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* early in 1956, when he was still relatively unknown outside the South, CBS was flooded with phone calls and letters from aroused adolescent fans. He appeared several more times on television in 1956, each time to an enormous national audience.

As he became increasingly popular, his critics grew louder and more numerous, calling his performances "lewd" and "obscene." Jackie Gleason, a popular TV performer of the day, sneered, "The kid has no right behaving like a sex maniac on a national show" (Lichter, 1978, p. 22). A newspaper critic was one of many to express concern about the potential effects on young people: "When Presley executes his bumps and grinds, it must be remembered by [CBS] that even the twelve-year-old's

frequently depict Black men as violent, misogynist, and sex-obsessed (Muhammad, 2015; Rudman & Lee, 2002; Watkins, 2006). Hip-hop has also been accused of promoting homophobia, for example, in some of the songs of Eminem, one of the most popular hip-hop performers.

What effect—if any—does listening to hip-hop lyrics with themes of sexism, violence, and racism have on the development of adolescents? Unfortunately, although many academics have speculated about the uses of hip-hop by adolescents, thus far few studies have provided research evidence on the topic. Hip-hop has been found to be most popular among adolescents who have high rates of risk behavior (Miranda & Claes, 2004; Selfhout et al., 2008; Wingood et al., 2003), but this finding shows only correlation, not causation. One study found that hip-hop was the favorite type of music of juvenile offenders (Gardstrom, 1999). However, only 4% of them believed that music contributed to their deviant behavior, whereas 72% believed the lyrics of the songs reflected the grim conditions of their lives.

Two studies that asked adolescent hip-hop fans about their views on the effects of hip-hop in their lives found that many of them perceived positive, life-affirming messages in hip-hop (Mahiri & Conner, 2003; Sullivan, 2003). However, these studies did not report whether adolescents found these messages in violent hip-hop as well as in other types.

From the uses and gratifications perspective, it may be expected that some adolescents—especially Black adolescents in urban America—use hip-hop as an expression of their frustration and rage in the face of the difficult conditions in which they live. Other adolescents may use hip-hop simply as entertainment, and some may find positive messages in some of the songs. Hip-hop has even been used in therapy with adolescents, because its themes help them express feelings of loss, rejection, and abandonment (Ciardiello, 2003;

curiosity may be overstimulated" (Lichter, 1978, p. 34). By the time Elvis appeared on *The Ed Sullivan Show* again in September 1956, CBS executives decided he would be shown only from the waist up, so as not to provoke any unruly sexual impulses among America's youth.

Elvis's first performance on *The Ed Sullivan Show* still ranks as the highest rated television show ever broadcast in the United States, with an astonishing 83% of the television sets in the country tuned in. It is worth noting that the rise of Elvis coincided fortuitously with the rise of TV. In 1950, just 9% of American households owned a television; by the time of Elvis's first TV performance more than half of American households had one, and by 1960 the figure would rise to nearly 90% (Lichter, 1978). Television propelled Elvis into unprecedented national fame. His fame became international as his performances and stories of his performances were distributed in newspapers, radio stations, and television networks all over the world.

Soon Elvis added movies to his media machine. His first film, *Love Me Tender*, was released near the end of 1956. Neither this film nor any of his 32 other films was highly regarded by movie critics, but Elvis's adolescent fans worldwide had a different opinion. They made this film and many of the others huge box office hits. Even in the mid-1960s, after Elvis's musical career had been eclipsed by the Beatles and other new performers, his movies continued to bring in millions of dollars (Lichter, 1978).

These four interacting media contributed substantially to Elvis's fame, but from the beginning the explosion of his fame was driven by the responses of his adolescent fans—their calls to radio stations demanding to hear his songs again and again, the raucous screaming crowds at the concerts covered by newspaper reporters, the rapt and enormous television audiences, and a devoted movie-going audience even for Elvis movies that were (to put it mildly) less than memorable. Although corporate businesspeople have tried hard ever since Elvis to control the highly lucrative business of popular music, the enthusiasms of adolescents have usually proven difficult to predict (Brake, 1985), and ultimately it is adolescents who drive the direction of popular music.

Elvis was wildly popular among adolescents.

Sori, 2008). It is also being used in education, as a way of helping students build language skills and personal expression (Love, 2014).

Controversial Advertising: Cigarettes

12.9 Explain how cigarette advertising aims at the developmental vulnerabilities of adolescents.

Most media used by adolescents contain advertising in some form. Television, of course, has commercials punctuating every program every few minutes. Radio is similar—ads every few minutes, interspersed among the talk and music. Almost all magazines and newspapers have numerous advertisements, and as we have seen this is especially true of the magazines most popular among adolescent girls. Even movies have advertisements in a subtle form called "product placements," which means that companies pay to have their products used by actors in movies.

For many years, the most controversial form of advertising with respect to adolescents was cigarette advertising. Advertising cigarettes on television or radio has been illegal in the United States since 1971, but after that ban took effect cigarette companies simply poured more money into other forms of advertising and promotion, such as billboards, magazines, newspapers, movie product placements, and sponsorship of sporting events and concerts (Cummings, 2002; Morgenstern et al., 2013).

Critics of cigarette advertising claim that it is targeted especially toward adolescents (Biener & Siegel, 2000; Cummings, 2002; Ling & Glantz, 2002; Pollay, 1997, 2006). The tobacco companies claim that their advertising is intended only to persuade adult smokers to switch brands, but critics note that only a small percentage of adults switch brands in a given year, a percentage far too small to justify the tobacco companies' massive advertising budgets. Where the real market lies is among adolescents.

Marlboro is both the most heavily advertised cigarette brand and the brand by far the most popular among adolescents.

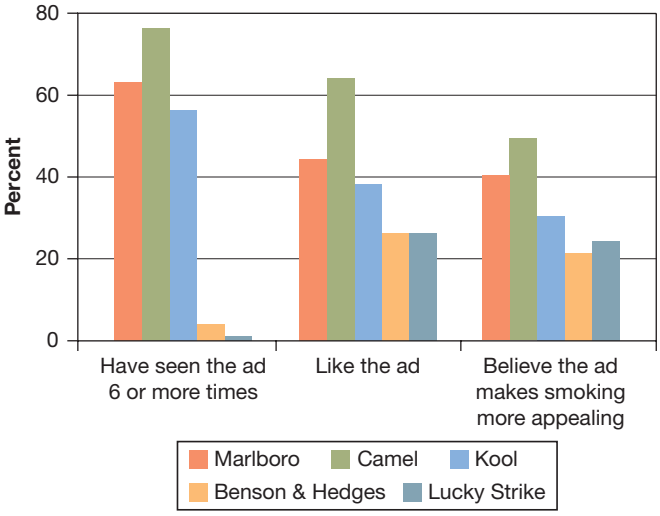
Ninety percent of smokers begin smoking by age 18 (Haas & Schafer, 2014), and brand loyalty is strong once established, which makes adolescents a ripe target for cigarette companies seeking to expand their share of the market. Furthermore, because so few people begin smoking after age 18, critics argue that tobacco companies try to persuade adolescents to smoke so that they will become addicted to nicotine before they are mature enough to realize fully the potential risks of smoking (Romer & Jamieson, 2001; Slovic, 1998). Thus, according to the critics, cigarette companies present images of independence (the Marlboro Man), youthful fun and vigor (Newport, Kool), and acceptance from peers (Camel, Kool) to appeal to adolescents (Rhodes et al., 2009).

Several studies have established a relationship between cigarette advertising campaigns and adolescent smoking. Pollay and colleagues (1996) traced tobacco companies' advertising expenditures in relation to rates of smoking among adolescents (ages 12 to 18) and adults over the period 1979 to 1993. They concluded that the effect of advertising on brand choice was *three times as strong* for adolescents as for adults. The "Joe Camel" campaign provides an example of this effect. Between 1988, when the "Joe" character was introduced, and 1993, Camel's market share among 12- to 17-year-olds rose from less than 1% to 13%, and the proportion of adolescents who smoke increased. Under criticism, RJR Nabisco canceled the Joe Camel ad campaign in 1998.

Pierce and his colleagues (1994) examined trends in smoking initiation from 1944 to 1988. They found that for girls ages 14 to 17, a sharp rise in smoking initiation coincided with the introduction of three brands targeted at females—Virginia Slims, Silva Thins, and Eve—between 1967 and 1973. No such increase occurred during this period for girls ages 18 to 20 or 10 to 13, or for males. The ad campaigns were evidently particularly effective among—and targeted to?—adolescent girls in the age range when smoking initiation is most likely to take place, ages 14 to 17.

Figure 12.3 Adolescents' responses to cigarette ads.

SOURCE: Arnett & Terhanian (1998).



Also, in a study I published with a colleague (Arnett & Terhanian, 1998), adolescents were shown ads for five different brands of cigarettes (Camel, Marlboro, Lucky Strike, Benson & Hedges, and Kool) and asked various questions about their responses. The ads for Camel and Marlboro were the ads the adolescents had seen the most, the ads they liked the best, and the ads they were most likely to see as making smoking appealing (Figure 12.3). In a number of respects, smokers' responses to the ads were more favorable than the responses of nonsmokers. For all brands, smokers were significantly more likely to indicate that they liked the ad. For the Camel and Marlboro ads (but not for the other brands), smokers were more likely than nonsmokers to indicate that the ad made smoking more appealing. A second study yielded similar results (Arnett, 2001b).

Of course, findings of a relationship between the appeal of cigarette advertisements and rates of adolescent smoking or brand preferences do not prove that the cigarette companies *intended* to appeal to adolescents. However, in lawsuits against the tobacco companies, the companies have been forced to release literally tons of internal documents, many of which provide stark evidence that for decades these companies have discussed the psychological characteristics of adolescents and have been acutely aware of the importance of adolescents as the perpetually new market for cigarettes (Cummings, 2002; Ling & Glantz, 2002). The documents contain such statements as "Today's teenager is tomorrow's potential regular customer," "The base of our business is the high school student," and "Realistically, if our Company is to survive and prosper over the long term, we must

get our share of the youth market" (Pollay, 1997). This evidence has strengthened the claim that tobacco companies have directly attempted to market their cigarettes to adolescents.

In the past two decades, as a consequence of lawsuits and government policies, tobacco advertising in developed countries has decreased dramatically and cigarette smoking among young people has also declined (Johnston et al., 2014). Anti–tobacco advertising has also proven to be effective in decreasing the likelihood that adolescents will begin smoking (Terry-McElrath, 2007; Rhodes et al., 2009). However, recently the tobacco companies have increased their online advertising (Richardson et al., 2013), especially for electronic cigarettes, for which health effects are still uncertain. Also, the tobacco companies are now targeting developing countries, where youth smoking is increasing as wealth increases (Ho et al., 2007; Kostova & Blecher, 2013).

THINKING CRITICALLY

Given the research showing that cigarette advertisements appeal strongly to adolescents and make smoking more appealing to them, do you believe there should be a total ban on cigarette advertising (except perhaps in adult-only magazines)? Or would you defend the tobacco companies' right to advertise on the grounds of "freedom of speech"?

The Future of Media Use

Most of the media we have discussed so far have been around for a long time in one form or another. Even television has been around for over half a century. However, new media forms have appeared in recent years. In fact, the newest media forms have become so important in the lives of today's adolescents and emerging adults that Jane Brown, a prominent scholar in media research, calls them the "new media generation."

> They are the first cohort to have grown up learning their ABCs on a keyboard in front of a computer screen, playing games in virtual environments rather than their backyards or neighborhood streets, making friends with people they have never and may never meet through Internet chat rooms, and creating custom CDs for themselves and their friends. This new media environment is dramatically different from the one in which their parents grew up because it is more accessible, more interactive and more under their control than any other ever known before. (Brown, 2006, p. 279)

In this section, we will consider uses of the new social media that have become most important in the lives of young people. We will also look at how media are driving the process of globalization, especially in the lives of adolescents.

Watch MEDIA TECHNOLOGY AND ADOLESCENTS' RELATIONSHIPS

Social Media

12.10 Identify the main uses of social media among adolescents and emerging adults.

As described at the outset of this chapter, a majority of American adolescents use a variety of social media (Lenhart, 2015). Facebook has become an international phenomenon, with more than a billion users worldwide, but rates of use are still highest among the young (Barnett & Benefield, 2015; Hofstra, Corten, & van Tubergen, 2016). Although Facebook remains the most-used social media format among adolescents and emerging adults, its dominance is being challenged by Instagram, Snapchat, Twitter, and other new forms.

Adolescents and emerging adults use social media mainly to keep in touch with old friends and current friends and make new ones (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2008). This function is especially important in emerging adulthood because emerging adults frequently change educational settings, jobs, and residences (Arnett, 2015). Social media allow them to keep in contact with the friends they leave behind as they move through emerging adulthood and to make new friends in each new place.

How does social media use influence adolescent development? As we have seen in this chapter, it is an old tradition to blame media for a wide range of social problems, especially new media, and social media are no exception. Fears have been expressed that social media will, ironically, make us less social, less connected to each other in the old-fashioned, face-to-face way (Turkle, 2011). However, so far these fears do not appear to be

Social networking websites such as Facebook are popular among adolescents and emerging adults.

valid in the lives of adolescents. According to a national survey of American adolescents (ages 13–17) by Common Sense Media (2012), social media have mostly positive effects on adolescents' social lives. As shown in Figure 12.4, adolescents say that using social media makes them feel more confident and outgoing, and less shy. Over half (52%) say using social media has helped their friendships; only 4% say it has hurt. A majority of adolescents report that social media use allows them to communicate with friends they do not see regularly, to get to know other students at their school better, and to connect with people with whom they share a common interest. This is not to say that using new media has nothing but positive effects. In the Common Sense Media (2012) survey, nearly half (43%) of adolescents said they wish they could "unplug" sometimes, and a similar proportion (45%) said they get frustrated with friends for texting or social networking when they are out together.

THINKING CRITICALLY

How do you use social media in your life? Does it mainly enhance your relationships or undermine them?

Media and Globalization

12.11 Summarize the evidence that media play a leading role in the globalization of adolescence.

There are interesting similarities and differences in the media uses of adolescents across cultures. Some of the similarities reflect the globalization of adolescence. All over the world, on every continent, adolescents are increasingly familiar with the same television shows, the same movies, and the same musical recordings and performers (Brown et al., 2014; Fuligni & Tsai, 2015; Rathee, 2014). For example, in a study of adolescents in urban Tanzania, the adolescents used their digital devices to access their Facebook pages, where they exchanged comments, links, and other posts about American and European (as well as local) music and movies (Pfeiffer et al., 2014). Adolescents and emerging adults with access to the Internet can use it to make contacts with young people in other parts of the world, although there is also a "digital divide" between countries, with adolescents in developed countries being much more likely than those in developing countries to have Internet access (James, 2010).

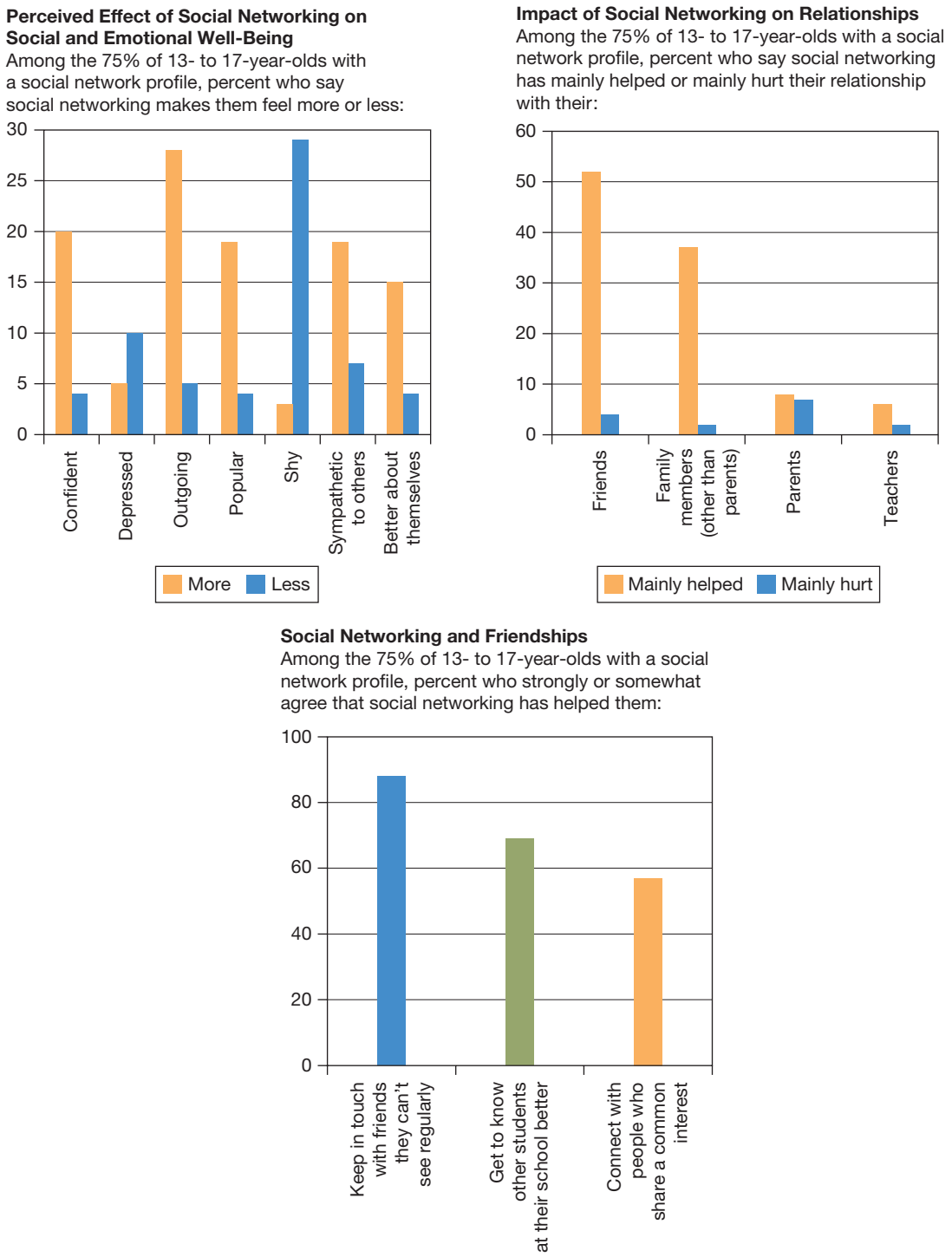
Adolescents are not the only ones who enjoy Western—especially American—media. However, Western media tend to be especially appealing to adolescents for several reasons. First, in developing countries around the world, social and economic change has been extremely rapid in the past 50 years. Today's adolescents often have parents and grandparents who grew up in a time when their country had less economic and technological contact with the West, so that these adults are more familiar with and more attached to their native traditions, such as their indigenous musical forms and songs. In contrast, the adolescents have grown up with Western media, which compete for their attention even if they also learn the songs and arts of their own culture. Second, adolescents are more capable than younger children of exploring the environment outside of the family, so they are better able than younger children to obtain media products that their parents would not have provided for them. Third, adolescence is a time when young people are forming an identity, a sense of themselves and their place in the world. When social and economic change is rapid and they sense that the world of their future is going to be different from the world that has been familiar to their parents and grandparents, they look outside the family for information and instruction on the world they will inhabit and how they might find a place in it (see the Cultural Focus box for an example).

Several ethnographies of adolescence provide examples of the role of the media in promoting globalization in the lives of adolescents. Among the Moroccan adolescents studied by Davis and Davis (1989, 1995, 2007, 2012), this influence is especially notable with respect to gender roles. In the past, Moroccan culture, like many traditional cultures, had strictly defined gender roles. Marriages were arranged by parents and were made on the basis of practical family considerations rather than romantic love. Female (but not male) virginity at marriage was considered essential, and adolescent girls were forbidden to spend time in the company of adolescent boys.

social networking websites

Internet websites such as Facebook that allow users a forum for identity presentation and for making and maintaining social contacts.

Figure 12.4 Social Media and Adolescents' Relationships



These gender differences and the narrower socialization for girls continue to be part of Moroccan culture today, particularly in rural areas, and they are reflected in different standards for adolescent boys and girls with respect to their access to media (Davis & Davis, 2007). Adolescent boys attend movies frequently (in Davis and Davis's [1995] data, 80% attended movies occasionally or more), whereas for adolescent girls, attendance at movies—*any* movie—is considered shameful (only 20% had *ever* been to see a movie in a theater). Adolescent boys are also allowed freer access to recorded music. However, for both adolescent boys and adolescent girls, their exposure to television, music, and (for boys) movies is changing the way they think about gender relations and gender roles. The TV programs, songs, and movies they are exposed to are produced not only in Morocco

Media are a potent and pervasive force in globalization. Here, a young Muslim woman in Malaysia.

and other Islamic countries but also include many from France (Morocco was once a French colony) and the United States.

From these various sources, Moroccan adolescents are seeing portrayals of gender roles quite different from what they see among their parents, grandparents, and other adults around them. In the media the adolescents use, romance and passion are central to male–female relationships. Love is the central basis for entering marriage, and the idea of accepting a marriage arranged by parents is either ignored or portrayed as something to be resisted. Young women are usually portrayed not in traditional roles but in professional occupations and as being in control of their lives and unashamed of their sexuality.

Young people are using all this new information to construct a conception of gender roles quite different from the traditional conceptions in their culture. Altogether it amounts to an influence toward globalization and toward the broad socialization of the West, as media are "used by adolescents in a period of rapid social change to reimagine many aspects of their lives, including a desire for more autonomy, for more variety in heterosexual interactions, and for more choice of a job and of a mate" (Davis & Davis, 1995, p. 578). Here we see an example of socialization from the media going "over the heads" of parents and other adult socializers, as discussed earlier in the chapter.

Another example of media and globalization comes from Richard Condon's (1988, 1995) study of the Inuit (Eskimos) of the Canadian Arctic. Condon's ethnography is of particular interest with respect to media because he first observed Inuit adolescents in 1978, just before television first became available (in 1980), and he subsequently returned there for further observations several times during the 1980s. Between his first visit and his subsequent visits he observed striking changes in adolescents' behavior with respect to romantic relationships and competition in sports. Condon and many of the Inuit he interviewed attributed the changes to the introduction of television.

With respect to sports, before TV arrived Inuit adolescents rarely played sports, and when they did, they were reluctant to appear that they were trying hard to win and establish superior skills over other players because of Inuit cultural traditions that discourage competition and encourage cooperation. All of this changed after the introduction of television. Baseball, football, and hockey games quickly became the most popular TV programs, especially among adolescents, and participation in these sports (especially hockey) became a central part of the recreational activities of adolescent boys, with adolescent girls often coming to watch. Furthermore, adolescent boys became intensely competitive in the games they played, no longer shy about trying hard to win and talking loudly about their superior talent when they did win—clearly emulating the players they watched on TV. It is rare to see such an unambiguous example of the *effects* of media on adolescents.

The other area in which the influence of television was observed by Condon was male–female relationships. Before the introduction of television, adolescents' dating and sexual behavior was furtive and secretive. Couples rarely displayed affection for one another in public; in fact, couples rarely even acknowledged any special relationship when they were around others. Condon described one adolescent boy whom he had known closely for a year before the boy confided that he had a girlfriend he had been dating for the past 4 years—and even then, the boy refused to reveal her name!

However, all this changed after a couple of years of exposure to TV. Teenage couples were frequently seen together in public, holding hands or hugging. At community dances, young couples no longer ignored each other, staying at opposite ends of the dance hall, but sat together as couples and danced as couples. When Condon inquired

about the reason for the change, many of the adolescents told him they thought it was due to the introduction of television. *Happy Days*, a program about American teens in the 1950s, was a particular favorite.

A study of adolescent girls in Fiji was also able to observe them before and after the introduction of television (Becker, 2004). The study found positive effects: The girls indicated their explicit imitation of the perceived positive attributes of television characters. However, there were also negative effects. Specifically, from observing the slim Western women on TV, girls became preoccupied with their weight and body shape, and there was a disturbing increase in purging behavior to control weight. The girls also began to perceive the slimmest among them as having the highest status.

Does all of this mean that, eventually, Western (especially American) media will obliterate all the other media of the world and establish a homogeneous global culture dominated by the United States? It is difficult to say. In some countries, locally produced media are having difficulty competing with the popularity of American media. However, what seems to be happening in most places, at least so far, is that local media are coexisting with American media. Young people watch American television

Cultural Focus

"TEENAGERS" IN KATHMANDU, NEPAL

Few places in the world have been more remote and more isolated from the West historically than Nepal, which is located between southwest China and northeast India. Not only is Nepal thousands of miles from the nearest Western country, but until 1951 the government made a special effort to isolate its citizens, banning all communications (travel, trade, books, movies, etc.) between Nepal and "the outside." Since then, Nepal, and especially its largest city, Kathmandu, has been undergoing a rapid transition into the world of global trade, Western tourism, and electronic mass media. Ethnographic research by the anthropologist Mark Liechty (1995, 2003, 2006) provides a vivid look at how adolescents and emerging adults in Kathmandu are responding to Western media, and at how media are a potent force toward globalization.

According to Liechty and his colleagues, a variety of imported media are highly popular with young people in Kathmandu. Movies and videos from both India and the United States find a broad audience of young people. American and Indian television shows are also popular, and televisions are a standard feature of middle-class homes. There is an avid audience among the young for Western music, including rock, heavy metal, and rap. Sometimes young people combine local culture with imported Western styles; Liechty gives the example of a local rock band that had recorded an original Nepali-language album in the style of the Beatles. However, many urban young people reject older traditions such as Nepali folk songs.

A locally produced magazine called *Teens* embodies the appeal of Western media to young people in Kathmandu. In addition to features such as comic strips, Nepali folk tales, puzzles, and games, each issue contains pages of profiles devoted to Western pop music heroes, including biographical data and lyrics to popular songs. Each issue also includes a list of the top 10 English-language albums of the month and a list of recent English movie releases. A substantial proportion of the magazine is devoted to fashion, much as in American teen magazines, and the fashions shown are Western.

Nepalese people use the terms *teen* and *teenager* in English, even when speaking Nepali, to refer to young people who are oriented toward Western tastes, especially Western media. Not all Nepalese young people are "teenagers," even if they are in their teen years—the term is not an age category but a social category that refers to young people who are pursuing a Western identity and style based on what they have learned through media. To many young people in Kathmandu, being a "teenager" is something they covet and strive for. They associate it with leisure, affluence, and expanded opportunities. However, many adults use *teenager* with less favorable connotations to refer to young people who are disobedient, antisocial, and potentially violent. Their use of the term in this way reflects their view that Western media have had corrupting effects on many of their young people.

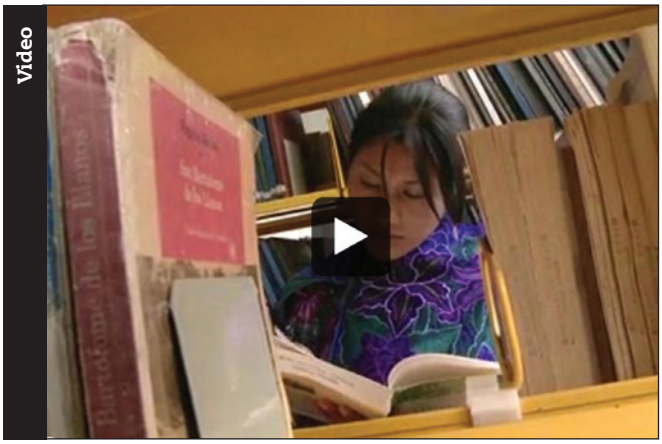
Even to "teenagers" themselves, the availability of Western media is a mixed blessing. They enjoy it, and it provides them with information about the wider world beyond the borders of Nepal. Many of them use media to help them make sense of their own lives, growing up as they are in a rapidly changing society, and as material for imagining a broad range of possible selves. They say it is through global media that they "learn to be modern" (Liechty, 2006). However, Western media also tend to disconnect them from their own culture and from their cultural traditions, leaving many of them confused and alienated. The media ideals of Western life raise their expectations for their own lives to unattainable levels, and they eventually collide with the incompatibility between their expectations and their real lives. As 21-year-old Ramesh told Liechty:

> You know, now I know sooooo much [from films, books, and magazines about the West]. Being a frog in a pond isn't a bad life, but being a frog in an ocean is like hell. Look at this. Out here in Kathmandu there is nothing. We have nothing (1995, p. 187).

shows, but they also view shows in their own language produced in their own country, and perhaps shows from other countries as well. They go to American movies, but they also attend movies that are locally produced. They listen to American and British music, but also to the music of their own culture and their own artistic traditions. As we discussed in Chapter 6, globalization appears to promote a bicultural identity, with one rooted in the local culture and one attached to the global culture (Arnett, 2002a; Fuligni & Tsai, 2015), and this appears to be true for media use as in other areas.

In some places, new blends of music are resulting from increasing globalization. For example, in Britain, immigrant musicians from India have developed a musical style dubbed "Indipop," a combination of traditional Indian musical forms and instruments with British and American popular music forms and technology. Whether creative and original new forms will continue to develop from globalization or whether globalization will lead to a relentless homogenization into one global media culture will be substantially determined by what appeals most to the adolescents and emerging adults of the world.

Watch MEDIA USE IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD ACROSS CULTURES



Summing Up

12.1 Summarize patterns of media use among adolescents in developed countries.

Nearly 9 in 10 American adolescents have access to a digital device, which they use many times a day for text messaging and for using social media such as Facebook and Instagram. "Traditional media" such as television and recorded music are also used for 2 to 3 hours each, so that adolescents' total media use is about 8 hours a day. Rates in other developed countries are similar.

12.2 Identify the major theories of media use, and describe the Media Practice Model.

Cultivation Theory proposes that television cultivates attitudes and beliefs among users. Mean World Syndrome is an aspect of Cultivation Theory, proposing that people who consume violent media come to see the world as more dangerous and threatening. Social Learning Theory asserts that people are likely to imitate behavior they see performed by a model who is rewarded, including behavior depicted in media. The uses and gratifications approach depicts young people as active media users rather than as the passive recipients of media stimulation. This approach recognizes that young people vary in the media choices they make and in their responses to the same media experience. The Media Practice Model applies this approach to adolescents.

12.3 Identify the five major types of media use, and explain why they are especially prominent in adolescence.

Uses of media among young people include entertainment, identity formation, high sensation, coping, and youth culture identification. Identity development is often a prominent part of adolescence and emerging adulthood. Sensation seeking tends to be higher in adolescence and emerging adulthood than earlier or later. Emotions are often stronger in adolescence than in other life stages, which makes media more valuable for coping with emotions. Participation in youth culture takes place primarily in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

12.4 Describe the role of media in adolescent socialization, including whether media tend toward broad or narrow socialization.

Media are a new source of socialization in the lives of children and adolescents, arising mainly in the past century. In a society where media content is relatively unrestricted, media tend toward broad socialization, because media content is diverse and people can select the content that is best suited to their needs, wants, and personalities. Unlike other socialization sources, the main objective of media is profit, not the teaching of how to function successfully as a member of a society.

12.5 Explain the ways media undermine other sources of socialization.

Media undermine other socialization sources because they are driven mainly by profit, not by the goal of teaching a cultural way of life to the next generation (as is the case for other socialization sources). Media content can contradict the efforts of other socialization sources, such as parents and schools, by promoting self-gratification rather than impulse control. Sometimes media function as a "super peer," providing (like peers) information on topics that adolescents feel they cannot receive from parents. However, media often reinforce cultural socialization messages about what is morally acceptable.

12.6 Summarize research on the relation between violent television content and aggressiveness in adolescence.

Although hundreds of studies have been conducted on television and aggression, mostly on children, the evidence that television is a motivator of aggressive behavior in adolescents is mixed. Correlational studies show a relation between watching violent television and children's aggression, but this does not account for self-selection of media content, and in any case the relation is not as strong for adolescents as it is for children. Field studies have yielded mixed results. The strongest results showing causation are from the natural experiment in Canada involving three towns with different levels of television access, the so-called "Notel" study, but the effects were shown for children, not adolescents.

12.7 Describe the uses of violent electronic games by adolescent boys.

Electronic games have also been said to promote aggressive behavior, but this effect has not been persuasively demonstrated. As with television, most studies are correlational and do not show causation. Also, most experimental studies do not account for whether the adolescents or emerging adults in the experiment actually play electronic games outside the lab. In the rare studies that ask adolescent boys how they are affected by the games, they say they enjoy the fantasy role-play and the social aspect, and that the games have a cathartic effect on their anger.

12.8 Describe and evaluate the claims that hip-hop instigates aggressive behavior.

Criticisms of hip-hop target themes of sexual exploitation of women, violence, racism, and homophobia. Hip-hop is very diverse, and unfortunately the few studies on the responses of adolescents who like the music do not distinguish between violent hip-hop and other forms.

12.9 Explain how cigarette advertising aims at the developmental vulnerabilities of adolescents.

Cigarette advertising often exploits adolescents' needs for independence and for acceptance by peers. Studies find that cigarette advertisements for Marlboro, Camel, and Newport are highly attractive to adolescents, especially adolescent smokers, and that these brands are also the ones adolescents are most likely to smoke. Internal tobacco company documents provide evidence that tobacco companies have explicitly sought to appeal to adolescents. In recent years tobacco advertising in developed countries has been restricted, and the focus of the advertising has switched to online ads for e-cigarettes and to developing countries.

12.10 Identify the main uses of social media among adolescents and emerging adults.

Adolescents use social media mostly to keep in touch with friends and find new friends. Although fears have been expressed that social media will isolate people and damage their social relations, adolescents report that use of social media strengthens their friendships and makes them feel more confident. However, many of them find it difficult to regulate their social media use and keep it from becoming too much.

12.11 Summarize the evidence that media play a leading role in the globalization of adolescence.

Media content for adolescents is increasingly global, meaning that adolescents worldwide have access to some of the same content. Western media are most dominant, because young people in developing countries are growing up in a rapidly changing economy much different than their parents knew, and are attracted to media they believe contains information about the world they will inhabit as adults. Although media are a powerful force in the globalization of adolescence, in most traditional cultures young people use local media as well as Western media.

Key Terms

Cultivation Theory, p. 363
Mean World Syndrome, p. 363
Social Learning Theory, p. 363
uses and gratifications approach, p. 364
Media Practice Model, p. 364
sensation seeking, p. 366
super peer, p. 369
field studies, p. 370
cathartic effect, p. 373
social networking websites, p. 378

Chapter 13

Problems and Resilience

Learning Objectives

13.1 Distinguish between internalizing and externalizing problems.

13.2 Summarize the overall pattern of crash risk in relation to age, and identify the factors that promote risky driving in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

13.3 Describe the features of graduated driver licensing programs, and evaluate their effectiveness.

13.4 Summarize the variations in adolescent substance use in the United States, Canada, and Europe, and explain the relation between substance use and unstructured socializing in emerging adulthood.

13.5 Identify the different types of substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood and the outcomes of attempts to prevent substance use.

13.6 Explain the reasons for the age–crime relationship.

13.7 Identify the two types of delinquency in Moffitt's theory and their different origins.

13.8 Evaluate the success of programs to prevent delinquency, and explain why some have been more successful than others.

13.9 Summarize the ways that sources of socialization and individual factors contribute to externalizing problems.

13.10 Identify the main types and causes of depression in adolescence.

13.11 Explain the benefits and risks of antidepressant medications, and evaluate the effectiveness of cognitive behavior therapy.

13.12 Describe the most important risk factors for suicide in adolescence.

13.13 Explain the causes of eating disorders and the differences between anorexia nervosa and bulimia.

13.14 Evaluate the effectiveness of the main treatments for eating disorders.

13.15 Identify the protective factors associated with resilience.

13.16 Explain why emerging adulthood may be a critical period for the expression of resilience.

You do not have to look far to find evidence of young people's problems in most societies. Your local newspaper is likely to provide plenty of examples on a daily basis. A typical story appeared recently in my local newspaper. Four young men ages 17 to 22 were killed when the driver, a 17-year-old boy, lost control of his car while rounding a curve. The car veered off the road and slammed into a telephone pole. The driver and his three passengers died at the scene after being thrown from the car. None of them had been wearing seat belts, and the car had been traveling an estimated 75 miles per hour in a 40-mile-per-hour zone. "Speed was definitely a factor," said the police officer who was called to the scene. "They could have had seat belts on. This crash was so horrific there was no chance of survival."

TERRIBLE STORIES LIKE THIS ARE PROBABLY familiar to you, and you may have noticed that these stories frequently involve young people in their teens and early 20s. Scholars sometimes complain that such stories promote stereotypes about young people, especially the stereotype that adolescence is inherently a time of "storm and stress" and that adolescents are disproportionately the cause of social problems such as crime. To the extent that such a stereotype exists, applying it to all adolescents and emerging adults would be unfair. In examining many aspects of development in the various chapters of this text, we have seen that the teens and early 20s are years of many changes, some of them profound and dramatic. However, for most young people these changes are manageable, and they develop through adolescence and emerging adulthood without suffering any serious or enduring problems.

Nevertheless, the teens and 20s remain the period of life when various problems are *more likely* to occur than at other times. Most adolescents and emerging adults do not develop serious problems, but the risk of a wide range of problems is higher for them than it is for children or adults. These problems range from automobile accidents to criminal behavior to eating disorders to depressed mood. We will explore all of these problems in this chapter.

Before we examine specific problems, you will be introduced to some of the ideas that provide a context for understanding the problems.

Externalizing Problems

Some of the problems that adolescents and emerging adults experience are obvious to others because they are represented in behavior that disrupts and sometimes endangers the lives of others, whereas other problems may be concealed or at least less noticeable to others. Both types of problems will be investigated in this chapter, but first we start with a way to understand the distinction between them.

Two Types of Problems

13.1 Distinguish between internalizing and externalizing problems.

Scholars studying young people's problems often make a distinction between *internalizing problems* and *externalizing problems* (Beauchaine & Hinshaw, 2015; Ollendick, Shortt, & Sander, 2008). **Internalizing problems** are problems that primarily affect a person's internal world. These include problems such as depression, anxiety, and eating disorders. Internalizing problems tend to go together. For example, adolescents who have an eating disorder are more likely than other adolescents to be depressed. Adolescents who are depressed are more likely than other adolescents to have an anxiety disorder. Young people who have internalizing problems are sometimes called **overcontrolled** (Frick & Kimonis, 2008; Van Leeuwen et al., 2004). They tend to come from families in which parents exercise tight psychological control (Barber, 2002). As a result, their own

internalizing problems
Problems such as depression and anxiety that affect a person's internal world, for example: depression, anxiety, and eating disorders.

overcontrolled
Personality characterized by inhibition, anxiety, and self-punishment, sometimes ascribed to adolescents who have internalizing problems.

personalities are often overly controlled and self-punishing. Internalizing problems are more common among females than among males (Ollendick et al., 2008).

Externalizing problems create difficulties in a person's external world. Types of externalizing problems include delinquency, fighting, substance use, risky driving, and unprotected sex. Like internalizing problems, externalizing problems tend to go together (Beauchaine & Hinshaw, 2015). For example, adolescents who fight are more likely than other adolescents to commit crimes; adolescents who have unprotected sex are more likely than other adolescents to use substances such as alcohol and marijuana. Young people with externalizing problems are sometimes called **undercontrolled** (Van Leeuwen et al., 2004). They tend to come from families where parental monitoring and control is lacking (Thompson et al., 2011). As a result, they tend to lack self-control themselves, which then leads to their externalizing problems. These problems are more common among males than among females (Bongers et al., 2004; Frick & Kimonis, 2008). Note that scholars have used various terms in studying externalizing problems, including **risk behavior** and **problem behavior**.

Another key difference between internalizing and externalizing problems is that young people with internalizing problems usually experience distress, whereas young people with externalizing problems often do not (Maggs, 1999). The majority of young people in Western societies take part in externalizing behaviors from time to time (Frick & Kimonis, 2008). Although externalizing behaviors may be a manifestation of problems with family, friends, or school, many young people who take part in externalizing behaviors have no such problems. Externalizing behaviors are often motivated not by underlying unhappiness or psychopathology but by the desire for excitement and intense experiences (Arnett, 1992; Zuckerman, 2015) and can also be one way of having fun with friends (Maggs, 1999). Externalizing behaviors are almost always viewed as problems by adults, but young people themselves may not share this view.

The distinction between internalizing and externalizing problems is useful, but it should not be taken to be absolute. In general, the problems within each category occur together, but some young people have both kinds of problems. For example, delinquent adolescents are sometimes depressed as well (Beyers & Loeber, 2003; Loeber et al., 1998), and depressed adolescents sometimes abuse drugs and alcohol (Saluja, Iachan, & Scheidt, 2004). Some studies have found that adolescents with both externalizing and internalizing problems have had especially difficult family backgrounds (Moylan et al., 2010).

In this chapter, we will examine externalizing problems first, then internalizing problems. We will start with the externalizing problem that is the greatest threat to life and health among adolescents and emerging adults: risky driving.

Risky Automobile Driving

13.2 Summarize the overall pattern of crash risk in relation to age, and identify the factors that promote risky driving in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

"I love to drive fast, but after awhile driving fast just wasn't doing it any more. So I started driving without the lights on [at night], going about ninety on country roads. I even got a friend to do it. We'd go cruising down country roads, turn off the lights, and just fly. It was incredible. We'd go as fast as we could, [and] at night, with no lights it feels like you're just flying."

—NICK, AGE 23 (ARNETT, 1996, P. 79)

Across developed countries, the number one source of mortality in adolescence and emerging adulthood is automobile driving (Graham & Gootman, 2008). As Figure 13.1 shows, in the United States young people aged 16 to 24 have the highest rates of automobile accidents, injuries, and fatalities of any age group (National Highway Traffic Safety Administration [NHTSA], 2016). In other Western countries, a higher minimum driving age (usually 18) and less access to automobiles have made rates of accidents and fatalities among young people substantially lower than in the United States. Nevertheless, motor vehicle injuries are the leading cause of death during adolescence and emerging adulthood in those countries as well (Pan et al., 2007; Twisk & Stacey, 2007).

What is responsible for these grim statistics? Is it young drivers' inexperience or their risky driving behavior? Inexperience certainly plays a large role. Rates of accidents and fatalities are especially high in the early months

externalizing problems
Problems that affect a person's external world, such as delinquency and fighting.

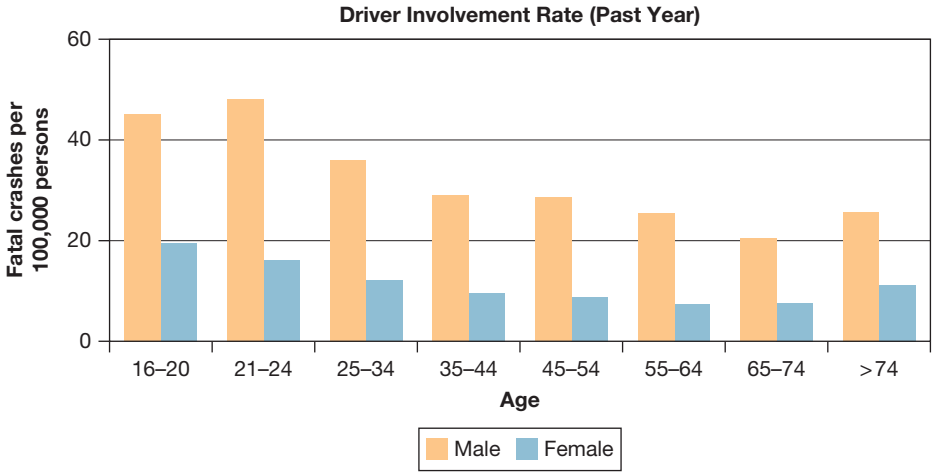
undercontrolled
Personality characterized by a lack of self-control, sometimes ascribed to adolescents who have externalizing problems.

risk behavior
Problems that involve the risk of negative outcomes, such as risky driving and substance use.

problem behavior
Behavior that young people engage in that is viewed by adults as a source of problems, such as unprotected premarital sex and substance use.

Figure 13.1 Driver crash involvement rates per 100,000 drivers by age and gender.

SOURCE: NHTSA (2016).



of driving but fall dramatically by one year after licensure (Graham & Gootman, 2008). Studies that have attempted to disentangle experience and age in young drivers have generally concluded that inexperience is partly responsible for young drivers' accidents and fatalities.

However, these studies and others have also concluded that inexperience is not the only factor involved. After all, the fatality rate is higher for emerging adults ages 21 to 24, most of whom have been driving for at least five years, than for 16- to 20-year-olds, as you can see in Figure 13.1 (NHTSA, 2016). Even more important than inexperience is the way young people drive and the kinds of risks they take. Compared to older drivers, young drivers (especially males) are more likely to drive at excessive speeds, follow other vehicles too closely, violate traffic signs and signals, take more risks in lane changing and passing other vehicles, allow too little time to merge, and fail to yield to pedestrians (Bina et al., 2006; Williams & Ferguson, 2002). They are also more likely than older drivers to report driving under the influence of alcohol. Drivers ages 21 to 24 involved in fatal accidents are more likely to have been intoxicated at the time of the accident than persons in any other age group (NHTSA, 2016). Young people are also less likely than older drivers to wear seat belts, and in serious car crashes, persons not wearing seat belts are twice as likely to be killed and three times as likely to be injured, compared with those wearing seat belts (NHTSA, 2016).

In addition to inexperience and specific driving behaviors, a variety of other factors are involved in young drivers' crash risks. Parental involvement and monitoring of adolescents' driving behavior has been shown to be especially important in the early months of driving, and interventions to increase parental involvement have been shown to be effective (Simons-Morton, 2007; Simons-Morton, Hartos, & Leaf, 2002; Simons-Morton, Hartos, Leaf, & Preusser, 2006). Friends' influence has been found to promote risky driving. Young drivers are more likely than older drivers to believe their friends would approve of risky driving behavior such as speeding, closely following another vehicle, and passing another car in risky circumstances (Ouimet et al., 2015; U.S. Department of Transportation, 1995).

Driver characteristics matter, too. Personality characteristics such as sensation seeking and aggressiveness promote risky driving and subsequent crashes, and these characteristics tend to be highest in young male drivers (Cestac et al., 2011). The optimistic bias leads people to believe that they are less likely than others to be in a crash, and this bias is especially strong in younger drivers (Mayhew & Simpson, 2002; Rhodes & Pivic, 2011). Driver characteristics and the driving environment interact with the socialization environment to result in driving behavior that leads to crashes, and seat belt use plays a large part in determining whether a crash results in injuries or fatalities.

Preventing Automobile Accidents and Fatalities: Graduated Driver Licensing

13.3 Describe the features of graduated driver licensing programs, and evaluate their effectiveness.

What can be done to reduce the rates of automobile accidents and fatalities among young drivers? The two approaches that have been tried most often in the United States are

Young drivers tend to take more risks than older drivers, with sometimes fatal consequences.

driver education, which generally has not worked very well, and a program of restricted driving privileges called **graduated driver licensing (GDL)**, which has been much more effective.

On the face of it, driver education would seem promising as a way to improve adolescents' driving practices. It seems logical that if beginning drivers were taught by professional educators, they would become more proficient more quickly and therefore be safer drivers. However, studies that have compared adolescents who have taken driver education courses to adolescents who have not have found that crash involvement tends to be as high or *higher* for the adolescents who have taken driver education (Hirsch, 2003; Mayhew, 2007; Petzoldt et al., 2013). Driver education programs generally fail to teach the knowledge and skills necessary for safe driving, in part because the adolescents who take the courses have little interest in learning those skills—what they want is to get their license and drive. Furthermore, when driver education is available, adolescents tend to obtain their licenses more quickly than when it is not. The increased risk of crash involvement as a result of obtaining an earlier license is stronger than any decreased risk that might result from taking driver education. Also, driver education makes young drivers more confident in their driving skills, which enhances the optimistic bias and leads them to be less cautious and take more risks.

An alternative approach, one favored strongly by most scholars on adolescent driving, is graduated driver licensing (GDL). GDL is a program in which young people obtain driving privileges gradually, contingent on a safe driving record, rather than all at once. GDL programs address a variety of risk factors. The goal is to allow young people to obtain driving experience gradually, under conditions that limit the likelihood of crashes by restricting the circumstances under which novices can drive (Foss, 2007; Williams & Ferguson, 2002).

GDL programs typically include three stages (Governors Highway Safety Association, 2016; Shope, 2007). *Learning license* is the stage in which the young person undergoes a period of obtaining driving experience under the supervision of an experienced driver. For example, the GDL program in California requires young people to complete learning license training of 50 hours under the supervision of a parent, 10 of which must be at night.

The second stage is a period of *restricted license* driving. In this stage adolescents are allowed to drive unsupervised, but with tighter restrictions than those that apply to adults. The restrictions are based on research revealing the factors that are most likely to place young drivers at risk for crashes (Foss, 2007). One of the most effective restrictions has been found to be **driving curfews**, which prohibit young drivers from driving late at night except for a specific purpose such as going to and from work. This restriction has been found to reduce young people's crash involvement dramatically (Fell et al., 2011; McKnight & Peck, 2002). Also highly effective in reducing crashes is a prohibition against driving with teenage passengers when no adults are present (Fell et al., 2011).

Other restrictions include requirements for seat belt use and a "zero tolerance" rule for alcohol use, which means that young drivers are in violation if they drive with any alcohol at all in their blood. In the restricted license stage, any violations of these restrictions may result in a suspended license. It is only after the restricted license period has passed—-usually no more than 1 year—that a young person obtains a *full license* and has the same driving privileges as adults.

Numerous studies in the past decade have shown the effectiveness of GDL programs (Shope, 2007; Vanlaar et al., 2009; Zhu Cummings, Zhao, Coben, & Smith, 2015). One analysis of 21 studies concluded that GDL programs consistently reduce young drivers' crash risk by 20 to 40% (Shope, 2007). Fatal crashes among 16-year-old drivers in the United States decreased by more than 50% in the past 20 years, and this improvement is attributed mainly to GDL programs (Ferguson et al., 2007; NHTSA, 2016). Legislators in many states have responded to this evidence by passing more of these programs. Nearly all (48) American states now have some kind of GDL program, a dramatic rise over the past 20 years (Governors Highway Safety Association, 2016). In response to the research showing the success of the American program, GDL programs are being adopted all over the world (Bates, Allen, Armstrong, Watson, King, & Davey, 2014).

driver education

Programs designed to teach young drivers safe driving skills before they receive their driver's license.

graduated driver licensing (GDL)

A program that allows young people restricted driving privileges when they first receive their license, gradually increasing the privileges if the restrictions are not violated.

driving curfews

In graduated licensing programs, a feature of the restricted license stage in which young drivers are prohibited from driving late at night except for a specific purpose such as going back and forth to work.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Are you in favor of a GDL program where you live? If so, what provisions would you include? Are such programs unfair to young people who drive safely and nevertheless have their driving privileges restricted?

Substance Use

13.4 Summarize the variations in adolescent substance use in the United States, Canada, and Europe, and explain the relation between substance use and unstructured socializing in emerging adulthood.

Another common form of risk behavior in adolescence and emerging adulthood is the use of alcohol and other drugs. Scholars often use the term **substance use** to refer to this topic, with "substances" including alcohol, cigarettes, and illegal drugs such as marijuana, LSD, Ecstasy, and cocaine.

Rates of substance use vary across Western countries. A study by the World Health Organization (WHO) investigated rates of using alcohol, cigarettes, and marijuana among 15 year-olds in 42 Western countries (WHO, 2016). A summary of the results is shown in Figures 13.2, 13.3, and 13.4. As you can see, rates of substance use depended on the substance. For example, American and Canadian adolescents were relatively high in marijuana use but relatively low in alcohol use and cigarette smoking.

The higher European rates of alcohol use are partly attributable to the lower legal drinking age in European countries, which is 18 or younger, compared to 21 in the United States, but even more important are the cultural differences in how alcohol use is viewed. Alcohol use among adolescents and emerging adults in the United States is not strongly prohibited—the penalties for underage drinking are light and rarely enforced—but it is discouraged, and many high schools and colleges have programs to prevent alcohol use. In contrast, Europeans are less ambivalent about alcohol use, and drinking is an accepted part of social occasions for both young people and adults. This cultural difference is due partly to the conservative religious strain in American society, but also to the fact that in the United States the combination of alcohol use and driving is a greater problem. Because American adolescents usually begin driving at age 16 and most have regular access to a car, driving while intoxicated is more of a problem among adolescents and emerging adults in the United States than in Europe. Strict European laws also discourage driving while intoxicated, whereas in the United States the laws are more lenient and are less likely to be enforced.

Rates of cigarette smoking are lower among adolescents in the United States and Canada than in Europe, most likely because the governments in these two countries have waged large-scale public health campaigns against smoking, whereas European countries have not. Cigarette smoking among young people is of particular concern because in the long run it is the source of more illness and mortality than all illegal drugs combined and

substance use

Use of substances that have cognitive and mood-altering effects, including alcohol, cigarettes, and illegal drugs such as marijuana, LSD, and cocaine.

Figure 13.2 Alcohol use among 15-year-olds, weekly.

SOURCE: WHO (2016).

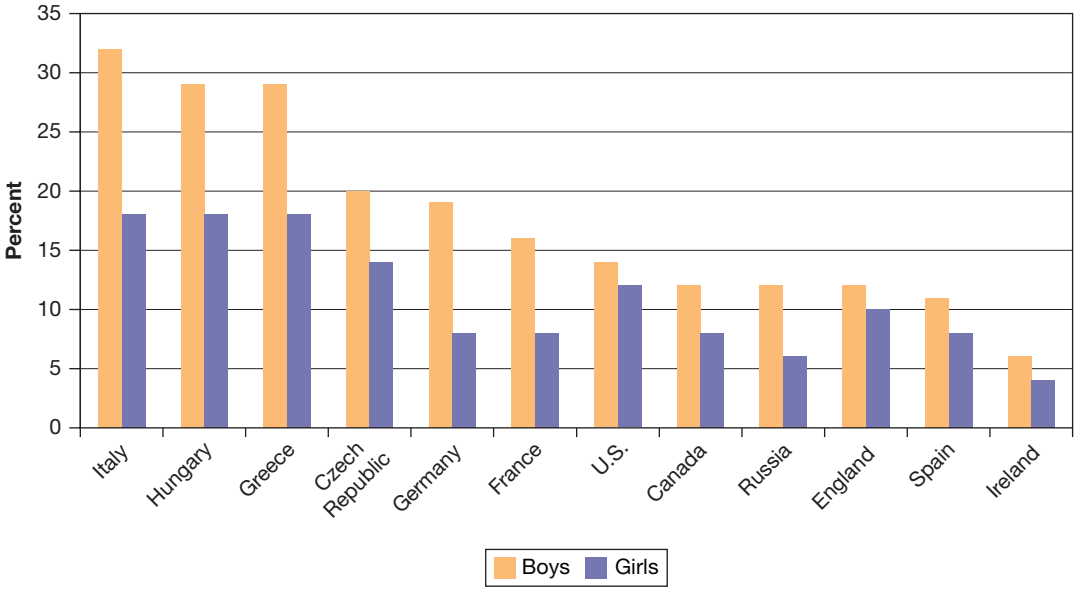


Figure 13.3 Cigarette smoking among 15-year-olds, at least once a week.

SOURCE: WHO (2016).

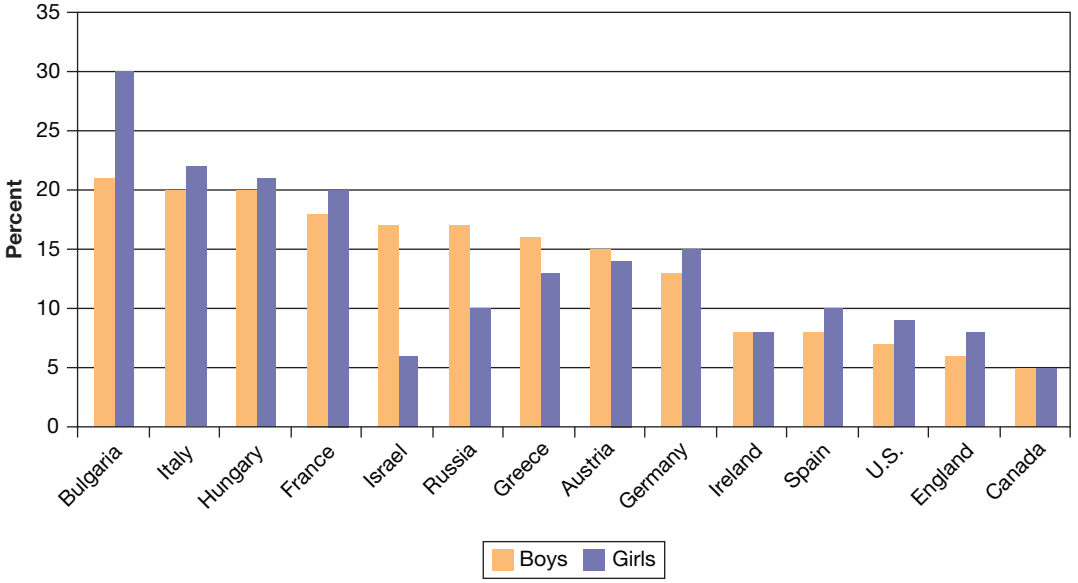
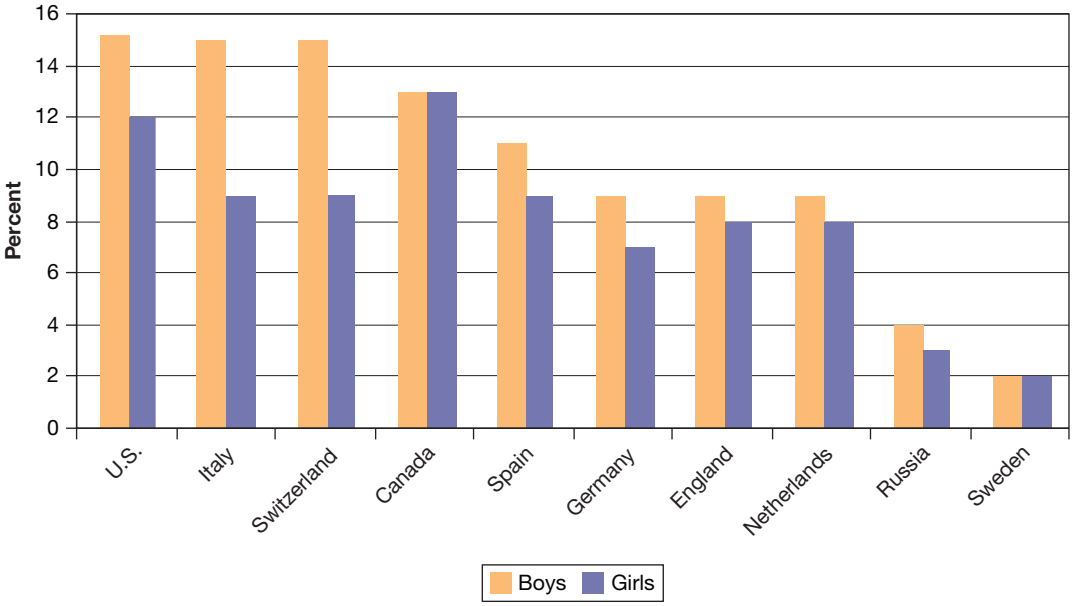


Figure 13.4 Marijuana use among 15-year-olds, past 30 days.

SOURCE: WHO (2016).



because the majority of persons who smoke begin in their early teens (Brown et al., 2014). As for the higher rates of marijuana use among adolescents in the United States and Canada, the reasons for this difference are not clear.

Within the United States, substantial cultural/ethnic differences exist in rates of risk behavior. As noted, Whites and Latinos have higher rates of substance use in adolescence than African Americans or Asian Americans (Shih et al., 2010).

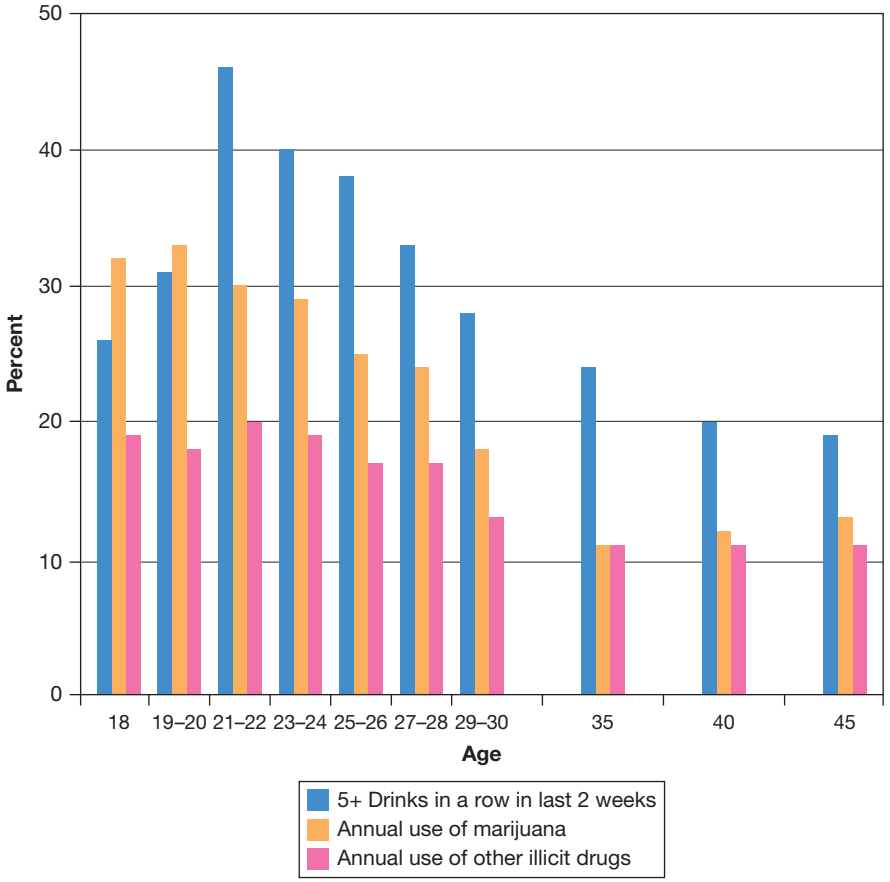
Research on American adolescents shows that substance use rates rise past age 15, through the end of high school. According to national Monitoring the Future (MTF) data, in 2015, 35% of American high school seniors used alcohol and 21% reported **binge drinking**—consuming

binge drinking

Consuming a large number of alcoholic drinks in one episode, usually defined as drinking five or more alcoholic drinks in a row.

Figure 13.5 Substance abuse by age.

SOURCE: Johnston et al. (2008).



five or more alcoholic drinks in a row—at least once in the past month. Cigarette use (at least once in the past 30 days) was reported by 11% of high school seniors in 2015. Rates of marijuana use were slightly higher: 21% of high school seniors reported using marijuana in the past month in the 2015 MTF survey.

Other than alcohol, cigarettes, and marijuana, substance use is uncommon among American adolescents. A small proportion of adolescents experiment with other substances. For example, according to the MTF survey, in 2015, 11% of high school seniors had tried amphetamines, 6% had tried inhalants (e.g., glue, gasoline), 6% had tried hallucinogens (e.g., LSD), 6% had tried sedatives, 4% had tried cocaine, and 6% had tried Ecstasy. However, frequent use of these substances was rare. None of them had been used by more than 3% of high school seniors in the past 30 days.

The peak of substance use actually comes not in adolescence but in emerging adulthood. The MTF studies have followed up several cohorts after high school through their 20s, and now provide excellent data on substance use in emerging adulthood as well. These data show that substance use of all kinds continues to rise through the late teens and peaks in the early 20s before declining in the late 20s. Figure 13.5 shows the pattern from ages 18 through 45 (Johnston et al., 2008).

Some evidence shows that substance use is also high among emerging adults in other Western countries. A study of Spanish adults reported that among 18- to 24-year-olds, rates of binge drinking in the past 30 days were 31% for men and 18% for women, far higher than in any other age group (Valencia-Martín et al., 2007). A peak in binge drinking in emerging adulthood has been found in other European countries as well (Kuntsche, Rehm, & Gmel, 2004). Among female college students in Scotland, most regarded binge drinking as "harmless fun" (Guise & Gill, 2007).

What explains the higher rates of substance use among emerging adults? Wayne Osgood proposed a useful answer to this question. Osgood (Osgood, Anderson, & Schaffer, 2005; Osgood et al., 1996) borrowed from a sociological theory that explains all deviance on the basis of *propensity* and *opportunity* (see Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). People behave deviantly when they have a combination of sufficient propensity (that is, motivation for behaving deviantly) along with sufficient opportunity. In

his explanation, Osgood especially focuses on the high degree of opportunity that emerging adults have for engaging in substance use and other deviant behavior, as a result of spending a high proportion of their time together.

Osgood uses the term **unstructured socializing** to include behavior such as riding around in a car for fun, going to parties, going shopping, and going out with friends. Using MTF data, he shows that unstructured socializing is highest in the late teens and early 20s, and that within this age period, emerging adults who are highest in unstructured socializing are also highest in the use of alcohol and marijuana (Osgood et al., 1996, 2005). Rates of most types of substance use are especially high among emerging adults who are college students because they have so many opportunities for unstructured socializing. Substance use declines in the mid- to late 20s because role transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and full-time work cause a sharp decline in unstructured socializing (Johnson et al., 2008).

How do the current rates of substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood compare with previous decades? Because the MTF studies of high school seniors (12th grade) go back to 1975, there are excellent data on this question for American adolescents over four decades (Johnston et al., 2017). Rates of most types of substance use (past month) declined from 1975 to 2015. Cigarette smoking declined the most dramatically, from 37% in 1975 to 11%. **Binge drinking** (five or more drinks in a row) declined nearly as much, from 38% to 21%. Marijuana use declined as well, from 27% to 21% in 2015. Use of amphetamines declined from 9% to 3%. During this period, an increasing proportion of young people defined themselves as "straight-edge," meaning that they abstain from all substance use (Advocat & Lindsay, 2015; Kalb & McCormick, 1998). The reasons for this shift away from substance use are not clear, but it is likely that an intensive government-funded public campaign against teenage substance use during this period contributed to the decline.

Substance Use Prevention

13.5 Identify the different types of substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood and the outcomes of attempts to prevent substance use.

Young people use substances for a variety of purposes, which can be classified as experimental, social, medicinal, and addictive (Weiner, 1992). Young people who take part in **experimental substance use** try a substance once or perhaps a few times out of curiosity and then do not use it again. A substantial proportion of substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood is experimental. "To see what it was like" has been found to be the most common motivation given by young people when asked why they used an illicit drug (Sargent et al., 2010). The personality trait of sensation seeking peaks in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Zuckerman, 2015), and sensation seeking can be a motivation for experimenting with substances (Leeman et al., 2014).

Social substance use involves the use of substances during social activities with one or more friends. Parties and nightclubs are common settings for social substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood. Nearly all substance use among young people takes place as part of a group activity (Tyler & Johnson, 2006).

Medicinal substance use is undertaken to relieve an unpleasant emotional state such as sadness, anxiety, stress, or loneliness (Goldstein et al., 2009; Woodward & Fergusson, 2001). Using substances for these purposes has been described as a kind of **self-medication** (Wilens et al., 2007). Young people who use substances for this purpose tend to use them more frequently than those whose purposes are mainly social or experimental. Frequent substance users are three times as likely as other adolescents to be depressed, which suggests the role of self-medication as a motivation (Goldstein et al., 2009; Saluja et al., 2004).

Finally, **addictive substance use** takes place when a person has come to depend on regular use of substances to feel good physically or psychologically (Shramm-Sapyta et al.,

unstructured socializing
The term for young people spending time together with no specific event as the center of their activity.

experimental substance use
Trying a substance once or perhaps a few times out of curiosity.

social substance use
The use of substances in the course of social activities with one or more friends.

medicinal substance use
Substance use undertaken for the purpose of relieving an unpleasant emotional state such as sadness, anxiety, stress, or loneliness.

self-medication
The use of substances for relieving unpleasant states such as sadness or stress.

addictive substance use
Pattern of substance use in which a person has come to depend on regular use of substances to feel good physically or psychologically.

2009). Addictive substance users experience **withdrawal symptoms** such as high anxiety and tremors when they stop taking the substance to which they are addicted. Addictive substance use involves the most regular and frequent substance use of the four categories described here.

All substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood is considered "problem behavior" in the sense that it is something that adults generally view as a problem if young people engage in it. However, the four categories described here indicate that young people may use substances in different ways, with different implications for their development. Research has found that young people who engage in experimental or social substance use are healthier psychologically compared with adolescents who are frequent substance users (the "medicinal" and "addictive" users; Andrews & Westling, 2015; Windle et al., 2005). Frequent substance users are also more likely than other adolescents to have problems in school, to be withdrawn from peers, to have problems in their relationships with their parents, and to engage in delinquent behavior (Garner et al., 2014; Welty et al., 2016).

Efforts to prevent or reduce substance use among young people have generally been delivered through schools (Stephens et al., 2009). For example, one program implemented in seven European countries consisted of 12 one-hour sessions delivered by teachers, focusing on peer influences and emphasizing social skills for turning down substance use offers (Malmberg et al., 2014). It was successful in reducing later substance use for boys but not for girls.

Other successful programs have focused on family functioning, addressing family problems that may be motivating adolescents' substance use (Austin, Mcgowan, & Wagner, 2005) or teaching parents how to enhance skills such as **parental monitoring**, the extent to which parents know where their adolescents are and what they are doing at any given time (Kristjansson et al., 2010; Mason et al., 2003). For example, in one study, high-risk seventh-grade adolescents and their families were videotaped at home and in a laboratory task assessing parental monitoring. Parents were then given instructions on how to improve their monitoring skills and provided with additional feedback at annual follow-ups for 4 years (Dishion et al., 2003). Adolescents in the intervention group reported lower rates of substance use 4 years later than adolescents in the control group, and their parents reported higher levels of monitoring than control group parents did. Other successful programs have combined a variety of strategies and have been implemented not only in school but also through families, peers, and neighborhoods as well (Horn et al., 2005; Swenson et al., 2005). We will discuss these programs in more detail later. The most successful programs also start young, in early adolescence, and continue on a yearly basis through high school (Kristjansson et al., 2010; Stockwell et al., 2004).

Delinquency and Crime

13.6 Explain the reasons for the age–crime relationship.

Because criminal acts are so disruptive to societies, and because crime became increasingly pervasive with the development of modern cities, crime is one of the oldest and most intensively studied topics in the social sciences. When violations of the law are committed by persons defined by the legal system as **juveniles**, these violations are considered acts of **delinquency**. Legal systems in most countries define juveniles as persons younger than 18 years of age.

> "I would that there were no age between ten and three-and-twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest; for there is nothing in between but getting wenches with child, wronging the ancientry, stealing, fighting. . . ."
>
> —WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, 1610, *THE WINTER'S TALE*, ACT III, SCENE 3

In more than 150 years of research on crime, one finding stands out prominently: The great majority of crimes are committed by young men between the ages of 12 and 25 (Craig & Piquero, 2015; Pinker, 2011). In the West, this finding is remarkably consistent over a period of greater than 150 years. Figure 13.6 shows the age–crime relationship at two points, one in the 1840s and one in a relatively recent year. At any point before, after, or in between these times, in most countries, the pattern would look similar (Craig & Piquero, 2015; Pinker, 2011; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Adolescent and emerging adult males are not only more likely than children or adults to commit crimes but also more likely to be the victims of crimes (Pinker, 2011).

withdrawal symptoms
States such as high anxiety and tremors experienced by persons who stop taking the substance to which they are addicted.

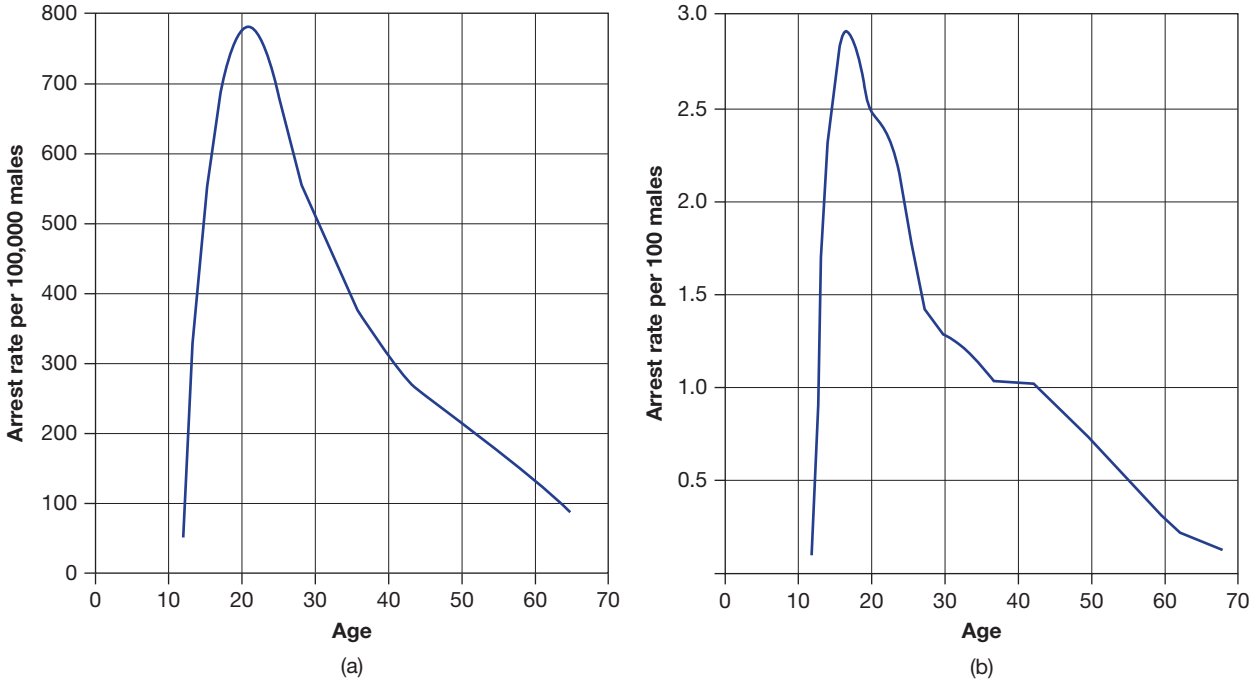
parental monitoring
The degree to which parents keep track of where their adolescents are and what they are doing.

juveniles
Persons defined by the legal system as being younger than adult status.

delinquency
Violations of the law committed by juveniles.

Figure 13.6 Age and crime for males in (a) 1842 and (b) 1977.

SOURCE: Gottfredson & Hirschi (1990), p. 125.



Although young men ages 12 to 25 have committed most of the crimes in every historical period of the past two centuries, there have also been quite substantial historical fluctuations in the rates of crimes. Of particular interest is that crime rates rose sharply from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s, before declining steadily from the mid- to late 1990s to the present (Pinker, 2011). The reasons for these changes are not clear.

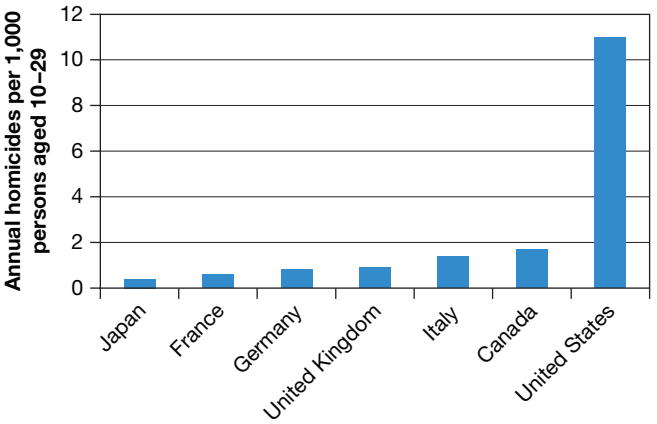
What explains the strong and consistent relationship between age and crime? One theory suggests that the key to explaining the age–crime relationship is that adolescents and emerging adults combine increased independence from parents and other adult authorities with increased time with peers and increased orientation toward peers (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). A consistent finding of research on crime is that crimes committed by young men in their teens and early 20s usually take place in a group, much more so than among adult offenders (Dishion & Dodge, 2005). Crime is an activity that in some adolescent cliques is encouraged and admired (Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999). Notice the similarity here to the idea of unstructured socializing, just discussed, as a source of substance use.

Of course, as we noted in Chapter 8, peers and friends can influence each other in a variety of ways, including toward conformity to adult standards, not just toward deviance and norm-breaking. However, adolescence and emerging adulthood appear to be the times of life when peer groups that value and reinforce norm-breaking are most likely to form (Dishion & Dodge, 2005; Gifford-Smith et al., 2005). In their search for excitement and sensation-seeking adventure, young men in these peer groups may engage in activities that violate the law. Their motives are rarely economic; even when their activities involve theft, the thefts tend to be for small amounts. When they reach their mid-20s, these antisocial peer groups break up as emerging adults enter the various roles of young adulthood, and participation in crime subsequently declines (Piquero & Moffitt, 2014; Sampson & Laub, 1994).

With regard to both delinquency and crime, rates are substantially higher in the United States than in other developed countries for a wide variety of offenses, but especially for violent crimes (Pinker, 2011). As shown in Figure 13.7, among adolescents and emerging adults

Figure 13.7 Rates of homicide among persons aged 10–29, selected developed countries.

SOURCE: World Health Organization (2015).



(ages 10–29), the homicide rate in the United States is 7 to 25 times as high as in other developed countries (WHO, 2015). High rates of violent crime in the United States appear to be due in part to higher rates of poverty. In poor urban areas of the United States, homicide rates among the young are appallingly high; homicide is the leading cause of death among young Blacks and Latinos (Baffour, 2007).

Another important reason for the high homicide rate among young people in the United States is the easy availability of firearms. Because of the widespread availability of firearms in American society—an estimated 200 million—what might be a fistfight between young men in London or Tokyo easily becomes murder in Chicago or Washington, D.C.

African American and Latino adolescents are considerably more likely than White adolescents to be arrested for not only homicide but other serious crimes (Craig & Piquero, 2015). However, the higher crime rates among Blacks and Latinos are more a reflection of social class than of ethnicity or culture. Growing up in a family that has a low SES is associated with a greater likelihood of delinquency for adolescents of all ethnic backgrounds, but African American and Latino adolescents are more likely than White adolescents to come from a low-SES family. In addition, African American adolescents are more likely than White adolescents to be arrested for similar crimes and tend to receive more severe penalties if found guilty (Ariel & Tankebe, 2016).

Two Kinds of Delinquency

13.7 Identify the two types of delinquency in Moffitt's theory and their different origins.

Breaking laws of various kinds is quite common in the teens and early 20s, especially for males. Most surveys find that more than three-fourths of adolescents commit at least one criminal act some time before the age of 20 (Moffitt, 2003; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). However, there are obvious differences between committing one or two acts of minor crime—vandalism or drinking alcohol under the legal age, for example—and committing crimes frequently over a long period, including more serious crimes such as rape and assault. It has been found that 10% of young people commit over two-thirds of all offenses (Pinker, 2011). What are the differences between adolescents who commit an occasional minor violation of the law and adolescents who are at risk for more serious, long-term criminal behavior?

Terrie Moffitt (1993, 2003, 2007; Piquero & Moffitt, 2014) proposed a provocative theory in which she distinguishes between "adolescence-limited" delinquency and "life-course-persistent" delinquency. In Moffitt's view, these are two distinct types of delinquency, each with different motivations and different sources. However, the two types may be hard to distinguish from one another in adolescence, when criminal offenses are more common than in childhood or adulthood. The way to tell them apart, according to Moffitt, is to look at behavior before adolescence.

Life-course-persistent delinquents (LCPDs) show a pattern of problems from birth onward. Moffitt believes their problems originate in neuropsychological deficits that are evident in a difficult temperament in infancy and a high likelihood of attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and learning disabilities in childhood. Children with these problems are also more likely than other children to grow up in a high-risk environment (e.g., low-income family, single parent), with parents who have a variety of problems of their own. Consequently, their neurological deficits tend to be made worse rather than better by their environments. When they reach adolescence, children with the combination of neurological deficits and a high-risk environment are highly prone to engage in criminal activity. Furthermore, they tend to continue their criminal activity long after adolescence has ended, well into adulthood.

Adolescence-limited delinquents (ALDs) follow a much different pattern. They show no signs of problems

Life-course-persistent delinquents have problems from an early age.

life-course-persistent delinquents (LCPDs)
In Moffitt's theory, adolescents who show a history of related problems both prior to and following adolescence.

adolescence-limited delinquents (ALDs)
In Moffitt's theory, delinquents who engage in criminal acts in adolescence and/or emerging adulthood but show no evidence of problems before or after these periods.

in infancy or childhood, and few of them engage in any criminal activity after their mid-20s. It is just during adolescence—actually, adolescence and emerging adulthood, from about age 12 to about age 25—that they have a period of occasional criminal activity, breaking the law with behavior such as vandalism, theft, and use of illegal drugs.

Moffitt's theory is supported by her research on young people in New Zealand (Moffitt, 2003, 2007; Moffitt & Caspi, 2001, 2005; Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington, & Milne, 2002; Moffitt, Caspi, Michael, & Phil, 2002). Known as the Dunedin longitudinal study, it began when the participants were in infancy and has followed them through age 26 (so far). The results show that, as predicted by the theory, LCPDs exhibited problems of neurological functioning, temperament, and behavior from an early age, whereas ALDs did not. In emerging adulthood, LCPDs continued to have difficulties such as mental health problems, financial problems, work problems, substance use, and criminal behavior. The risk behavior of ALDs mostly diminished by age 26, although they continued to have more substance use and financial problems than emerging adults who did not engage in delinquent behavior in adolescence. Other studies have also generally supported the theory (Piquero & Moffitt, 2014).

THINKING CRITICALLY

LCPDs' problems have deep roots in early development, but what explains delinquency among ALDs?

Cultural Focus

THE YOUNG MEN OF CHUUK ISLAND

Externalizing problems such as fighting, stealing, and substance use are far more common among males than among females, everywhere in the world and in every era of the historical record. The reasons for this may be partly biological, but they are also clearly connected to gender role socialization. In a wide range of cultures, what we have been calling "externalizing problems" are in fact part of the requirements for demonstrating an adolescent male's readiness for manhood (Gilmore, 1990).

One vivid example of this interaction between externalizing problems and manhood requirements can be found among the people of Chuuk Island, an island that is part of a string of small islands in the South Pacific known as Micronesia. The culture of Chuuk Island was vividly described by the anthropologist Mac Marshall (1979) and summarized by David Gilmore (1990) and Francis Hezel (2001). Their accounts provide an excellent demonstration not only of the importance of gender role socialization in the externalizing behavior of young males but also of the effect of globalization on young people even in cultures in the remotest parts of the world.

The globalization of the Chuuk culture goes back more than a hundred years. Even long before that, the Chuuk were known far and wide as fierce warriors who fought frequently among themselves and made short work of any Western sailors unlucky enough to drift nearby. However, in the late 1800s, German colonists arrived and took control of the islands and of the Chuuk people. They stamped out local warfare, introduced Christianity, and also brought in alcohol, which soon became widely and excessively used by young men. After World War II, the Americans replaced the Germans on Chuuk Island and introduced television, baseball, and other features of Western life. The island became part of independent Micronesia in 1986.

Much has changed on Chuuk Island during the century of Western influence, but the emphasis on strictly defined gender roles remains strong (Hezel, 2001). When they reach puberty, girls learn the traditional female role of cooking, sewing, and performing other household duties. Meanwhile, boys are expected to demonstrate their manhood principally in three ways: fighting, drinking large quantities of alcohol, and taking daredevil risks.

Fighting among young Chuuk men is a group activity. It takes place in the context of rivalries between clans (extended family networks). Young men fight not just for their own prestige but also for the honor and prestige of their clan. On weekend evenings, they roam the streets in clan groups looking for other groups to challenge and taking part in brawls when they find them.

Drinking alcohol is also part of the weekend group activities of young males. By the time they are 13, getting drunk with their clan pals is a regular part of weekend evenings for adolescent boys. The drinking contributes to the fighting because it diminishes any trepidation a boy might have over becoming injured. Also, on weekend days, groups of young men sometimes take risky trips in motorboats. They take long trips with limited fuel, a small motor, and nothing for sustenance except beer, risking the open sea to demonstrate their bravery and thereby prove their readiness for manhood.

Although nearly all Chuuk males in their teens and 20s engage in these activities, their externalizing escapades are limited to the weekends, and they rarely drink or fight during the week. In fact, Marshall's (1979) book on them is titled *Weekend Warriors*. Also, when they reach about age 30, the expectations for manhood change. At that point, they are expected to marry and settle down. They rarely fight after reaching that age, and most stop drinking alcohol entirely. The externalizing behavior of males in adolescence and emerging adulthood is not viewed as a social problem, but, rather as an accepted behavior during a limited period of their lives, when their culture demands it as part of fulfilling the expectations for becoming a man.

Participation in delinquency is common during adolescence, especially for boys.

Preventing Crime and Delinquency

13.8 Evaluate the success of programs to prevent delinquency, and explain why some have been more successful than others.

The seriousness of crime as a social problem has drawn a great deal of attention to preventing young people from committing crimes and trying to rehabilitate young offenders so that they will not commit further crimes. For most young people, as we have discussed, criminal acts are limited to adolescence and emerging adulthood, and once they grow beyond their early 20s, they no longer have any inclination to commit such acts. The real focus of concern is the life-course-persistent offenders, who have problems from early childhood onward, become chronic delinquents in adolescence, and are at high risk for a life of continued crime in adulthood.

Prevention programs to help children who show signs of being headed for trouble in adolescence or to help adolescents who have become involved in serious delinquency are enormously varied. They include individual therapy, group therapy, vocational training, "Outward Bound" kinds of programs that involve group activities in the outdoors, "Scared Straight" programs that take young offenders into a prison to show them the grim conditions of prison life, and many, many others. Unfortunately, few of these types of programs have worked very well (Dishion & Dodge, 2005; Greenwood, 2006). The overall record of delinquency prevention and intervention programs is frustratingly poor, despite the best intentions of the many dedicated and highly skilled people who have undertaken them. Some interventions have even been found to increase delinquency because they bring together high-risk adolescents who then form a delinquent clique, a phenomenon known as **peer contagion** (Dishion & Dodge, 2005; Dishion et al., 1999, 2006; Piehler, 2016).

Two problems seem to be at the heart of the failure of these programs. One is that delinquents rarely welcome the opportunity to participate in them (Heilbrun et al., 2005; Stone, 1993). Typically, they are required to participate in the programs against their will, often because the legal system commands them to participate or face incarceration. They do not see themselves as having a problem that needs to be "cured," and their resistance makes progress extremely difficult.

A second problem is that prevention programs typically take place in adolescence, after a pattern of delinquency has already been clearly established, rather than earlier in childhood when signs of problems first appear (Moffitt, 2007). This is due partly to the limited resources for addressing these problems. The money tends to go to where the problems are most obvious and serious—current offenders rather than possible future offenders. Furthermore, the problems of children frequently originate at least partly in the family, and in Western societies, especially in the United States, the state has limited authority to intervene in family life until a clear and serious problem is established.

Nevertheless, some programs do show definite success. One successful approach has been to intervene at several levels, including the home, the school, and the neighborhood. This is known as the **multisystemic approach** (Borduin

Watch A SUCCESSFUL CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM

peer contagion
Term for the increase in delinquent behavior that often takes place as an unintended consequence of bringing adolescents with problems together for an intervention, because in the intervention setting they reinforce each other's delinquent tendencies and find new partners for delinquent acts.

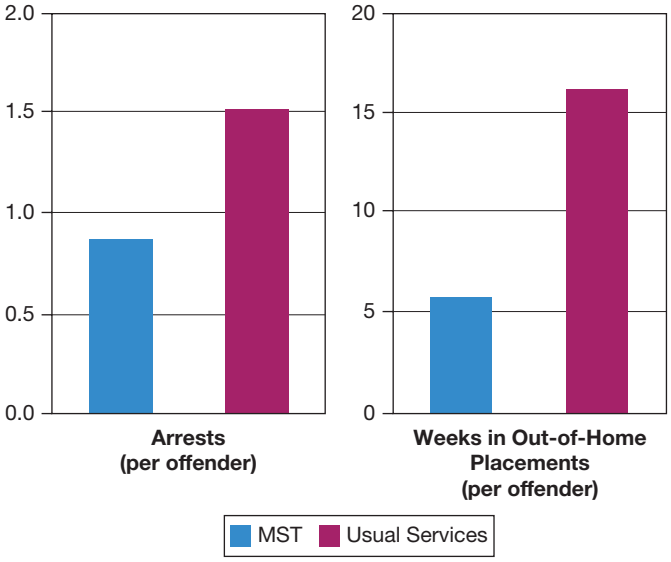
multisystemic approach
Delinquency prevention strategy that addresses risk factors at several levels, including the home, the school, and the neighborhood.

et al., 2003; Butler et al., 2011; Henggler et al., 2007; Wagner Borduin, Sawyer, & Dopp, 2014). Programs based on this approach include parent training, job training and vocational counseling, and the development of neighborhood institutions such as youth centers and athletic leagues. The goal is to direct the energy of delinquents into more socially constructive directions.

The multisystemic approach has now been adopted by youth agencies in a number of states, including South Carolina, Tennessee, and Washington (Wagner et al., 2014). As Figure 13.8 illustrates, programs using this approach have been shown to be effective in reducing arrests and out-of-home placements among delinquents (Alexander, 2001; Henggler et al., 2007; Ogden & Amlund, 2006). Furthermore, multisystemic programs have been found to be cheaper than other programs, primarily because they reduce the amount of time that delinquent adolescents spend in foster homes and detention centers. It also reduces their future likelihood of going to prison. One study compared at-risk adolescents who had

Figure 13.8 Multisystemic therapy (MST) versus usual juvenile justice services for serious adolescent offenders.

SOURCE: Alexander (2001), p. 42.



Research Focus

THE GLUECKS' LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF DELINQUENCY

Longitudinal studies of crime and delinquency go back far enough into the early part of the 20th century that the boys who originally took part in them have long since become men, and we have information on what became of their lives in adulthood. One of the most influential and informative of these studies was conducted by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, a husband-and-wife team of scholars who followed delinquent and nondelinquent boys in the Boston area from their teens until their early 30s. The study provides rich information on the factors involved in delinquency as well as the implications of delinquency for adult development.

The Gluecks' study began in the early 1940s with 1,000 Boston boys ages 10 to 17, including 500 delinquents and 500 nondelinquents (Glueck & Glueck, 1950). The delinquent boys were residents at correctional schools for delinquents. The nondelinquent boys were recruited from public schools, and they were not randomly selected but were matched case by case with the delinquent boys for age, ethnic group, IQ, and neighborhood socioeconomic status. The Gluecks chose this method because they wanted to be able to show that any differences between the two groups were not the result of these preexisting characteristics. Boys in both groups grew up in family and neighborhood environments that were characterized by poverty and high exposure to delinquency and crime.

The Gluecks' study lasted 18 years, and their research team collected data on the boys at three times: adolescence (ages 10 to 17), emerging adulthood (ages 21 to 28), and young adulthood (ages 28 to 35). At each time, an abundance of information was collected. In adolescence, information was collected from the boys themselves as well as from parents, teachers, social workers, and local police. In the two follow-ups, information was collected from the young men and their families as well as from employers, neighbors, and officials in criminal justice and social welfare agencies. Ninety-two percent of the participants remained in the study through all three times of data collection, an exceptionally high rate across an 18-year period.

An enormous amount of information was collected in the study, and only the outlines of the results can be described here (see Glueck & Glueck, 1950, 1968; Sampson & Laub, 1994). Briefly, the Gluecks found that the key to delinquency lay in an interaction between constitutional factors and family environments. By "constitutional factors" they meant biological predispositions. The constitutional factors they found to be related to delinquency were body type and temperament. Delinquent adolescent boys were more likely than nondelinquents to have a "mesomorphic" body type, that is, a body that was stocky and muscular rather than rounded (endomorphic) or tall and slim (ectomorphic). Also, delinquents were more likely than nondelinquents to have had a difficult temperament as children. That is, their parents more often reported that as infants and children they cried often, were difficult to soothe when upset, and had irregular patterns of eating and sleeping.

With regard to family environment, delinquent boys were more likely to be from families in which one or both parents were neglectful or hostile toward them. Parents' discipline in the families of delinquents tended to be either permissive or inconsistent, alternating periods of neglect with outbursts of punishment. This is now a familiar pattern to scholars, but the Gluecks were among the first to establish systematically the relationship between parenting and outcomes in adolescence.

And how did the boys "turn out" once they reached their 20s and early 30s? For the most part, their behavior in adolescence was highly predictive of their later development. By age 25, the

received multisystemic therapy with similar adolescents who received individual therapy (Wagner et al., 2014). Twenty-five years later, at age 38, the adolescents in the multisystemic group were less than half as likely to have been convicted of a felony.

Sources of Externalizing Problems

13.9 Summarize the ways that sources of socialization and individual factors contribute to externalizing problems.

There are many types of externalizing problems, and the contributors to these problems are varied and complex. A brief summary is presented here, because the details of this research have been presented previously, in this chapter and in earlier chapters.

Socialization Sources:

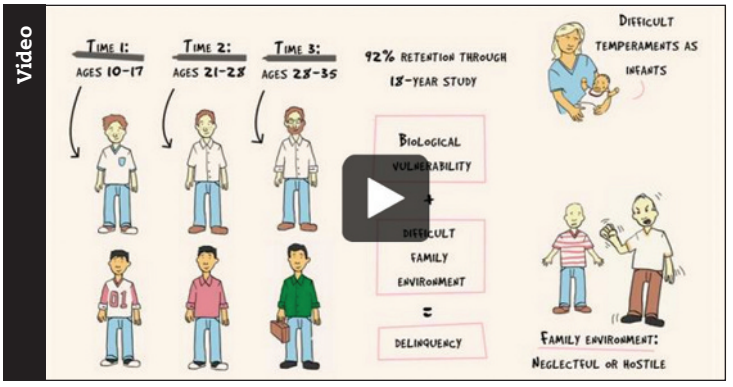
- Family structure: Divorced, single-parent, and stepfamilies (Amato & Anthony, 2014).
- Family process: Conflict between parents or between parents and adolescents; lack of parental monitoring (Piko & Kovacs, 2010).
- Parenting styles: Authoritarian, permissive, or disengaged (Larzelere et al., 2013).
- Friends' influence: Adolescents with a tendency for externalizing problems tend to select each other as friends, but they also encourage and approve externalizing behavior within the friendship group (Dishion et al., 2012).
- School: School climate that is disorderly and lacks of strong sense of cohesiveness (Thapa et al., 2013).
- Neighborhood: Instability (residents come and go), lack of trust (Zimmerman & Messner, 2010).
- Media: Depiction of risky behaviors, rewarded or without negative consequences (Parke, 2014).
- Legal system: Focus on punishment instead of rehabilitation; ethnic discrimination (Baker et al., 2015).
- Cultural beliefs: broad rather than narrow socialization.

500 boys in the delinquent group had been arrested for seven homicides, 100 robberies, 172 burglaries, 225 larcenies, and numerous other offenses (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). These rates were more than five times as high as for the nondelinquent group. However, it was not just crime that was predicted by delinquent status in adolescence. In young adulthood, those who had been adolescent delinquents were four times as likely as nondelinquents to abuse alcohol, seven times as likely to have a pattern of unstable employment, three times as likely to be divorced, and far less likely to have finished high school (Sampson & Laub, 1990).

In sum, delinquent status in adolescence was a strong predictor of a wide range of serious future problems. However, not all of the adolescent delinquents went on to have difficulties in adulthood. For those who did not, job stability and attachment to spouse were the best predictors of staying out of trouble in adulthood (Sampson & Laub, 1990). Income itself was a poor predictor, but job stability made a difference. Similarly, simply getting married was a poor predictor by itself, but a close emotional attachment to a spouse made a positive difference.

The Gluecks' study has been criticized on methodological grounds. The most serious criticism is that the persons collecting data on the boys and their environments were not blind to the boys' status as delinquent or nondelinquent. This means that researchers who interviewed the boys' parents or conducted psychological interviews with the boys knew in advance whether a boy was part of the delinquent or the nondelinquent group. Because the conclusions for much of the study were based on interpretations from interviews rather than questionnaires or objective tests, the interpretations may have been biased by what the researchers knew about the boys in advance. However, the Gluecks' conclusions have stood the test of time quite well, and their study continues to be regarded as a classic of social science research.

Watch THE GLUECKS' LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF DELINQUENCY



Individual Factors:

- Gender: Boys have higher rates than girls for most types of externalizing problems (Beauchaine & Hinshaw, 2015).
- Ethnicity: Rates of most types of externalizing behaviors are lower among ethnic minorities, but in the United States, African American and Hispanic adolescents have higher rates of delinquency than Whites do (Piquero, Schubert, & Brame, 2014).
- Aggressiveness (Dahl, 2008).
- High sensation seeking (Zuckerman, 2015).
- Cognitive deficits (Trumbetta et al., 2010).
- Low impulse control (Peach & Gaultney, 2013).
- Optimistic bias (Harris et al., 2008).

One way to make sense of this complexity of risk factors is to think of the socialization sources as providing a range within which the individual factors may or may not be expressed as externalizing problems. As noted many times in this text, there is a great deal of cultural variation in how strictly or leniently the socialization environment is, from broad to narrow but with many, many variations within each of these categories, across a wide spectrum. We can assume that in all cultures there are adolescents with relatively high tendencies for aggression and sensation seeking, and who have cognitive deficits and low impulse control, yet rates of externalizing problems vary widely across cultures, depending mostly on what the socialization sources, in combination, will allow (Arnett, 2006; Gelfand, 2012).

Internalizing Problems

So far we have been discussing externalizing problems. Now we turn to the class of problems known as internalizing problems. We will focus on two of the most common types of these problems in adolescence and emerging adulthood: depression and eating disorders.

Depression

13.10 Identify the main types and causes of depression in adolescence.

Depression, as a general term, means an enduring period of sadness. However, psychologists make distinctions between different levels of depression. **Depressed mood** is a term for an enduring period of sadness by itself, without any related symptoms. More severe is **major depressive disorder**, which includes the following specific symptoms (American Psychiatric Association, 2013):

1. Depressed or irritable mood for most of the day, nearly every day.
2. Reduced interest or pleasure in all or almost all activities, nearly every day.
3. Significant weight loss or gain, or decrease in appetite.
4. Insomnia or oversleeping.
5. Psychomotor agitation or retardation, observable by others.
6. Low energy or fatigue.
7. Feelings of worthlessness or inappropriate guilt.
8. Diminished ability to think or concentrate.
9. Recurrent thoughts of death, recurrent suicidal thoughts.

For a diagnosis of a major depressive episode, five or more of these symptoms must be present during a 2-week period and must represent a change from previous functioning. At least one of the symptoms must be depressed mood or reduced interest/pleasure.

Depressed mood is the most common kind of internalizing problem in adolescence. Compared to children or adults, adolescents have higher rates of depressed mood (Petersen et al., 1993; Steiner & Hall, 2015). The proportion of adolescents who report experiencing depressed mood within the past 6 months is about 35% (Petersen et al., 1993; Steiner & Hall, 2015). In contrast, rates of major depressive disorder among adolescents range in various studies from 3 to 7% (Cheung et al., 2005; Curry et al., 2011), which is about the same rate found in studies of adults.

CAUSES OF DEPRESSION The causes of depression in adolescence and emerging adulthood differ somewhat, depending on whether the diagnosis is depressed mood or major depressive disorder. The most common causes of depressed mood tend to be common experiences among young people—conflict with friends or family members, disappointment or rejection in love, and poor performance in school (Costello et al., 2008; Larson & Richards, 1994).

depression
An enduring period of sadness.

depressed mood
An enduring period of sadness, without any other related symptoms of depression.

major depressive disorder
Psychological diagnosis that entails depressed mood or reduced interest or pleasure in all or almost all activities, plus at least four other specific symptoms. Symptoms must be present over at least a 2-week period and must involve a change from previous functioning.

THINKING CRITICALLY

Few studies have been conducted on depressed mood among emerging adults. How would you expect the sources of depressed mood in emerging adulthood to be similar to, or different from, the sources of depressed mood in adolescence?

The causes of major depression are more complicated and less common. Studies have found that both genetic and environmental factors are involved (Harold et al., 2011). Of course, both of these influences are involved in most aspects of development, but the interaction of genes and environment is especially well established with respect to depression. One useful model of this interaction that has been applied to depression as well as to other mental disorders is the **diathesis-stress model** (Ingram & Smith, 2008). The theory behind this model is that mental disorders such as depression often begin with a *diathesis*, meaning a *preexisting vulnerability*. Often, this diathesis will have a genetic basis, but not necessarily. For example, being born prematurely is a diathesis for many physical and psychological problems in development, but it is not genetic. However, a diathesis is only a vulnerability, a potential for problems. Expression of that vulnerability requires the existence of a stress as well, meaning *environmental conditions* that interact with the diathesis to produce the disorder.

The role of a genetic diathesis in depression has been established in twin studies and in adoption studies. Identical twins have a much higher *concordance rate* for major depression—meaning the probability that if one gets the disorder, the other gets it as well—than fraternal twins do (Edvardsen et al., 2009). This is true even for identical twins who are raised in different homes and who thus have different family environments. Also, adopted children whose biological mothers have experienced depression are more likely than other adopted children to develop depression themselves (Dunn et al., 2011).

There is also evidence that the diathesis for depression may be stronger when the onset of depressive disorder occurs in childhood or adolescence rather than adulthood (Zalsman et al., 2006). In Moffitt's Dunedin study, described previously in the chapter, people who were diagnosed with depressive disorder in adolescence (ages 11 to 15) were more likely than those diagnosed in emerging adulthood (ages 18 to 26) to have experienced prenatal difficulties and early deficits in the development of motor skills (Jaffee, Moffitt, Caspi, Fombonne, Poulton, & Martin, 2002). Such early difficulties suggest that they had a neurological diathesis for depression that was expressed when the stresses of adolescence arrived.

What sort of stresses bring out the diathesis for depression in adolescence? A variety of family and peer factors have been found to be involved. In the family, factors contributing to depression in adolescence include emotional unavailability of parents, high family conflict, economic difficulties, and parental divorce (Dunn et al., 2011; Hammack et al., 2004). With respect to peers, less contact with friends and more experiences of rejection contribute to depression over time (Ranta et al., 2009). Unfortunately, poor peer relationships tend to be self-perpetuating for depressed adolescents, because other adolescents tend to avoid being around adolescents who are depressed. Studies on depression in adolescence have also taken the approach of calculating an overall stress score, which usually includes stress in the family and in peer relationships as well as stresses such as changing schools and experiencing pubertal changes. These studies find that overall stress is related to depression in adolescence (Flynn & Rudolph, 2011).

One of the factors that constitutes the highest risk for depression in adolescence is simply being female. In childhood, when depression is relatively rare, rates are actually higher among boys. However, in adolescence the rates become substantially higher among females, and they remain higher among females throughout adulthood, for depressed mood as well as major depressive disorder (Uddin et al., 2010). What explains the gender difference in adolescent depression?

A variety of explanations have been proposed. There is little evidence that biological differences (such as the earlier entry of females into puberty) can explain it (Uddin et al., 2010). Some scholars have suggested that the female

diathesis-stress model

A theory that mental disorders result from the combination of a diathesis (biological vulnerability) and environmental stresses.

Depressed mood peaks in midadolescence.

gender role itself leads to depression in adolescence. As we have discussed in previous chapters, because of the gender intensification that takes place in adolescence, concerns about physical attractiveness become a primary concern, especially for girls. There is evidence that adolescent girls who have a poor body image are more likely than other girls to be depressed (Marcotte, Forton, Potrin, & Papillon, 2002; Wisdom et al., 2007).

A study of adolescents and emerging adults in Norway is especially enlightening on this issue (Wichstrom, 1999). The study was on a representative national sample of young people ages 12 to 20. At age 12, no gender difference in depressed mood was found. However, by age 14 girls were more likely to report depressed mood, and this gender difference remained stable through age 20. Statistical analyses showed that the gender difference could be explained by girls' responses to the physical changes of puberty. As their bodies changed, they became increasingly dissatisfied with their weight and their body shape, and that dissatisfaction was linked to depressed mood. Depressed mood in girls was also related to an increase in describing themselves in terms of feminine gender role traits of the kind we discussed in Chapter 5: shy, soft-spoken, tender, and so on. In contrast, depressed mood was not related to masculine gender role identification in boys. An American study reported similar findings, indicating that girls' body shame in early adolescence preceded an increase in the prevalence of depressed mood (Grabe, Hyde, & Lindberg, 2007). Just as in the Norwegian study, there was no gender difference in depressed mood in early adolescence, but girls' greater body shame led to greater prevalence of depressed mood by mid-adolescence.

Other explanations have also been offered. Stress is related to depression in adolescence, and adolescent girls generally report experiencing more stress than adolescent boys do, especially from conflicts with friends and peers (Stange, Hamilton, Abramson, & Alloy, 2014). Also, when faced with the beginning of a depressed mood, males are more likely to distract themselves (and forget about it), whereas females have a greater tendency to ruminate on their depressed feelings and thereby amplify them (Jose & Brown, 2008; Nolen-Hoeksema, Wisco, & Lyubomirsky, 2008; Stange et al. 2014). Adolescent girls are more likely than adolescent boys to devote their thoughts and feelings to their personal relationships, and these relationships can be a source of distress and sadness (Bakker et al., 2010; Conway et al., 2011).

Males and females generally differ in their responses to stress and conflict, which helps explain both the greater tendency toward externalizing problems in boys and the greater tendency toward internalizing problems in girls. In adolescence as well as in childhood and adulthood, males tend to respond to stress and conflict by directing their feelings *outward*—in the form of externalizing behavior (Bakker et al., 2010; Gjerde, Block, & Block, 1988). Females, in contrast, tend to respond to these problems by turning their distress *inward*, in the form of critical thoughts *toward themselves* (Calvete & Cardeñoso, 2005). Thus, studies have found that *even when exposed to the same amount of stress* as adolescent boys, adolescent girls are more likely to respond by becoming depressed (Ge et al., 1996). Furthermore, depression in adolescence is often accompanied for boys (but not for girls) by externalizing problems such as fighting and disobedience (Block, Gjerde, & Block, 1991; Diamontopoulou et al., 2011).

Psychotherapy is often effective in treating young people's depression.

Treatments for Depression

13.11 Explain the benefits and risks of antidepressant medications, and evaluate the effectiveness of cognitive behavior therapy.

Just because depression in adolescence is common does not mean that it should be ignored or viewed as something that will go away eventually, especially when it persists over an extended period or reaches the level of major depressive disorder. Depressed adolescents are at risk for a variety of other problems, including school failure, delinquency, and suicide (Asarnow et al., 2011; Kofler et al., 2011). For many adolescents, symptoms of depression that begin in adolescence persist into emerging adulthood (Vujeva & Furman, 2011). Symptoms of depression in adolescence should be taken seriously, and treatment provided when necessary.

For adolescents as for adults, the two main types of treatment for depression are antidepressant medications and psychotherapy. Studies of the effectiveness of antidepressant medications typically use a **placebo design**,

placebo design
Research design in which some persons in a study receive medication and others receive placebos, which are pills that contain no medication.

meaning that all of the depressed adolescents take pills but only the pills taken by adolescents in the treatment group contain the drug. Adolescents in the control group take a *placebo*, that is, a pill that does not contain any medication, although the adolescents do not know this.

Many studies indicate that antidepressant medications are often effective in treating adolescent depression (Bostic et al., 2005; Brent, 2004; Calati et al., 2011; Cohen et al., 2004). For example, in one study, adolescents diagnosed with major depressive disorder were randomly assigned to take either Prozac or a placebo for 8 weeks (Emslie, Heiligenstein, & Wagner, 2002). At the end of this period, symptoms of depression were significantly improved in 41% of the treatment group but only 20% of the control (placebo) group.

However, there is also disturbing evidence that antidepressant medications may increase suicidal thinking and behavior among some depressed adolescents (Cheung et al., 2004). A recent review of 70 studies found a considerably higher risk of suicidal thoughts and aggressive behavior among children and adolescents treated with antidepressants than children and adolescents who received a placebo (Sharma et al., 2016). Researchers in this area agree that when antidepressants are used with depressed adolescents, parents and adolescents should be fully informed of the possible risks, and the adolescents should be monitored closely for evidence of adverse effects (FDA, 2016; Thapar et al., 2012; Fombonne & Zinck, 2008). Suicidal thinking and behavior are lower among depressed adolescents when antidepressants are combined with psychotherapy than when they are used alone (Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study Team, 2007).

Psychotherapy for adolescent depression takes a variety of forms, including individual therapy, group therapy, and skills training. Studies that have randomly assigned depressed adolescents to either a treatment group (which received psychotherapy) or a control group (which did not) have found that therapy tends to be effective in reducing the symptoms of depression (Bostic et al., 2005).

One especially effective type of therapy for depression is **cognitive-behavior therapy (CBT)** (Gaynor et al., 2003; Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study Team, 2007). This approach describes depression as characterized by **negative attributions**, that is, negative ways of explaining what happens in one's life. Typically, young people who are depressed believe their situation is *permanent* ("It's never going to get better") and *uncontrollable* ("My life is awful and there's nothing I can do about it"). Depressed people also have a tendency for *rumination*, which means they dwell on the things that are wrong with their lives and brood about how worthless they feel and how pointless life seems. As noted previously, one of the explanations for the gender difference in depression is that girls and women tend to ruminate more than boys and men.

The goal of CBT, then, is to help the young person recognize the cognitive habits that are promoting depression and work to change those habits (Emslie et al., 2011; Kaufman et al., 2005). The therapist actively challenges the negative attributions, so that the client will examine them critically and begin to see them as distortions of reality. In addition to changing cognitive habits, CBT works on changing behavior. For example, the therapist and client might engage in role-playing, where the therapist pretends to be the client's parent, or romantic partner, or friend. Through role-playing the client is able to practice new ways of interacting. People who have received CBT are less likely than those who have received antidepressant drugs to relapse when the treatment is over, indicating that the new ways of thinking and interacting endure beyond the therapeutic period (Friedberg & McClure, 2015).

The combination of the newest medications and CBT appears to be the most effective approach to treating adolescent depression (Calati et al., 2011). In one major study of 12- to 17-year-olds at 13 sites across the United States who had been diagnosed with major depression, 71% of the adolescents who received both Prozac and CBT experienced an improvement in their symptoms (Treatment for Adolescents with Depression Study Team, 2004, 2007). Improvement rates for the other groups were 61% for Prozac alone, 43% for CBT alone, and 35% for the placebo group.

Suicide

13.12 Describe the most important risk factors for suicide in adolescence.

One reason for taking young people's depression seriously is that it is a risk factor for suicide. Suicide attempts are usually preceded by symptoms of depression (Asarnow et al., 2011; CDC, 2016; Garfinkel, 2014). However, often young people's suicide attempts take place as the symptoms of depression appear to be abating. At the depths of depression, young people are often too dispirited to

cognitive-behavior therapy (CBT)
An approach to treating psychological disorders that focuses on changing negative ways of thinking and practicing new ways of interacting with others.

negative attributions
Beliefs that one's current unhappiness is permanent and uncontrollable.

engage in the planning required to commit suicide. As they improve slightly, they remain depressed but now have enough energy and motivation to make a suicide attempt. Making a plan to commit suicide may also raise the mood of deeply depressed young people because they may believe that suicide will mean an end to all the problems they feel are plaguing them.

Among American adolescents in grades 9 to 12, 17% report that they have seriously considered suicide and 3% have actually made an attempt that required medical intervention (Lowry et al., 2014). Suicide is the third-most common cause of death among young people ages 15 to 19 in the United States, after automobile accidents and homicide (CDC, 2016). The suicide rate among American emerging adults ages 20 to 24 is nearly twice as high as among 15- to 19-year-olds (CDC, 2007). Among developed countries, Russia and Ireland have among the highest rates, and rates are lowest in the United Kingdom, Italy, and Greece (McLoughlin et al., 2015), as Figure 13.9 illustrates. Russia and Ireland have both suffered severe economic and political crises in recent years, which may in part explain their high rates.

There are substantial ethnic differences in adolescent suicide rates. Rates of suicide in adolescence and emerging adulthood are higher among Whites than among Blacks and Latinos, and highest of all among Native Americans (CDC, 2016). However, suicide rates rose alarmingly among young Black males in the 1990s and now nearly equal the rates for young White males. The reasons for this increase are not known.

Sharp gender differences also exist in rates of suicide and suicide attempts. Females are about four times as likely as males to attempt suicide in adolescence and emerging adulthood, but males are about four times as likely as females actually to kill themselves (CDC, 2016; Oltmanns & Emery, 2010). These gender differences exist in adulthood as well. The higher rate of attempts among females is probably a consequence of their higher rates of depression (Langhinrichsen-Rohling et al., 2009). The reason for the higher rate of completed suicides among males seems to be due mainly to gender differences in the methods used. Males are more likely to use guns or hang themselves, and these methods are more deadly than the method of taking poison or pills that is more commonly used by females in their suicide attempts (Garfinkel, 2014). In a study comparing suicide rates among young people in 34 countries (Johnson, Krug, & Potter, 2000), rates were highest in countries where guns were most easily available.

Other than depression, what are the risk factors for suicide? One major factor for adolescents is *family disruption*. Across cultures, attempted and completed suicide has frequently been found to be related to a family life that is chaotic, disorganized, high in conflict, and low in warmth (Brent & Mann, 2006; Kuhlberg et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2006). Furthermore, an adolescent's suicide is often preceded by a period of months in which family problems have worsened (Brent, 2007). Adoption and twin studies indicate that families also contribute genetic vulnerability to suicide, via susceptibility to major depression and other mental illnesses (Melhelm et al., 2007).

In addition to family risk factors, suicidal adolescents often have substance abuse problems (Garfinkel, 2014; Wolpers, 2007), perhaps as an attempt at self-medication for distress over their family problems and their depression. Also, suicidal adolescents have usually experienced problems in their relationships outside the family. Because they often come from families where they receive little in the way of emotional nurturance, suicidal adolescents may be more vulnerable to the effects of experiences such as school failure, loss of a boyfriend or girlfriend, or feelings of being rejected by their peers (Herba et al., 2008).

Nevertheless, most adolescents who experience family disruption or substance use problems never attempt or commit suicide. How can the adolescents at most serious risk be identified? One group of researchers used interviews with family members and friends to identify three different pathways among adolescents who had committed suicide (Fortune et al., 2007). The largest group had experienced years of difficulty in relations with family, friends, and teachers. They had attempted suicide previously and had communicated their suicidal intentions and plans to friends and family. A second, midsized group had

Figure 13.9 Suicide rates among 15- to 19-year-olds selected developed countries.

SOURCE: McLoughlin et al. (2015).

Suicide rates among young people are highest in countries where guns are easy to obtain.

struggled with severe mental illness such as major depression or bipolar disorder. The third and smallest group consisted of young people who had previously been functioning well but experienced an acute crisis that led to the suicide, without apparent mental illness or previous suicidal intention. However, even in this group two out of five communicated specific suicidal intent in the weeks before their death.

Other studies concur that in almost all cases, adolescent suicide takes place not in response to a single stressful or painful event but only after a series of difficulties extending over months or even years (Asarnow et al., 2011; Garfinkel, 2014). It is rare for suicidal adolescents to show no warning signs of emotional or behavioral problems prior to attempting suicide (see Table 13.1). Often, they have made efforts to address the problems in their lives, and the failure of these efforts has sent them on a downward spiral that deepened their hopelessness and led them to suicide.

Adolescents who attempt suicide are at high risk for future attempts and for completed suicide (CDC, 2016; Garfinkel, 2014). In one study of attempters, at a 3-month follow-up assessment 45% reported continued suicidal thoughts and 12% reported a repeat attempt (Spirito et al., 2003). As with depression, the most effective treatments for suicidal adolescents combine CBT with antidepressants (Emslie et al. 2006; Garfinkel, 2014).

Eating Disorders

13.13 Explain the causes of eating disorders and the differences between anorexia nervosa and bulimia.

Adolescents find that people in their environment, such as peers and parents, respond differently to them as they show outward signs of reaching sexual maturity. These responses from others, along with their own self-reflection, lead to changes in the way adolescents think about their bodies.

Table 13.1 Early Warning Signs of Adolescent Suicide

1. Direct suicide threats or comments such as "I wish I were dead"; "My family would be better off without me"; "I have nothing to live for."
2. A previous suicide attempt, no matter how minor. Four out of five people who commit suicide have made at least one previous attempt.
3. Preoccupation with death in music, art, and personal writing.
4. Loss of a family member, pet, or boyfriend or girlfriend through death, abandonment, or breakup.
5. Family disruptions such as unemployment, serious illness, relocation, or divorce.
6. Disturbances in sleeping and eating habits and in personal hygiene.
7. Declining grades and lack of interest in school or leisure activities that had previously been important.
8. Drastic changes in behavior patterns, such as a friendly person becoming withdrawn
9. Pervasive sense of gloom, helplessness, and hopelessness.
10. Withdrawal from family members and friends and feelings of alienation from significant others.
11. Giving away prized possessions and otherwise "getting their affairs in order."
12. Series of "accidents" or impulsive, risk-taking behaviors, for example drug or alcohol abuse, disregard for personal safety, taking dangerous dares.

SOURCES: Melhelm et al. (2007) Pfeffer (2006).

For many adolescents, changes in the way they think about their bodies are accompanied by changes in the way they think about food. Girls, in particular, pay more attention to the food they eat once they reach adolescence, and worry more about eating too much and getting "fat" (Jones et al., 2014; Nichter, 2001). Presented with a cultural ideal that portrays the ideal female body as slim, at a time when their bodies are biologically tending to become less slim and more rounded, many of them feel distressed at the changes taking place in their body shape, and they attempt to resist or at least modify those changes.

This dissatisfaction exists far more often among girls than among boys (Richardson & Paxton, 2010). Boys are much less likely to believe they are overweight and much more likely to be satisfied with their bodies. Even long before adolescence, girls are more likely to worry about becoming overweight and to desire to be thinner than they are (Jones et al., 2014). Body dissatisfaction among girls increases during the teens and continues through emerging adulthood and beyond (Corning et al., 2014). In fact, extreme weight-loss behaviors among adolescent girls, such as fasting, "crash dieting," and skipping meals, are related to their mothers' own extreme weight-loss behavior (Cobelo et al., 2010). Exposed to this cultural emphasis on slimness as part of social and sexual attractiveness for women, some girls go to extremes in controlling their food intake and develop

eating disorders. About 90% of eating disorders occur among females (Swanson et al., 2011).

The two most common eating disorders are **anorexia nervosa** (intentional self-starvation) and **bulimia** (binge eating combined with purging [intentional vomiting]). About 1 of every 200 American adolescents has anorexia nervosa and about 3% have bulimia (Swanson et al., 2011). About half of anorexics are also bulimic, meaning that they avoid food except for episodes of bingeing and purging. Most cases of eating disorders have their onset among females in their teens and early 20s (Smink, van Hoeken, & Hoek, 2013). Eating disorders are more prevalent among White American girls than in other American ethnic groups (Campbell & Peebles, 2014).

Far more prevalent than full-fledged eating disorders are eating disordered symptoms (including fasting for 24 hours or more, use of diet products, purging, and use of laxatives). According to a national U.S. study, about 20% of American adolescent girls and 10% of boys in grades 9 to 12 report engaging in eating disordered behavior in the past 30 days (Austin et al., 2008). Similar findings have been reported in other Western countries. In a national study of German 11- to 17-year-olds, one-third of girls and 15% of boys reported eating disorder symptoms (Herpetz-Dahlmann et al., 2008). In Finland, a large study of 14- to 15-year-olds found eating disordered behavior among 24% of girls and 16% of boys (Hautala et al., 2008).

For a diagnosis of anorexia nervosa, food intake is reduced so much that the person loses at least 15% of body weight (Roberto et al., 2008). As weight loss continues, for girls it eventually results in **amenorrhea**, which means that menstruation ceases. Hair becomes brittle and may begin to fall out, and the skin develops an unhealthy, yellowish pallor. As anorexics become increasingly thin, they frequently develop physical problems that are symptoms of their starvation, such as constipation, high sensitivity to cold, and low blood pressure.

One of the most striking symptoms of anorexia is the cognitive distortion of body image (Bowers et al., 2003; Striegel-Moore & Franko, 2006). The reduction in food intake is accompanied by an intense fear of gaining weight, a fear that persists even when the person has lost so much weight as to be in danger of literally starving to death. Young women with anorexia sincerely believe themselves to be too fat, even when they have become so thin that their lives are threatened. Standing in front of a mirror with them and pointing out how emaciated they look does no good—the anorexic looks in the mirror and sees a fat person, no matter how thin she is.

Bulimia is an eating disorder characterized by *binge eating* and *purging* (Campbell & Peebles, 2014). Like anorexics, bulimics have strong fears that their bodies will become big and fat. Bulimics engage in binge eating, which means eating a large amount of food in a short time. Then they purge themselves; that is, they use laxatives or induce vomiting to get rid of the food they have just eaten. Bulimics often suffer damage to their teeth from repeated vomiting. Unlike anorexics, bulimics typically maintain a normal weight because they have more or less normal eating patterns in between their episodes of bingeing and purging. Another difference from anorexics is that bulimics do not regard their eating patterns as normal. Bulimics view themselves as having a problem and often hate themselves in the aftermath of their binge episodes.

Studies of anorexics and bulimics provide evidence that these eating disorders have cultural roots. First, eating disorders are more common in cultures that emphasize slimness as part of the female physical ideal, especially Western countries (Piat et al., 2015). Second, eating disorders are most common among females who are part of the middle to upper socioeconomic classes, which place more emphasis on female slimness than lower classes do. Third, most eating disorders occur among females in their teens and early 20s, which is arguably when gender intensification and cultural pressures to comply with a slim female physical ideal are at their strongest. Fourth, girls who read magazines such as *Seventeen*, which contain numerous ads and articles featuring thin models, are especially likely to strive to be thin themselves and to engage in eating disordered behavior (Utter et al., 2003).

Although many girls in cultures that emphasize a thin female ideal strive for thinness themselves, only a small percentage actually have an eating disorder. What factors lead some young females but not others to develop an eating disorder? In general, the same factors

anorexia nervosa

Eating disorder characterized by intentional self-starvation.

bulimia

An eating disorder characterized by episodes of binge eating followed by purging (self-induced vomiting).

amenorrhea

Cessation of menstruation, sometimes experienced by girls whose body weight falls extremely low.

Historical Focus

FROM FASTING SAINTS TO ANOREXIC GIRLS

Scholars generally view anorexia nervosa as a modern disorder, resulting primarily from current cultural pressures for young women to be thin. However, the phenomenon of young women voluntarily, willfully reducing their food intake, even to the point of self-starvation, has a surprisingly long history in the West, extending back many centuries. An examination of that history, with its illuminating similarities to, and differences from, present-day anorexia, is provided by Dutch scholars Walter Vandereycken and Ron Van Deth (1994) in their book *From Fasting Saints to Anorexic Girls: A History of Self-Starvation*.

Fasting, involving partial or total abstinence from food, has long been a part of both Eastern and Western religions. It has been undertaken for a variety of purposes—to purify the body while engaging in prayer, to demonstrate the person's elevation of spiritual concerns over bodily needs, or as a sign of penance and remorse for sins. Fasting has been a part of the religious ideal in the Eastern religions of Hinduism and Buddhism for millennia. In ancient Egypt, pharaohs fasted for days before important decisions and religious celebrations. In the Bible, Moses and Jesus undertake periods of fasting. Fasting was required for all believers during the first millennium of the Christian Church, at various times of the year including the period prior to Christmas. It remains a requirement of Islam, during the annual holy month of Ramadan.

It was only from the 12th century onward that religious fasting in the West became associated mainly with young women. Why this happened when it did is not entirely clear, but it appears to be linked to females' being allowed greater participation in church life. For both males and females during the medieval period, religious faith was demonstrated in ways that seem extreme from the modern perspective. Men would often demonstrate their piety by such practices as self-flagellation; piercing their tongues, cheeks, or other body parts with iron pins; or sleeping on beds of thorns or iron points. For women, in contrast, extreme fasting became the characteristic path to holiness.

Young women who engaged in extreme fasting often gained great fame and were regarded by their contemporaries with reverence and awe. For example, in the 13th century an English girl became known far and wide as "Joan the Meatless" for reputedly abstaining from all food and drink except on Sundays, when she fed only on the morsel of bread distributed as part of the communion ritual. Many of these young women became anointed as saints by the Church, although official Church policy discouraged extreme fasting as detrimental to physical and mental well-being. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Catholic officials sharply tightened the rules for proving fasting "miracles," in response to exposed cases of fraud as well as concern over the health of girls seeking sainthood, and extreme fasting lost its religious allure.

Extreme fasting as a commercial spectacle now arose in place of extreme religious fasting. From the 16th through the 19th century, young women who had supposedly fasted for months or even years were exhibited at fairs. Their renown now came not from the piety their fasting demonstrated but from the way their fasting supposedly enabled them to transcend the requirements of nature. When these "miraculous maidens" were put to the test in conditions where they could be monitored closely, some starved to death trying to prove their legitimacy, whereas others were exposed as frauds—one such young woman was found to have sewn a substantial quantity of gingerbread into the hem of her dress!

During this same period, cases of self-starvation received increasing attention from physicians. The first medical description of anorexia nervosa was made by the British physician Richard Morton in 1689. All of the characteristics of Morton's clinical description of the disorder remain part of the clinical diagnosis of anorexia nervosa in the present, more than three centuries later:

1. Occurs primarily in females in their teens and 20s;
2. Characterized by striking emaciation as a consequence of markedly decreased intake of food;
3. Often accompanied by constipation and amenorrhea (absence of menstruation);
4. Affected persons usually lack insight into the illness (that is, they do not believe anything is wrong with them); consequently, treatment is resisted;
5. No physical cause is responsible for the symptoms; they are psychological in origin.

Although these symptoms still characterize anorexia nervosa, it was only from the early 19th century onward that the disorder became motivated by a desire to conform to cultural standards of female attractiveness. In the early 19th century, the standard of beauty for young women in the West became the "hourglass figure," characterized by a substantial bosom and hips and the slimmest waist possible. In pursuit of this figure young women had themselves laced tightly into corsets (often made of whalebone or some other unforgiving material), ignoring the physicians who warned against the unhealthiness of the fashion. By the early 20th century, corsets had gone out of fashion, but in their place came an ideal of the female form as slim all over, not just the waist but the bosom and hips as well—not unlike the ideal that exists today.

That this thin ideal motivated self-starvation among girls is evident from clinical reports of the time, for example, by this late-19th-century physician who, while examining an anorexic patient, "found that she wore on her skin, fashioned very tight around her waist, a rose-colored ribbon. He obtained the following confidence: the ribbon was a measure which the waist was not to exceed. 'I prefer dying of hunger to becoming as big as mamma'" (Vandereycken & Deth, 1994, p. 171).

Although fasting saints may seem a long way from anorexic girls, Vandereycken and Deth (1994) point out the striking similarities. In both cases the self-starvers were striving for an elusive perfection—the fasting girls for sainthood and the anorexic girls for the feminine ideal, a kind of secular sainthood—and typically their perfectionism extended into all aspects of their lives, not just their eating habits. In both cases, their abnormal eating patterns were often evident in childhood before developing into a fixed pattern in adolescence. And in both cases, the phenomenon reached its peak in the late teens and early 20s, sometimes with fatal consequences.

are involved for both anorexia and bulimia (Smink et al., 2013). One factor appears to be a general susceptibility to internalizing disorders. Females who have an eating disorder are also more likely than other females to have other internalizing disorders, such as depression and anxiety disorders (Rojo-Moreno et al., 2015). Eating disordered behavior is also related to substance use, especially cigarette smoking, binge drinking, and use of inhalants (Pisetsky et al., 2008).

THINKING CRITICALLY

What other causes of eating disorders would you hypothesize, besides the ones stated here?

Treatments for Eating Disorders

13.14 Evaluate the effectiveness of the main treatments for eating disorders.

Because anorexia is eventually life threatening, a hospital-based program is usually recommended as a first step to begin to restore the person's physical functioning (Cleaves & Latner, 2008). In addition to physical treatment, a variety of types of individual therapy approaches have been tried for anorexia and bulimia, but most have not been effective (Lock, 2015). There is some evidence that, for adolescents, family therapy is more effective than individual treatment (Paulson-Karlsson et al., 2009). A variety of drug therapies have been tried but have been mostly ineffective (Crow et al., 2009).

CBT might seem to be an especially appropriate treatment because cognitive distortions often accompany eating disorders. CBT focuses on changing beliefs that the person is "too fat" despite being emaciated, and on changing patterns of eating behavior (Gowers & Green, 2009). However, these same cognitive distortions lead many adolescents with eating disorders to deny they have a problem and resist attempts to help them. Perhaps for this reason, CBT has been found to be no more effective than other types of individual therapy in treating eating disorders (Lock, 2015). A review of treatments for eating disorders in adolescence found that family-based therapy was the most effective approach (Lock, 2010).

The success of treating anorexia and bulimia is often limited. About two-thirds of anorexics treated in hospital programs improve, but one-third remain chronically ill despite treatment and remain at high risk for chronic health problems or even death from the disorder (Lock, 2015). Similarly, although treatments for bulimia are successful in about 50% of cases, there are repeated relapses in the other 50%, and recovery is often slow (Oltmanns & Emery, 2010). Emerging adult women with a history of adolescent eating disorders often continue to show significant impairments in mental and physical health, self-image, and social functioning even after their eating disorder has faded (Berkman, Lohr, & Bulik, 2007; Rojo-Moreno et al., 2015).

Watch EATING DISORDERS

Resilience

"Hopefully with what I've got behind me and the experiences I've had, I'm equipped to make better judgments to push my life in a better direction. . . . There's a lot of bad things that have happened in my life, and I just kind of feel like, anymore, they kind of roll off."

—JEREMY, AGE 25 (ARNETT, 2004, P. 193)

"Mom was good at verbal abuse, and Dad was good at the physical. . . . It's always been bad, and now that I've moved out it's just not there, which I guess is good. I don't have to deal with it on a daily basis. . . . There's been a lot of pain and a lot of hurt, but I've really grown from it. It's made me the person who I am today."

—BRIDGET, AGE 23 (ARNETT, 2004, PP. 198, 200)

This chapter has covered a wide range of problems that adolescents and emerging adults may have, together with the risk factors related to their problems, such as poverty, poor family relationships, and inadequate schools. However, there are also many adolescents and emerging adults who face dire conditions and yet manage to adapt and function well. *Resilience* is the term for this phenomenon, defined as "good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation and development" (Masten, 2001, p. 228). Sometimes "good outcomes" are measured as notable academic or social achievements, sometimes as internal conditions such as well-being or self-esteem, and sometimes as the absence of notable problems. Young people who are resilient are not necessarily high achievers who have some kind of extraordinary ability. More often they display what resilience researcher Ann Masten calls the "ordinary magic" of being able to function

reasonably well despite being faced with unusually difficult circumstances (Masten, 2015).

Protective Factors

13.15 Identify the protective factors associated with resilience.

Earlier in the chapter we talked about a wide variety of risk factors in adolescence, specifically with regard to externalizing problems. Risk factors raise the likelihood that adolescents will engage in externalizing behavior. In contrast, resilience is promoted by **protective factors** that enable adolescents and emerging adults to overcome the risks in their lives (Masten, 2015; Stone et al., 2012). Here are some of the most important protective factors identified in resilience research:

- *High intelligence*. Adolescents with high IQs have a better chance than other adolescents of overcoming the challenges of a difficult environment. For example, high intelligence may allow an adolescent to perform well academically despite going to a low-quality school and living in a disorderly household (Masten, Obradovic, & Burt, 2006).
- *One caring adult*. Family disruption and family conflict are key contributors to the risk of externalizing and internalizing problems in adolescence. However, one good relationship with a parent or an adult outside the family can act as a protective factor, making problems less likely (Piko & Kovacs, 2010). Effective parenting may help an adolescent have a positive self-image and avoid antisocial behavior despite growing up in poverty and living in a rough neighborhood (Brody & Flor, 1998). A mentor may foster high academic goals and good future planning in an adolescent whose family life is characterized by abuse or neglect (Rhodes & DuBois, 2008).
- *A healthy school environment*. Adolescents spend much of their time in school, and if the school climate is positive, it can overcome risk factors adolescents may be experiencing at home (Doll & Brehm, 2014). The classic study of British schools by Michael Rutter and his colleagues (Rutter, 1983; Rutter et al., 1979) first showed how a positive school climate (discussed in Chapter 9) can be a protective factor. They studied early adolescents in 12 schools in London, beginning at age 10 and following them for 4 years. The results indicated that school climate had a significant effect on rates of delinquency, even after controlling for such influences as social class and family environment.

  In addition to school climate, two other qualities of the school environments stood out as having the most positive effects. One was having an intellectual balance in the school that included a substantial proportion of bright and achievement-oriented students who identified with the aims and rules of the school. These students tended to be leaders and discouraged misbehavior by setting norms for behavior that other students followed. The other important quality was what Rutter and his colleagues called the **ethos** of the school, meaning the school's prevailing belief system. A favorable ethos—one that emphasized the value of schoolwork, rewarded good performance, and established fair but firm discipline—was related to lower rates of delinquency through early adolescence. Many other studies in the subsequent decades have confirmed the importance of school ethos in promoting resilience (Carolan, Weiss & Matthews, 2015).
- *Religious beliefs and practices*. Religiosity has become recognized as an especially important protective factor. Adolescents who have a strong religious faith are less likely to have problems such as substance abuse, even when they have grown up in a high-risk environment (Howard et al., 2007; Wallace et al., 2007). Numerous studies have found that religiosity is inversely related to participation in risk behavior in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Nguyen & Newhill, 2016; Smith and Denton, 2005).

Watch RESILIENCE IN AN ADOLESCENT GIRL

protective factor
Characteristics of young people that are related to lower likelihood of participation in risk behavior.

ethos
The beliefs about education that characterize a school as a whole.

Is Emerging Adulthood a Critical Period for Resilience?

13.16 Explain why emerging adulthood may be a critical period for the expression of resilience.

In recent years, emerging adulthood has been proposed as a key period for the expression of resilience (Arnett, 2015; Burt & Paysnick, 2012). Unlike children and adolescents, emerging adults have the ability to leave an unhealthy, high-risk family environment. Unlike older adults, emerging adults have not yet made the commitments that structure adult life for most people. Consequently, emerging adulthood is a period when there is an unusually high scope for making decisions that could turn life in a new and better direction. Experiences such as military service, romantic relationships, higher education, development of religious faith, and work opportunities may provide turning point opportunities for changing the course of life during emerging adulthood (Burt & Paysnick, 2012; Masten, 2015; Masten et al., 2006).

The importance of emerging adulthood was demonstrated in a classic study of resilience (Werner & Smith, 1982, 1992, 2001). It is known as the Kauai (*kow′ ee*) study, after the Hawaiian island where the study took place. The Kauai study focused on a high-risk group of children who had four or more risk factors by age 2, such as problems in physical development, parents' marital conflict, parental drug abuse, low maternal education, and poverty. Out of this group, there was a resilient subgroup that showed good social and academic functioning and few behavior problems by ages 10 to 18. Compared with their less resilient peers, adolescents in the resilient group were found to benefit from several protective factors, including one well-functioning parent, higher intelligence, and higher physical attractiveness.

In the Kauai study, a surprise finding was that many of the participants who had been placed in the nonresilient category in adolescence turned out to be resilient after all in emerging adulthood (Werner & Smith, 2001). The experiences that helped them change their lives for the better included participation in higher education, learning new occupational skills through military service, and conversion to a religious faith that provided a community of support.

The finding that resilience is possible in emerging adulthood is new and exciting. It may be that opportunities to promote resilience would be greater in emerging adulthood than in childhood or adolescence (Arnett, 2015). Families of children and adolescents who are at high risk for problems are often unstable and dysfunctional, which can make it difficult to gain parents' cooperation for participation in an intervention. However, emerging adults are legally adult, and can make their own decision to take advantage of an opportunity to turn their lives in a different direction.

But the question remains, why do some people take advantage of, and benefit from, turning point opportunities in emerging adulthood, whereas others do not? Some research examining resilience in emerging adulthood suggests the key may lie in "planful competence," which includes realistic goal setting, dependability, and self-control (Clausen, 1991; Shigihara, 2015). However, this begs the question of why some emerging adults exhibit planful competence in response to adverse conditions whereas others do not. The stories of resilient emerging adults are fascinating and inspiring, and there is much more to be learned from them.

THINKING CRITICALLY

What experiences have built resilience in your life?

Summing Up

13.1 Distinguish between internalizing and externalizing problems.

The two main classes of adolescent problems are externalizing problems (such as delinquency and risky driving) and internalizing problems (such as depression and eating disorders). Externalizing problems cause disruption in the surrounding world, and are usually associated with being undercontrolled. Internalizing problems are directed inward, and are associated with being overcontrolled. In general, externalizing problems are more common among males and internalizing problems are more common among females.

13.2 Summarize the overall pattern of crash risk in relation to age, and identify the factors that promote risky driving in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Automobile accidents are the leading cause of death among young people in their late teens and early 20s in developed countries, and young people at these ages have the highest rates of automobile accidents and fatalities of any age group. These high rates appear to be due to the risks they take while driving as well as inexperience. Rates of fatalities peak in the early 20s, mainly due to the prevalence of driving while intoxicated in this age group.

13.3 Describe the features of graduated driver licensing programs, and evaluate their effectiveness.

Graduated driver licensing is structured in three phases: learning license, in which novice drivers must be accompanied by a more experienced driver, usually a parent; restricted license, in which the young driver may drive unsupervised but with restrictions such as driving curfews and zero tolerance of alcohol use; and full license. Graduated driver licensing programs have been shown to be highly effective in reducing accidents and fatalities among young people, whereas driver education programs are usually ineffective.

13.4 Summarize the variations in adolescent substance use in the United States, Canada, and Europe, and explain the relation between substance use and unstructured socializing in emerging adulthood.

With regard to substance use, young people in the United States and Canada are more likely to use marijuana than young people in other Western countries, but young people in Europe use alcohol and cigarettes more than Americans and Canadians do. Across countries, emerging adults have higher rates of substance use than adolescents do, partly because they spend more time in unstructured socializing.

13.5 Identify the different types of substance use in adolescence and emerging adulthood and the outcomes of attempts to prevent substance use.

Patterns of substance use can be classified as experimental, social, medicinal, and addictive. Substance use prevention is often delivered through schools. Successful programs have taught strategies for turning down offers of substances from friends, or on family problems that may motivate substance use. The most effective programs begin in early adolescence and continue annually through high school.

13.6 Explain the reasons for the age–crime relationship.

Studies over the past 150 years have found consistently that crime rates peak in the late teens and that crimes are committed mainly by males. Crime is highest in adolescence and emerging adulthood because these periods combine independence from parents with a high amount of time spent with friends, and groups of friends sometimes seek out crime as a source of excitement.

13.7 Identify the two types of delinquency in Moffitt's theory and their different origins.

Adolescence-limited delinquency occurs for a brief period of years during adolescence and is not preceded by other problems in childhood. In contrast, life-course-persistent delinquency, which begins early in life with a difficult temperament and cognitive deficits, continues long beyond adolescence.

13.8 Evaluate the success of programs to prevent delinquency, and explain why some have been more successful than others.

There are many types of programs to prevent delinquency, but they often fail because the adolescents resist participating and because they allow adolescents to connect with deviant peers. Successful programs usually take a multisystemic approach, involving family, school, and neighborhood groups.

13.9 Summarize the ways that sources of socialization and individual factors contribute to externalizing problems.

Socialization can contribute to externalizing problems through family disruption, family conflict, low parental monitoring, friends' influence, poor schools, media content that rewards externalizing behavior, a punitive legal system, and cultural beliefs that favor individualism and self-expression. Individual factors that predict involvement in risk behavior include aggressiveness, high sensation seeking, cognitive deficits, low impulse control, and optimistic bias.

13.10 Identify the main types and causes of depression in adolescence.

Depressed mood is an enduring period of sadness. Major depression includes depressed mood and/or reduced interest or pleasure, along with at least four other symptoms such as insomnia and fatigue. Depressed mood is more common in adolescence than in adulthood, whereas rates of major depression are similar in adolescents and adults. Causes of depression in adolescence include conflict with family and friends, and disappointment or rejection in love. According to the diathesis-stress model, major depression occurs due to a biological vulnerability that is triggered by environmental conditions. Rates of depression in adolescence are considerably higher among girls than among boys. Explanations for this difference include gender differences in coping with problems, girls' greater concern with body image, and an internalizing response to stress among girls.

13.11 Explain the benefits and risks of antidepressant medications, and evaluate the effectiveness of cognitive behavior therapy.

Placebo-design studies have shown that antidepressant medications are effective in treating depression, and cognitive behavior therapy has also been found to be effective. Most effective of all is a combination of cognitive-behavior therapy and antidepressant medications. Adolescents taking antidepressant medications should be monitored carefully, as some studies show that the risk of suicide rises when the medications begin to take effect.

13.12 Describe the most important risk factors for suicide in adolescence.

Family disruptions and substance abuse are among the strongest predictors of suicide among adolescents. Adolescents who have previously attempted suicide are at especially high risk for future attempts. Female adolescents attempt suicide four times as often as males, but males are about four times as likely to kill themselves.

13.13 Explain the causes of eating disorders and the differences between anorexia nervosa and bulimia.

Anorexia nervosa is intentional self-starvation, whereas bulimia entails cycles of bingeing and purging. Both eating disorders are most common among females in their teens and early 20s. Factors proposed to explain eating disorders include a tendency toward internalizing disorders and a cultural emphasis on slimness.

13.14 Evaluate the effectiveness of the main treatments for eating disorders.

Treatment for anorexia generally requires hospitalization, as other treatments are unlikely to be successful. Relapse rates are high for both anorexia and bulimia, and other problems often persist even if the eating disorder is overcome.

13.15 Identify the protective factors associated with resilience.

Many adolescents exhibit resilience despite growing up in high-risk conditions. Some of the key protective factors that promote resilience are high intelligence, one caring adult, a healthy school environment, and high religiosity.

13.16 Explain why emerging adulthood may be a critical period for the expression of resilience.

Emerging adulthood may be an especially important period of resilience because it is a time when people are most likely to have the scope of individual choice that may enable them to make decisions that change their lives for the better. In a classic longitudinal study, many participants showed resilience for the first time in emerging adulthood, due to experiences such obtaining higher education, joining the military, or gaining religious faith.

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Glossary

A

absolute performance In IQ tests, performance results compared to those of other persons, regardless of age.

abstinence-plus programs Sex education programs that encourage adolescents to delay intercourse while also providing contraceptive information for adolescents who nevertheless choose to have intercourse.

abstract thinking Thinking in terms of symbols, ideas, and concepts.

accommodation The cognitive process that occurs when a scheme is changed to adapt to new information.

active genotype → environment effects Occur when people seek out environments that correspond to their genotypic characteristics.

actual self A person's perception of the self as it is, contrasted with the possible self.

addictive substance use Pattern of substance use in which a person has come to depend on regular use of substances to feel good physically and/or psychologically.

adolescence A period of the life course between the time puberty begins and the time adult status is approached, when young people are in the process of preparing to take on the roles and responsibilities of adulthood in their culture.

adolescence-limited delinquents (ALDs) In Moffitt's theory, delinquents who engage in criminal acts in adolescence and/or emerging adulthood but show no evidence of problems before or after these periods.

adolescent egocentrism Type of egocentrism in which adolescents have difficulty distinguishing their thinking about their own thoughts from their thinking about the thoughts of others.

adolescent growth spurt The rapid increase in height that takes place at the beginning of puberty.

adrenocorticotropic hormone (ACTH) The hormone that causes the adrenal glands to increase androgen production.

Advanced Placement (AP) classes Classes for gifted students in high schools that have higher-level material than normal classes in order to provide a challenging curriculum.

affection phase In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the third phase, in which adolescents come to know each other better and express deeper feelings for each other, as well as engaging in more extensive sexual activity.

affective functions Emotional functions of the family, pertaining to love, nurturance, and attachment.

age norms Technique for developing a psychological test, in which a typical score for each age is established by testing a large random sample of people from a variety of geographical areas and social class backgrounds.

age-graded Organized by age, for example in schools.

amenorrhea Cessation of menstruation, sometimes experienced by girls whose body weight falls extremely low.

American majority culture Cultural sector of American society, mostly White, that has the most economic and political power and sets most of the norms and standards.

AmeriCorps The national service program in the United States in which young people serve in a community organization for up to 2 years for minimal pay.

androgens The sex hormones that have especially high levels in males from puberty onward and are mostly responsible for male primary and secondary sex characteristics.

androgyny A combination of "male" and "female" personality traits.

anorexia nervosa Eating disorder characterized by intentional self-starvation.

apprenticeship An arrangement, common in Europe, in which an adolescent "novice" serves under contract to a "master" who has substantial experience in a profession, and through working under the master, learns the skills required to enter the profession.

areola Area surrounding the nipple on the breast; enlarges at puberty.

argot (pronounced *ar-go*) In youth culture, a certain vocabulary and a certain way of speaking.

arranged marriage A marriage in which the marriage partners are determined not by the partners themselves but by others, usually the parents or other family elders.

assimilation (1) The cognitive process that occurs when new information is altered to fit an existing scheme. (2) In the formation of an ethnic identity, the approach that involves leaving the ethnic culture behind and adopting the ways of the majority culture.

asymptomatic A condition common with STIs in which an infected person shows no symptoms of the disease but may potentially infect others.

asynchronicity Uneven growth of different parts of the body during puberty.

attachment theory Theory originally developed by British psychiatrist John Bowlby, asserting that, among humans as among other primates, attachments between parents and children have an evolutionary basis in the need for vulnerable young members of the species to stay in close proximity to adults who will care for and protect them.

attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) Disorder characterized by difficulty in maintaining attention on a task along with a high activity level that makes self-control problematic.

authoritarian parents Parenting style in which parents are high in demandingness but low in responsiveness; i.e., they require obedience from their children and punish disobedience without compromise, but show little warmth or affection toward them.

authoritative parents A parenting style in which parents are high in demandingness and high in responsiveness, i.e., they love their children but also set clear standards for behavior and explain to their children the reasons for those standards.

automaticity Degree of cognitive effort a person needs to devote to processing a given set of information.

autonomy The quality of being independent and self-sufficient, capable of thinking for one's self.

B

bar mitzvah Jewish religious ritual for boys at age 13 that signifies the adolescents' new responsibilities with respect to Jewish beliefs.

barometric self-esteem The fluctuating sense of worth and well-being people have as they respond to different thoughts, experiences, and interactions in the course of a day.

baseline self-esteem A person's stable, enduring sense of worth and well-being.

bat mitzvah Jewish religious ritual for girls at age 13 that signifies the adolescents' new responsibilities with respect to Jewish beliefs.

bicultural Having an identity that includes aspects of two different cultures.

biculturalism In the formation of ethnic identity, the approach that involves developing a dual identity, one based in the ethnic group of origin and one based in the majority culture.

bidirectional effects In relations between parents and children, the concept that children not only are affected by their parents but affect their parents in return. Also called reciprocal effects.

binge drinking Drinking a large number of alcoholic drinks in one episode, usually defined as drinking five or more alcoholic drinks in a row.

blog A public Internet journal of a person's thoughts, feelings, and activities.

body mass index (BMI) A ratio of height to weight; BMI thresholds for obesity are determined by medical authorities and vary depending on age group.

bonding phase In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the final phase, in which the romantic relationship becomes more enduring and serious; partners begin to discuss the possibility of a lifelong commitment to each other.

breast buds The first slight enlargement of the breast in girls at puberty.

broad socialization The process by which persons in an individualistic culture come to learn individualism, including values of individual uniqueness, independence, and self-expression.

buddy relationship Between siblings, a relationship in which they treat each other as friends.

bulimia An eating disorder characterized by episodes of binge eating followed by purging (self-induced vomiting).

bullying In peer relations, the aggressive assertion of power by one person over another.

C

cardiac output A measure of the quantity of blood pumped by the heart.

caregiver relationship Between siblings, a relationship in which one sibling serves parental functions for the other.

case study Research method that entails the detailed examination of the life of one person or a small number of persons.

caste system Hindu belief that people are born into a particular caste based on their moral and spiritual conduct in their previous life. A person's caste then determines their status in Indian society.

casual relationship Between siblings, a relationship that is not emotionally intense, in which they have little to do with one another.

cathartic effect Effect sometimes attributed to media experiences, in which media experience has the effect of relieving unpleasant emotions.

cerebellum A structure in the lower brain, well beneath the cortex long thought to be involved only in basic functions such as movement, now known to be important for many higher functions as well, such as mathematics, music, decision making, and social skills.

child soldier Child or adolescent forced to become a soldier.

cliques Small groups of friends who know each other well, do things together, and form a regular social group.

clitoris Part of vulva in which females' sexual sensations are concentrated.

closed question Questionnaire format that entails choosing from specific responses provided for each question.

cognitive-behavior therapy (CBT) An approach to treating psychological disorders that focuses on changing negative ways of thinking and practicing new ways of interacting with others.

cognitive development Changes over time in how people think, how they solve problems, and how their capacities for memory and attention change.

cognitive-developmental approach Approach to understanding cognition that emphasizes the changes that take place at different ages.

cognitive-developmental theory of gender Kohlberg's theory, based on Piaget's ideas about cognitive development, asserting that gender is a fundamental way of organizing ideas about the world and that children develop through a predictable series of stages in their understanding of gender.

cognitive stage A period in which abilities are organized in a coherent, interrelated way.

cohabitation Living with a romantic partner outside of marriage.

collectivism A set of beliefs asserting that it is important for persons to mute their individual desires in order to contribute to the well-being and success of the group.

coming out For homosexuals, the process of acknowledging their homosexuality and then disclosing the truth to their friends, family, and others.

commercial sexual exploitation The practice of coerced or forced sex work for purposes of economic gain.

commitment Cognitive status in which persons commit themselves to certain points of view they believe to be the most valid while at the same time being open to reevaluating their views if new evidence is presented to them.

communal manhood Anthony Rotundo's term for the norm of manhood in 17th- and 18th-century colonial America, in which the focus of gender expectations for adolescent boys was on preparing to assume adult male role responsibilities in work and marriage.

community service Volunteer work provided as a contribution to the community, without monetary compensation.

companionate love In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that combines intimacy and commitment, but without passion.

companionship support Between friends, reliance on each other as companions in social activities.

complex thinking Thinking that takes into account multiple connections and interpretations, such as in the use of metaphor, satire, and sarcasm.

componential approach Description of the information-processing approach to cognition, indicating that it involves breaking down the thinking process into its various components.

comprehensive high school The form of the American high school that arose in the 1920s and is still the main form today, which encompasses a wide range of functions and includes classes in general education, college preparation, and vocational training.

comprehensive sexuality education Sex education programs that begin at an early age and include detailed information on sexual development and sexual behavior, with easy access to contraception for adolescents who choose to become sexually active.

concrete operations Cognitive stage from age 7 to 11 in which children learn to use mental operations but are limited to applying them to concrete, observable situations rather than hypothetical situations.

consensual validation In social science studies of interpersonal attraction, the principle that people like to find in others an agreement or consensus with their own characteristics and view of life.

consent form Written statement provided by a researcher to potential participants in a study, informing them of who is conducting the study, the purposes of the study, and what their participation would involve, including potential risks.

consummate love In Sternberg's theory of love, the form of love that integrates passion, intimacy, and commitment.

continuous A view of development as a gradual, steady process rather than as taking place in distinct stages.

control group In experimental research, the group that does not receive the treatment.

controversial adolescents Adolescents who are aggressive but who also possess social skills, so that they evoke strong emotions both positive and negative from their peers.

conventional reasoning In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the level of moral reasoning in which the person advocates the value of conforming to the moral expectations of others. What is right is whatever agrees with the rules established by tradition and by authorities.

correlation A statistical relationship between two variables, such that knowing one of the variables makes it possible to predict the other.

correlation versus causation A correlation is a predictable relationship between two variables, such that knowing one of the variables makes it possible to predict the other. However, just because two variables are correlated does not mean that one causes the other.

critical relationship Between siblings, a relationship characterized by a high level of conflict and teasing.

critical thinking Thinking that involves not merely memorizing information but analyzing it, making judgments about what it means, relating it to other information, and considering ways in which it might be valid or invalid.

cross-sectional research Study that examines individuals at one point in time.

crowds Large, reputation-based groups of adolescents.

crystallized intelligence Accumulated knowledge and enhanced judgment based on experience.

Cultivation Theory Media theory proposing that TV consumption shapes people's worldviews to resemble what is depicted on TV.

cultural beliefs The predominant beliefs in a culture about right and wrong, what is most important in life, and how life should be lived. May also include beliefs about where and how life originated and what happens after death.

cultural psychology Approach to human psychology emphasizing that psychological functioning cannot be separated from the culture in which it takes place.

culture The total pattern of a group's distinctive way of life, including customs, art, technologies, and beliefs.

custodial parent The parent who lives in the same household as the children following a divorce.

custom complex A customary practice and the beliefs, values, sanctions, rules, motives, and satisfactions associated with it; that is, a normative practice in a culture and the cultural beliefs that provide the basis for that practice.

cyberbullying Bullying via electronic means, mainly through the Internet.

D

dating scripts The cognitive models that guide dating interactions.

debt bondage Arrangement in which a person who is in debt pledges his labor or the labor of his children as payment.

delinquency Violations of the law committed by juveniles.

demandingness The degree to which parents set down rules and expectations for behavior and require their children to comply with them.

demeanor In Brake's description of youth cultures, refers to distinctive forms of gesture, gait, and posture.

dependent variable The outcome that is measured to evaluate the results of the experiment.

depressed mood An enduring period of sadness, without any other related symptoms of depression.

depression An enduring period of sadness.

developed countries Economic classification that includes the wealthy countries of the world, comprising about 18% of the total world population.

developing countries Economic classification that includes the less-wealthy countries of the world, in the process of economic development, comprising about 82% of the total world population.

dialectical thought Type of thinking that develops in emerging adulthood, involving a growing awareness that most problems do not have a single solution and that problems must often be addressed with crucial pieces of information missing.

diathesis-stress model A theory that mental disorders result from the combination of a diathesis (biological vulnerability) and environmental stresses.

differential gender socialization The term for socializing males and females according to different expectations about what attitudes and behavior are appropriate to each gender.

differential parenting When parents' behavior differs toward siblings within the same family.

discontinuous A view of development as taking place in stages that are distinct from one another rather than as one gradual, continuous process.

disengaged parents Parenting style in which parents are low in both demandingness and responsiveness and relatively uninvolved in their children's development.

disequilibrium In the family systems approach, this term is used in reference to a change that requires adjustments from family members.

divided attention The ability to focus on more than one task at a time.

divorce mediation An arrangement in which a professional mediator helps divorcing parents negotiate an agreement that both will find acceptable.

dizygotic (DZ) twins Twins with about half their genotype in common, the same as for other siblings. Also known as fraternal twins.

dormitory In some traditional cultures, a dwelling in which the community's adolescents sleep and spend their leisure time.

double standard Two different sets of rules for sexual behavior, one applying to males and the other females, with rules for females usually being more restrictive.

driver education Programs designed to teach young drivers safe driving skills before they receive their driver's license.

driving curfews In graduated licensing programs, a feature of the restricted license stage in which young drivers are prohibited from driving late at night except for a specific purpose such as going back and forth to work.

dual-earner family A family in which both parents are employed.

dualistic thinking Cognitive tendency to see situations and issues in polarized, absolute, black-and-white terms.

dyadic relationship A relationship between two persons.

E

early adolescence Period of human development lasting from about age 10 to about age 14.

effect size The difference between two groups in a meta-analysis, represented by the letter *d*.

emerging adulthood Period from roughly ages 18 to 25 in industrialized countries during which young people become more independent from parents and explore various life possibilities before making enduring commitments.

emotional loneliness Condition that occurs when people feel that the relationships they have lack sufficient closeness and intimacy.

empty love In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that is based on commitment alone, without passion or intimacy.

endocrine system A network of glands in the body. Through hormones, the glands coordinate their functioning and affect the development and functioning of the body.

engagement The quality of being psychologically committed to learning, including being alert and attentive in the classroom and making a diligent effort to learn.

esteem support The support friends provide each other by providing congratulations for success and encouragement or consolation for failure.

estradiol The estrogen most important in pubertal development among girls.

estrogens The sex hormones that have especially high levels in females from puberty onward and are mostly responsible for female primary and secondary sex characteristics.

ethnographic research Research in which scholars spend a considerable amount of time among the people they wish to study, usually living among them.

ethnography A book that presents an anthropologist's observations of what life is like in a particular culture.

ethos The beliefs about education that characterize a school as a whole.

evocative genotype → environment effects Occur when a person's inherited characteristics evoke responses from others in their environment.

executive functioning The ability to control and manage one's cognitive processes.

experimental group In experimental research, the group that receives the treatment.

experimental research method A research method that entails assigning participants randomly to an experimental group that received a treatment and a control group that does not receive the treatment, then comparing the two groups in a posttest.

experimental substance use Trying a substance once or perhaps a few times out of curiosity.

expressive traits Personality characteristics such as gentle and yielding, more often ascribed to females, emphasizing emotions and relationships.

externalizing problems Problems that affect a person's external world, such as delinquency and fighting.

extremities The feet, hands, and head.

exuberance See **overproduction.**

F

false self The self a person may present to others while realizing that it does not represent what he or she is actually thinking and feeling.

familismo Concept of family life characteristic of Latino cultures that emphasizes the love, closeness, and mutual obligations of family life.

family process The quality of relationships among family members.

family structure The outward characteristics of a family, such as whether or not the parents are married.

family systems approach An approach to understanding family functioning that emphasizes how each relationship within the family influences the family as a whole.

fatuous love In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that involves passion and commitment without intimacy.

feared self The self a person imagines it is possible to become but dreads becoming.

feedback loop System of hormones involving the hypothalamus, the pituitary gland, and the gonads, which monitors and adjusts the levels of the sex hormones.

field studies Studies in which people's behavior is observed in a natural setting.

filial piety Confucian belief, common in many Asian societies, that children are obligated to respect, obey, and revere their parents, especially the father.

first-generation families The status of persons who were born in one country and then immigrated to another.

fluid intelligence Mental abilities that involve speed of analyzing, processing, and reacting to information.

fMRI A technique for measuring brain functioning during an ongoing activity.

follicle-stimulating hormone (FSH) Along with LH, stimulates the development of gametes and sex hormones in the ovaries and testicles.

the forgotten half The nearly half of young Americans who enter the workplace following high school rather than attending college.

formal operations Cognitive stage from age 11 on up in which people learn to think systematically about possibilities and hypotheses.

frontal lobes The part of the brain immediately behind the forehead. Known to be involved in higher brain functions such as planning ahead and analyzing complex problems.

G

gametes Cells, distinctive to each sex, that are involved in reproduction (egg cells in the ovaries of the female and sperm in the testes of the male).

gap year A year between finishing secondary education and beginning tertiary education.

gender The social categories of male and female, established according to cultural beliefs and practices rather than being due to biology.

gender identity Children's understanding of themselves as being either male or female, reached at about age 3.

gender intensification hypothesis Hypothesis that psychological and behavioral differences between males and females become more pronounced at adolescence because of intensified socialization pressures to conform to culturally prescribed gender roles.

gender nonconforming People who typically identify as either female or male but whose behaviors are androgynous to a degree that falls outside conventional norms.

gender roles Cultural beliefs about the kinds of work, appearance, and other aspects of behavior that distinguish women from men.

gender schema theory Theory in which gender is viewed as one of the fundamental ways that people organize information about the world.

gender socialization The process through which cultures communicate gender expectations to children and adolescents.

generalizable Characteristic of a sample that refers to the degree to which findings based on the sample can be used to make accurate statements about the population of interest.

gifted students Students who have unusually high abilities in academics, art, or music.

globalization Increasing worldwide technological and economic integration, which is making different parts of the world increasingly connected and increasingly similar culturally.

gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) Hormone released by the hypothalamus that causes gonadotropins to be released by the pituitary.

gonadotropins Hormones (FSH and LH) that stimulate the development of gametes.

gonads The ovaries and testicles. Also known as the sex glands.

graduated driver licensing (GDL) A program that allows young people restricted driving privileges when they first receive their license, gradually increasing the privileges if the restrictions are not violated.

gray matter The outer layer of the brain, where most of the growth in brain cells occurs.

guided participation The teaching interaction between two people (often an adult and a child or adolescent) as they participate in a culturally valued activity.

H

health promotion Efforts to reduce health problems in young people through encouraging changes in the behaviors that put young people at risk.

homophobia Fear and hatred of homosexuals.

hormones Chemicals, released by the glands of the endocrine system, that affect the development and functioning of the body, including development during puberty.

hybrid identity An identity that integrates elements of various cultures.

hymen The thin membrane inside a girl's vagina that is usually broken during her first experience of sexual intercourse. Tested in some cultures before marriage to verify the girl's virginity.

hypothalamus The "master gland," located in the lower part of the brain beneath the cortex, that affects a wide range of physiological and psychological functioning and stimulates and regulates the production of hormones by other glands, including the ones involved in the initiation of puberty.

hypotheses Ideas, based on theory or previous research, that a scholar wishes to test in a scientific study.

hypothetical-deductive reasoning Piaget's term for the process by which the formal operational thinker systematically tests possible solutions to a problem and arrives at an answer that can be defended and explained.

I

ideal self The person an adolescent would like to be.

identifications Relationships formed with others, especially in childhood, in which love for another person leads one to want to be like that person.

identity Individuals' perceptions of their characteristics and abilities, their beliefs and values, their relations with others, and how their lives fit into the world around them.

identity achievement The identity status of young people who have made definite personal, occupational, and ideological choices following a period of exploring possible alternatives.

identity crisis Erikson's term for the intense period of struggle that adolescents may experience in the course of forming an identity.

identity diffusion An identity status that combines no exploration with no commitment. No commitments have been made among the available paths of identity formation, and the person is not seriously attempting to sort through potential choices and make enduring commitments.

identity foreclosure An identity status in which young people have not experimented with a range of possibilities but have nevertheless committed themselves to certain choices—commitment, but no exploration.

identity moratorium An identity status that involves exploration but no commitment, in which young people are trying out different personal, occupational, and ideological possibilities.

identity status model An approach to conceptualizing and researching identity development that classifies people into one of four identity categories: foreclosure, diffusion, moratorium, or achievement.

identity versus identity confusion Erikson's term for the crisis typical of the adolescent stage of life, in which individuals may follow the healthy path of establishing a clear and definite sense of who they are and how they fit into the world around them, or follow the unhealthy alternative of failing to form a stable and secure identity.

image In Brake's description of the characteristics of youth culture, refers to dress, hair style, jewelry, and other aspects of appearance.

imaginary audience Belief that others are acutely aware of and attentive to one's appearance and behavior.

immigrant paradox The research finding that the more generations an immigrant family has been in the United States, the worse the children do in school.

incest taboo The prohibition on sexual relations between family members. Believed to be biologically based, as children born to closely related parents are at higher risk for genetic disorders.

independent self A conception of the self typically found in individualistic cultures, in which the self is seen as existing independently of relations with others, with an emphasis on independence, individual freedoms, and individual achievements.

independent variable The variable that is different for the experimental group than for the control group.

individual differences Approach to research that focuses on how individuals differ within a group, for example, in performance on IQ tests.

individualism Cultural belief system that emphasizes the desirability of independence, self-sufficiency, and self-expression.

infatuation In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that is based on passion alone, without intimacy or commitment.

information-processing approach An approach to understanding cognition that seeks to delineate the steps involved in the thinking process and how each step is connected to the next.

informational support Between friends, advice and guidance in solving personal problems.

informed consent Standard procedure in social scientific studies that entails informing potential participants of what their participation would involve, including any possible risks.

initiation phase In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the first phase, usually in early adolescence, when the first tentative explorations of romantic interests begin, usually superficial and brief, often fraught with anxiety, fear, and excitement.

insecure attachment Type of attachment to caregiver in which infants are timid about exploring the environment and resist or avoid the caregiver when she attempts to offer comfort or consolation.

instrumental support Between friends, help with tasks of various kinds.

instrumental traits Personality characteristics such as self-reliant and forceful, more often ascribed to males, emphasizing action and accomplishment.

intelligence quotient A measure of a person's intellectual abilities based on a standardized test.

interdependence The web of commitments, attachments, and obligations that exist in some human groups.

interdependent self A conception of the self typically found in collectivistic cultures, in which the self is seen as defined by roles and relationships within the group.

internal consistency A statistical calculation that indicates the extent to which the different items in a scale or subscale are answered in a similar way.

internal working model In attachment theory, the term for the cognitive framework, based on interactions in infancy with the primary caregiver, that shapes expectations and interactions in relationships to others throughout life.

internalizing problems Problems such as depression and anxiety that affect a person's internal world, for example: depression, anxiety, and eating disorders.

International Labor Organization (ILO) An organization that seeks to prevent children and adolescents from being exploited in the workplace.

interventions Programs intended to change the attitudes and/or behavior of the participants.

interview Research method that involves asking people questions in a conversational format, such that people's answers are in their own words.

intimacy The degree to which two people share personal knowledge, thoughts, and feelings.

intimacy versus isolation Erikson's term for the central issue of young adulthood, in which persons face alternatives between committing themselves to another person in an intimate relationship or becoming isolated as a consequence of an inability to form an enduring intimate relationship.

J

juveniles Persons defined by the legal system as being younger than adult status.

K

Koran The holy book of the religion of Islam, believed by Muslims to have been communicated to Muhammad from God through the angel Gabriel.

L

labia majora Part of vulva; Latin for "large lips."

labia minora Part of vulva; Latin for "small lips."

Lamarckian Reference to Lamarck's ideas, popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, that evolution takes place as a result of accumulated experience such that organisms pass on their characteristics from one generation to the next in the form of memories and acquired characteristics.

late adolescence Period of human development lasting from about age 15 to about age 18.

latency period A period, common with STIs, between the time a person is infected with a disease and the time symptoms appear.

learning disability In schools, a diagnosis made when a child or adolescent has normal intelligence but has difficulty in one or more academic areas and the difficulty cannot be attributed to any other disorder.

leptin A protein, produced by fat cells, that signals the hypothalamus to initiate the hormonal changes of puberty.

life-course-persistent delinquents (LCPDs) In Moffitt's theory, adolescents who show a history of related problems both prior to and following adolescence.

life-cycle service A period in their late teens and 20s in which young people from the 16th to the 19th century engaged in domestic service, farm service, or apprenticeships in various trades and crafts.

liking In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that is based on intimacy alone, without passion or commitment.

longitudinal study A study in which data is collected from the participants on more than one occasion.

long-term memory Memory for information that is committed to longer-term storage, so that it can be drawn upon after a period when attention has not been focused on it.

luteinizing hormone (LH) Along with FSH, stimulates the development of gametes and sex hormones in the ovaries and testicles.

M

machismo Ideology of manhood, common in Latino cultures, which emphasizes males' dominance over females.

major depressive disorder Psychological diagnosis that entails depressed mood or reduced interest or pleasure in all or almost all activities, plus at least four other specific symptoms. Symptoms must be present over at least a 2-week period and must involve a change from previous functioning.

marginality In the formation of ethnic identity, the option that involves rejecting one's culture of origin but also feeling rejected by the majority culture.

marianismo The belief, common in Catholic cultures, that females should emulate the Virgin Mary by being submissive and self-denying.

massive open online courses (MOOCs) College courses presented electronically, via the Internet, usually at no cost to the student.

maturation Process by which abilities develop through genetically based development with limited influence from the environment.

maximum oxygen uptake (VO_2 max) A measure of the ability of the body to take in oxygen and transport it to various organs; peaks in the early 20s.

Mean World Syndrome Theory that the more people watch television, the more likely they are to believe that the world is dangerous and that they are at risk for being a crime victim.

Media Practice Model Theory proposing that media use begins with identity, then proceeds to selection, attention, interaction, application, and back to identity.

median In a distribution of scores, the point at which half of the population scores above and half below.

medicinal substance use Substance use undertaken for the purpose of relieving an unpleasant emotional state such as sadness, anxiety, stress, or loneliness.

menarche A girl's first menstrual period.

men's house In some traditional cultures, a dormitory where adolescent boys sleep and hang out along with adult men who are widowed or divorced.

mental operations Cognitive activity involving manipulating and reasoning about objects.

mental structure The organization of cognitive abilities into a single pattern, such that thinking in all aspects of life is a reflection of that structure.

meta-analysis A statistical technique that integrates the data from many studies into one comprehensive statistical analysis.

metacognition The capacity for "thinking about thinking" that allows adolescents and adults to reason about their thought processes and monitor them.

method A scientific strategy for collecting data.

midlife crisis The popular belief, largely unfounded according to research, that most people experience a crisis when they reach about age 40, involving intensive reexamination of their lives and perhaps sudden and dramatic changes if they are dissatisfied.

mikveh A ritual bath that Jewish Orthodox women are obliged to take a week after their period as a way of cleansing themselves of the impurity believed to be associated with menstruation.

mnemonic devices Memory strategies.

monozygotic (MZ) twins Twins with exactly the same genotype. Also known as identical twins.

multiple thinking Cognitive approach entailing recognition that there is more than one legitimate view of things and that it can be difficult to justify one position as the true or accurate one.

multisystemic approach Delinquency prevention strategy that addresses risk factors at several levels, including the home, the school, and the neighborhood.

mutual perspective taking Stage of perspective taking, often found in early adolescence, in which persons understand that their perspective-taking interactions with others are mutual, in the sense that each side realizes that the other can take their perspective.

myelination Process by which myelin, a blanket of fat wrapped around the main part of the neuron, grows. Myelin serves the function of keeping the brain's electrical signals on one path and increasing their speed.

N

narrow socialization The process by which persons in a collectivistic culture come to learn collectivism, including values of obedience and conformity.

natural experiment A situation that occurs naturally but that provides interesting scientific information to the perceptive observer.

nature–nurture debate Debate over the relative importance of biology and the environment in human development.

negative attributions Beliefs that one's current unhappiness is permanent and uncontrollable.

negative identity Erikson's term for an identity based on what a person has seen portrayed as most undesirable or dangerous.

neglected adolescents Adolescents who have few or no friends and are largely unnoticed by their peers.

neurons Cells of the nervous system, including the brain.

the new basic skills Skills identified by Murnane and Levy that are required for high school graduates who wish to be able to obtain the best jobs available in the new information-based economy.

nonshared environmental influences Influences experienced differently among siblings within the same family, e.g., when parents behave differently with their different children.

normal distribution or **bell curve** The bell-shaped curve that represents many human characteristics, with most people around the average and a gradually decreasing proportion toward the extremes.

O

occupational deviance Deviant acts committed in relation to the workplace, such as stealing supplies.

ontogenetic Something that occurs naturally in the course of development as part of normal maturation; that is, it is driven by innate processes rather than by environmental stimulation or a specific cultural practice.

open-ended question Questionnaire format that involves writing in response to each question.

optimistic bias The tendency to assume that accidents, diseases, and other misfortunes are more likely to happen to other people than to one's self.

organizational core Term applied especially to cognitive development, meaning that cognitive development affects all areas of thinking, no matter what the topic.

overcontrolled Personality characterized by inhibition, anxiety, and self-punishment, sometimes ascribed to adolescents who have internalizing problems.

overevaluation Evaluating persons favorably because they violate gender norms.

overproduction or exuberance A rapid increase in the production of synaptic connections in the brain.

ovum Mature egg that develops from follicle in ovaries about every 28 days.

P

parental consent A legal requirement, in some states, that minors must obtain their parents' permission to have an abortion.

parental monitoring The degree to which parents keep track of where their adolescents are and what they are doing.

parental notification A legal requirement, in some states, that minors must notify their parents before having an abortion.

parenting styles The patterns of practices that parents exhibit in relation to their children.

participant observation A research method that involves taking part in various activities with the people being studied, and learning about them through participating in the activities with them.

passionate manhood Anthony Rotundo's term for the norm of manhood in the 20th-century United States, in which self-expression and self-enjoyment replaced self-control and self-denial as the paramount virtues young males should learn in the course of becoming a man.

passive genotype → environment effects Situation in biological families that parents provide both genes and environment for their children, making genes and environment difficult to separate in their effects on children's development.

patriarchal authority Cultural belief in the absolute authority of the father over his wife and children.

Peace Corps An international service program in which Americans provide service to a community in a foreign country for 2 years.

peak height velocity The point at which the adolescent growth spurt is at its maximum rate.

peer contagion Term for the increase in delinquent behavior that often takes place as an unintended consequence of bringing adolescents with problems together for an intervention, because in the intervention setting they reinforce each other's delinquent tendencies and find new partners for delinquent acts.

peer-reviewed When a scholarly article or book is evaluated by a scholar's peers (i.e., other scholars) for scientific credibility and importance.

pendulum problem Piaget's classic test of formal operations, in which persons are asked to figure out what determines the speed at which a pendulum sways from side to side.

Performance subtests In the Wechsler IQ tests, subtests that examine abilities for attention, spatial perception, and speed of processing.

permissive cultures Cultures that encourage and expect sexual activity from their adolescents.

permissive parents Parenting style in which parents are low in demandingness and high in responsiveness. They show love and affection toward their children but are permissive with regard to standards for behavior.

personal fable A belief in one's personal uniqueness, often including a sense of invulnerability to the consequences of taking risks.

perspective taking The ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others.

Jean Piaget Influential Swiss developmental psychologist, best known for his theories of cognitive and moral development.

pilot testing In research, trying out measures on a small number of participants to ensure that the measures have adequate reliability and validity.

pituitary gland A gland about half an inch long located at the base of the brain that releases gonadotropins as part of the body's preparation for reproduction.

placebo design Research design in which some persons in a study receive medication and others receive placebos, which are pills that contain no medication.

population The entire group of people of interest in a study.

possible selves A person's conception of the self as it potentially may be. May include both an ideal self and a feared self.

postconventional reasoning In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the level in which moral reasoning is based on the individual's own independent judgments rather than on egocentric considerations or considerations of what others view as wrong or right.

postformal thinking Type of thinking beyond formal operations, involving greater awareness of the complexity of real-life situations, such as in the use of pragmatism and reflective judgment.

postmodern identity A conception of identity as complex and as highly variable across contexts and across time.

pragmatism Type of thinking that involves adapting logical thinking to the practical constraints of real-life situations.

preconventional reasoning In Kohlberg's theory of moral development, the level in which moral reasoning is based on perceptions of the likelihood of external rewards and punishments.

predictive validity In longitudinal research, the ability of a variable at Time 1 to predict the outcome of a variable at Time 2.

prefrontal cortex The foremost part of the frontal lobe, involved in distinctively human functions such as planning and reasoning.

premenstrual syndrome (PMS) The combination of behavioral, emotional, and physical symptoms that occur in some females the week before menstruation.

preoperational stage Cognitive stage from ages 2 to 7 during which the child becomes capable of representing the world symbolically—for example, through the use of language—but is still very limited in ability to use mental operations.

primary caregiver The person mainly responsible for caring for an infant or young child.

primary sex characteristics The production of eggs and sperm and the development of the sex organs.

proactive script A dating script, more common for males than for females, that includes initiating the date, deciding where they will go, controlling the public domain (e.g., driving the car and opening the doors), and initiating sexual contact.

problem behavior Behavior that young people engage in that is viewed by adults as a source of problems, such as unprotected premarital sex and substance use.

procedure Standards for the way a study is conducted. Includes informed consent and certain rules for avoiding biases in the data collection.

procreate In the manhood requirements of traditional cultures, the requirement of being able to function sexually well enough to produce children.

prosocial Promoting the well-being of others.

protect In the manhood requirements of traditional cultures, the requirement of being able to assist in protecting one's family and community from human and animal attackers.

protective factor Characteristics of young people that are related to lower likelihood of participation in risk behavior.

provide In the manhood requirements of traditional cultures, the requirement of being able to provide economically for one's self as well as a wife and children.

psychohistory The psychological analysis of important historical figures.

psychometric approach Attempt to understand human cognition by evaluating cognitive abilities using intelligence tests.

psychosocial moratorium Erikson's term for a period during adolescence when adult responsibilities are postponed as young people try on various possible selves.

puberty The changes in physiology, anatomy, and physical functioning that develop a person into a mature adult biologically and prepare the body for sexual reproduction.

Q

qualitative Data that is collected in nonnumerical form, usually in interviews or observations.

quantitative Data that is collected in numerical form, usually on questionnaires.

R

Ramadan A month in the Muslim year that commemorates the revelation of the Koran from God to the prophet Muhammad, requiring fasting from sunrise to sunset each day and refraining from all sensual indulgences.

random sample Sampling technique in which the people selected for participation in a study are chosen randomly, meaning that no one in the population has a better or worse chance of being selected than anyone else.

reaction range Term meaning that genes establish a range of possible development and environment determines where development takes place within that range.

reactive script A dating script, more common for females than males, that focuses on the private domain (e.g., spending considerable time on dress and grooming prior to the date), responding to the date's gestures in the public domain (e.g., being picked up, waiting for him to open the doors), and responding to his sexual initiatives.

recapitulation Now-discredited theory that held that the development of each individual recapitulates the evolutionary development of the human species as a whole.

reciprocal effects In relations between parents and children, the concept that children not only are affected by their parents but affect their parents in return. Also called bidirectional effects.

reductionism Breaking up a phenomenon into separate parts to such an extent that the meaning and coherence of the phenomenon as a whole becomes lost.

reflective judgment The capacity to evaluate the accuracy and logical coherence of evidence and arguments.

rejected adolescents Adolescents who are actively disliked by their peers.

relatedness The quality of being emotionally close to another person.

relational aggression A form of nonphysical aggression that harms others by damaging their relationships, for example by excluding them socially or spreading rumors about them.

relative performance In IQ tests, performance results compared to those of other persons of the same age.

relativism Cognitive ability to recognize the legitimacy of competing points of view but also compare the relative merits of competing views.

reliability Characteristic of a measure that refers to the extent to which results of the measure on one occasion are similar to results of the measure on a separate occasion.

representative Characteristic of a sample that refers to the degree to which it accurately represents the population of interest.

research design The plan for when and how to collect the data for the study, for example the decision of whether to collect data at one time point or at more than one point.

resilience Overcoming adverse environmental circumstances to achieve healthy development.

response bias On a questionnaire, the tendency to choose the same response for all items.

responsiveness The degree to which parents are sensitive to their children's needs and express love, warmth, and concern for them.

restrictive cultures Cultures that place strong prohibitions on adolescent sexual activity before marriage.

retention The degree of success in maintaining students in college until they graduate.

retention rate In a longitudinal study, the percentage of participants who continued to take part in the study after the first year.

risk behavior Problems that involve the risk of negative outcomes, such as risky driving and substance use.

rival relationship Between siblings, a relationship in which they compete against each other and measure their success against one another.

role preparation An outcome of socialization that includes preparation for occupational roles, gender roles, and roles in institutions such as marriage and parenthood.

roles Defined social positions in a culture, containing specifications of behavior, status, and relations with others. Examples include gender, age, and social class.

romantic love In Sternberg's theory of love, the type of love that combines passion and intimacy, but without commitment.

S

sample The people included in a given study, who are intended to represent the population of interest.

scaffolding The degree of assistance provided to the learner in the zone of proximal development, gradually decreasing as the learner's skills develop.

schema A mental structure for organizing and interpreting information.

schemes A mental structure for organizing and interpreting information.

school climate The quality of interactions between teachers and students, including how teachers interact with students, what sort of expectations and standards they have for students, and what kinds of methods are used in the classroom.

scientific method A systematic way of finding the answers to questions or problems that includes standards of sampling, procedure, and measures.

second shift The domestic work shift performed in the household by women after they complete their first shift in the workplace.

secondary sex characteristics Bodily changes of puberty not directly related to reproduction.

secondary school The schools attended by adolescents, usually including a lower secondary school and an upper secondary school.

second-generation families The status of persons who were born in the country they currently reside in but whose parents were born in a different country.

secular Based on nonreligious beliefs and values.

secular trend A change in the characteristics of a population over time.

secure attachment Type of attachment to caregiver in which infants use the caregiver as a "secure base from which to explore" when all is well, but seek physical comfort and consolation from her if frightened or threatened.

selective association The principle that most people tend to choose friends who are similar to themselves.

selective attention The ability to focus on relevant information while screening out information that is irrelevant.

self-concept Persons' views of themselves, usually including concrete characteristics (such as height and age) as well as roles, relationships, and personality characteristics.

self-esteem A person's overall sense of worth and well-being.

self-image A person's evaluation of his or her qualities and relations with others. Closely related to self-esteem.

self-made manhood Anthony Rotundo's term for the norm of manhood in 19th-century America, in which males were increasingly expected to become independent from their families in adolescence and emerging adulthood as part of becoming a man.

self-medication The use of substances for relieving unpleasant states such as sadness or stress.

self-perception A person's view of his or her characteristics and abilities. Closely related to self-esteem.

self-regulation The capacity for exercising self-control in order to restrain one's impulses and comply with social norms.

self-socialization In gender socialization, refers to the way that children seek to maintain consistency between the norms they have learned about gender and their behavior.

semenarche A male's first ejaculation.

semirestrictive cultures Cultures that have prohibitions on premarital adolescent sex, but the prohibitions are not strongly enforced and are easily evaded.

sensation seeking A personality characteristic defined by the extent to which a person enjoys novelty and intensity of sensation.

sensorimotor stage Cognitive stage in first 2 years of life that involves learning how to coordinate the activities of the senses with motor activities.

separation In the formation of ethnic identity, the approach that involves associating only with members of one's own ethnic group and rejecting the ways of the majority culture.

set point Optimal level of sex hormones in the body. When this point is reached, responses in the glands of the feedback loop cause the production of sex hormones to be reduced.

sex The biological status of being male or female.

sex hormones Androgens and estrogens that cause the development of primary and secondary sex characteristics.

sexual coercion An act of sexual aggression in which a person, usually a woman, is forced by a romantic partner, date, or acquaintance to have sexual relations against her will.

sexual harassment A wide range of threatening or aggressive behaviors related to sexuality, from mild harassment such as name-calling, jokes, and leering looks to severe harassment involving unwanted touching or sexual contact.

sexual scripts Cognitive frameworks, often different for males and females, for understanding how a sexual experience is supposed to proceed and how sexual experiences are to be interpreted.

short-term memory Memory for information that is the current focus of attention.

slang An informal vocabulary and grammar that is different from that of the native language.

social and conventional system perspective taking Realizing that the social perspectives of self and others are influenced not just by their interaction with each other but by their roles in the larger society.

social cognition How people think about other people, social relationships, and social institutions.

social desirability The tendency for people participating in social science studies to report their behavior as they believe it would be approved by others rather than as it actually occurred.

social information processing The interpretation of others' behavior and intentions in a social interaction.

Social Learning Theory Theory proposing that people tend to imitate behaviors they see rewarded when performed by others.

social loneliness Condition that occurs when people feel that they lack a sufficient number of social contacts and relationships.

social networking websites Internet websites such as Facebook and MySpace that allow users a forum for identity presentation and for making and maintaining social contacts.

social roles theory Theory that social roles for males and females enhance or suppress different capabilities, so that males and females tend to develop different skills and attitudes, which leads to gender-specific behaviors.

social skills Skills for successfully handling social relations and getting along well with others.

social substance use The use of substances in the course of social activities with one or more friends.

socialization The process by which people acquire the behaviors and beliefs of the culture in which they live.

society A group of people who interact in the course of sharing a common geographical area. A single society may include a variety of cultures with different customs, religions, family traditions, and economic practices.

socioeconomic status (SES) Classification of social class and economic status, including educational attainment and occupational status.

sociometry A method for assessing popularity and unpopularity that involves having students rate the social status of other students.

sources of meaning The ideas and beliefs that people learn as part of socialization, indicating what is important, what is to be valued, what is to be lived for, and how to explain and offer consolation for the individual's mortality.

spermarche Beginning of development of sperm in boys' testicles at puberty.

status phase In Brown's developmental model of adolescent love, the second phase, in which adolescents begin to gain confidence in their skills at interacting with potential romantic partners and begin to form their first romantic relationships, assessing not just how much they like and are attracted to the person, but also how their status with friends and peers would be influenced.

stereotype A belief that others possess certain characteristics simply as a result of being a member of a particular group.

storm and stress Theory promoted by G. Stanley Hall asserting that adolescence is inevitably a time of mood disruptions, conflict with parents, and antisocial behavior.

stratified sampling Sampling technique in which researchers select participants so that various categories of people are represented in proportions equal to their presence in the population.

style The distinguishing features of youth culture, including image, demeanor, and argot.

substance use Use of substances that have cognitive and mood-altering effects, including alcohol, cigarettes, and illegal drugs such as marijuana, LSD, and cocaine.

subterranean values Values such as hedonism, excitement, and adventure, asserted by sociologists to be the basis of youth culture.

super peer One of the functions of media for adolescents, meaning that adolescents often look to media for information (especially concerning sexuality) that their parents may be unwilling to provide, in the same way they might look to a friend.

survey A questionnaire study that involves asking a large number of people questions about their opinions, beliefs, or behavior.

symbolic inheritance The set of ideas and understandings, both implicit and explicit, about persons, society, nature, and divinity that serve as a guide to life in a particular culture. It is expressed symbolically through stories, songs, rituals, sacred objects, and sacred places.

synapse The point of transmission between two nerve cells.

synaptic pruning Following **overproduction**, the process by which the number of synapses in the brain are reduced, making brain functioning faster and more efficient but less flexible.

T

templates The basic human pattern of moral development for the three ethics, subject to variation depending on the beliefs and values of a specific culture.

tertiary education All education and training beyond the secondary level, including colleges, universities, and occupational training programs.

testosterone The androgen most important in pubertal development among boys.

test-retest reliability Type of reliability that examines whether or not persons' scores on one occasion are similar to their scores on another occasion.

The West Cultural group of countries that includes the United States, Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Distinctive characteristics

include stable democracies, secularism, consumerism,

and individualism.

theory A framework that presents a set of interconnected ideas in an original way and inspires further research.

theory of genotype → environment effects Theory that both genetics and environment make essential contributions to human development but are difficult to unravel because our genes actually influence the kind of environment we experience.

theory of mind The ability to attribute mental states to one's self and others, including beliefs, thoughts, and feelings.

theory of multiple intelligences Howard Gardner's theory that there are eight separate types of intelligence.

traditional culture Culture that adheres to long-established beliefs and practices. Usually not economically developed.

transgender People whose self-identification does not match their biological sex.

transracial adoption The adoption of children of one race by parents of a different race.

transsexuals People who experience a fundamental mismatch between their gender and their sex, and who may address this misalignment through physical transformations ranging from adopting clothes characteristic of the other sex to sex reassignment surgery.

U

undercontrolled Personality characterized by a lack of self-control, sometimes ascribed to adolescents who have externalizing problems.

unemployed The status of persons who are not in school, not working, and who are looking for a job.

unstructured socializing The term for young people spending time together with no specific event as the center of their activity.

uses and gratifications approach Approach to understanding media that emphasizes that people differ in numerous ways that lead them to make different choices about which media to consume and that even people consuming the same media product will respond to it in a variety of ways, depending on their individual characteristics.

V

validity The truthfulness of a measure, that is, the extent to which it measures what it claims to measure.

Verbal subtests In the Wechsler IQ tests, subtests that examine verbal abilities.

vital capacity The amount of air that can be exhaled after a deep breath, which increases rapidly during puberty, especially for boys.

vulva External female sex organs, including the labia majora, the labia minora, and the clitoris.

Lev Vygotsky Russian psychologist who emphasized the cultural basis of cognitive development.

W

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS-V) Intelligence test for persons aged 16 and up, with six Verbal and five Performance subtests.

Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-V) Intelligence test for children aged 6 to 16, with six Verbal and five Performance subtests.

white matter The part of the brain that consists of myelinated axons.

withdrawal symptoms States such as high anxiety and tremors experienced by persons who stop taking the substance to which they are addicted.

women's movement Organized effort in the 20th century to obtain greater rights and opportunities for women.

working memory An aspect of short-term memory that refers to where information is stored as it is comprehended and analyzed.

worldview A set of cultural beliefs that explain what it means to be human, how human relations should be conducted, and how human problems should be addressed.

Y

young people Term that includes adolescents as well as emerging adults, across a broad age range of 10 to 25.

youth culture The culture of young people as a whole, separate from children and separate from adult society, characterized by values of hedonism and irresponsibility.

Z

zone of proximal development The gap between how competently a person performs a task alone and when guided by an adult or more competent peer.

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