

DEVELOPMENT THROUGHLIFE A Psychosocial Approach



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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

LIFE STAGE

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

PSYCHOSOCIAL CRISIS

PRENATAL (Conception to birth) *Chapter 4*

1		
INFANCY (First 24 months) <i>Chapter 5</i>	Maturation of sensory/perceptual, and motor functions Sensorimotor intelligence: Processing, organizing and using information Communication Attachment Emotional development	Trust versus mistrust
TODDLERHOOD (2 to 4) <i>Chapter</i> 6	Elaboration of locomotion Language development Fantasy play Self-control	Autonomy versus shame and doubt
EARLY SCHOOL Age (4 to 6) Chapter 7	Gender identification Early moral development Self-theory Peer play	Initiative versus guilt
MIDDLE CHILDHOOD (6 to 12) <i>Chapter 8</i>	Friendship Concrete operations Skill learning Self-evaluation Team play	Industry versus inferiority
EARLY ADOLESCENCE (12 to 18) <i>Chapter 9</i>	Physical maturation Formal operations Emotional development Membership in the peer group Romantic and sexual relationships	Group identity versus alienation
LATER ADOLESCENCE (18 to 24) <i>Chapter 10</i>	Autonomy from parents Gender identity Internalized morality Career choice	Individual identity versus identity confusion
EARLY ADULTHOOD (24 to 34) <i>Chapter 11</i>	Exploring intimate relationships Childbearing Work Lifestyle	Intimacy versus isolation
MIDDLE ADULTHOOD (34 to 60) <i>Chapter 12</i>	Managing a career Nurturing an intimate relationship Expanding caring relationships Managing the household	Generativity versus stagnation
LATER ADULTHOOD (60 to 75) <i>Chapter 13</i>	Accepting one's life Promoting intellectual vigor Redirecting energy toward new roles Developing a point of view about death	Integrity versus despair
ELDERHOOD (75 until death) <i>Chapter 14</i>	Coping with the physical changes of aging Developing a psychohistorical perspective Traveling uncharted territory: Life structures of the very old	Immortality versus extinction

CENTRAL PROCESS	PRIME ADAPTIVE EGO QUALITY	CORE PATHOLOGY	APPLIED TOPIC
			Abortion
Mutuality with the caregiver	Норе	Withdrawal	The role of the parents
Imitation	Will	Compulsion	Child care
Identification	Purpose	Inhibition	School readiness
Education	Competence	Inertia	Violence in the lives of children
Peer pressure	Fidelity to others	Dissociation	Adolescent alcohol and drug use
Role experimentation	Fidelity to values	Repudiation	Dropping out of college
Mutuality among peers	Love	Exclusivity	Divorce
Person-environment interaction and creativity	Care	Rejectivity	Discrimination in the workplace
Introspection	Wisdom	Disdain	Retirement
Social support	Confidence	Diffidence	Meeting the needs of the frail elderly

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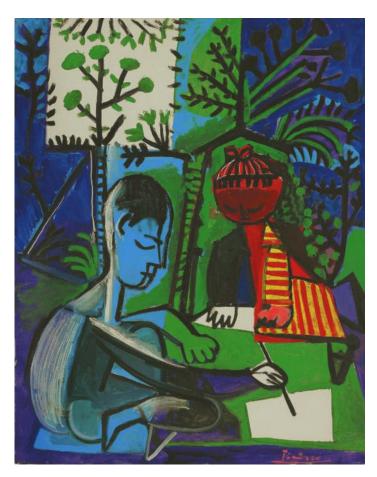
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THIRTEENTH EDITION

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH LIFE

A Psychosocial Approach



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Preface

The first edition of *Development Through Life* was published in 1975. Since that time, an expanding scientific study of human development and increases in longevity have converged to create a remarkable revision of our understanding of the life course. Insights about human development have emerged in a vibrant research environment with new interdisciplinary approaches to research, greater inclusion of diverse samples in the United States and internationally, new statistical techniques to manage multiple observations and multiple variables, and a growing acceptance of qualitative studies.

Today, the years of infancy and childhood comprise a smaller percentage of the life span than was the case in 1975. Researchers look in much greater detail at the prenatal stage as a dynamic period when learning begins, the environment impacts the developmental trajectory, and conditions of pregnancy influence fetal growth. Genetic studies now recognize the role of the environment in silencing or enhancing gene expression in ways that can be transmitted from one generation to the next. Research on infant development, particularly in the first days and weeks of life, has flourished, resulting in greater appreciation for the cognitive and sensory capacities of the newborn. The expanding field of evolutionary psychology has shed new light on the adaptive capacities of infants and the features of the parent-infant relationships that contribute to survival and long-term growth. There is a growing consensus about what constitutes effective or "good" parenting and the cascading negative impact of harsh or neglectful parenting.

The application of developmental systems theory has provided many new insights into the way change occurs. We view development as a product of the interaction of many levels at once, each potentially altering the others. For example, neuroimaging studies illustrate how various areas of the brain interact and influence each other. As a person engages in cognitive tasks, such as problem solving or risk assessment, areas of the brain involved in emotion regulation, attention, motor activity, and sensory processing are all recruited.

In the current edition of *Development Through Life*, we have included discussions about conditions of life in other industrialized countries. We are troubled to note many ways in which life in the United States, as exciting and promising as it is, does not compare favorably. As you read, you will find that infant mortality, student performance in math and science, teen pregnancies, school dropouts, children and adolescents who are victims of violent crime, children in poverty, children who experience multiple parental transitions, debt-burden in later adolescence and early adulthood, homelessness, and the health and longevity of the elderly are all less favorable in the United States than in many other countries. These comparisons lead us to urge scholars in human development to be more active advocates for policies that promote optimal development through the life span.

One of the troubling realities of the current historical period is extreme income inequality in the United States and associated disparities in health, educational attainment, and occupational opportunities. Despite the knowledge about effective interventions and best practices, greed among the very top segment of the population is preventing the level of investment in programs that would improve many of the conditions mentioned above. From a psychosocial perspective, we see evidence of stagnation among the very wealthy that has serious implications for future societal well-being.

The Stage Approach

The text provides a thorough chronological introduction to the study of human development from conception through elderhood. We examine physical, intellectual, social, and emotional growth in each of 11 stages, emphasizing that development results from the interdependence of these areas at every stage. This strategy gives attention to important developmental themes that recur in different stages of life. For each life stage, the process of development is linked to internal conflicts, changing self-awareness, and a dynamic social environment. As a result, students gain a sense of a multidimensional person, striving toward new levels of competence and mastery, embedded in multiple contexts.

In our stage approach, we cover two stages of adolescence, early adolescence with the psychosocial crisis of group identity versus alienation, and later adolescence, with the psychosocial crisis of individual identity versus identity confusion. We are witnessing an ever more gradual transition out of adolescence into adulthood so that the period we call later adolescence is lasting well into the decade of the 20s. Research on educational and occupational attainment, relationships with family, and the formation of intimate bonds all point to the idea that the life commitments that used to be formed in the decade of the 20s are being forestalled for many young people into their late 20s and 30s. Studies of brain development lend support to this view of a more gradual transition from adolescence to adulthood as capacities for executive function become increasingly coordinated with other brain regions governing emotional reactions and responses to stress.

Life expectancy in the United States has changed over the past 40 years so that today those who are already age 65 can expect to live an average of another 19 years. As a result, we cover two stages of later life: later adulthood and elderhood. Those in the period of elderhood (ages 75 and beyond) are the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population. As the baby boomers age, they will contribute to an even greater proportion of the population

in elderhood. These elders will experience a period of life that is more active, more informed about healthy lifestyle practices, and less constrained by traditional gender and family role scripts than ever before. At the same time, a burst in commercialism is targeting older adults and making them potentially vulnerable to exploitation and poor quality care.

Advantages of the Psychosocial Framework

Psychosocial theory provides an organizing conceptual framework, highlighting the continuous interaction and integration of individual competencies with the demands and resources of culture. Development is viewed as a product of genetic, maturational, societal, and self-directed factors. The psychosocial framework helps students think about how people make meaning of their experiences and how efforts at meaning making change over the life span. Applying the psychosocial framework to an analysis of human development has the following advantages:

- Helps to identify and emphasize themes and directions of growth across the life span.
- Helps readers assess the influence of experiences during earlier life stages on later development.
- Clarifies how one's past, present, and expectations of the future are systematically connected to the lives of people who are older and younger, highlighting intergenerational transmission and the reciprocal influences of the generations.
- Offers a hopeful outlook on the total life course, including positive psychological capacities such as hope, purpose, love, and caring.
- Offers insight into human vulnerabilities at each life stage, embracing these negative poles as potentially adaptive while recognizing the possibility that they can result in an outlook of extreme cautiousness, self-doubt, or social withdrawal.
- Clarifies how a personal worldview develops within the context of cultural influences and historical events.
- Locates development within a framework of significant relationships, emphasizing the simultaneous and complementary processes of autonomy and connection.

The Life-Span Perspective

When we wrote the first edition of *Development Through Life*, we had just completed graduate study, had two young children, and were in the midst of early adulthood. Now, at the publication of the 13th edition, we have just celebrated the birth of our fifth grandchild; our three adult children are all married, living in cities across the country and thriving in their careers; and we are experiencing the challenges of later adulthood.

The psychosocial life-span perspective has been a valuable orienting framework for our scholarly work as well as our personal lives. It has provided insights into the birth and parenting of our children and grandchildren; the deaths of our parents; the successes, disappointments, and transitions of our work lives; and the conflicts and delights of our relationship as husband and wife. The themes of this book have allowed us to anticipate and cope with the challenges of adult life and to remain resilient in the face of crises. We hope that the ideas presented in this text will provide these same benefits to you.

In addition to enhancing self-understanding, the life-span perspective provides a broader worldview. The ego strengths and developmental competences of those in early, middle and later adulthood provide the resources that are needed to care for and nurture the young. The way that elders find meaning in their longevity and approach the end of life inspire those in younger stages to live their life with hopefulness. And now, in the context of rapidly changing electronic media, younger children and adolescents are increasingly able to guide their elders in embracing new technologies. The life-span perspective helps steer interactions with others so they can be optimally sensitive, supportive, and facilitative for growth at each life stage.

Effects of Cultural and Historical Contexts

The developing person exists in a changing cultural and historical context. Studying development over the course of life requires awareness of the ways societies change over time. The population of the U.S. has increased from 216 million in 1975 to 324 million in 2016. The diversity of this population has changed as well. For example, in 1970 4% of the population was Hispanic; today 16% are Hispanic. Life expectancy in the U.S. in 1970 was 69 for men, 77 for women; in 2010 this had increased to 76 for men and 81 for women. People are waiting longer to marry, family size has decreased, and more adults are voluntarily childless, resulting in an aging population. In this context, people like to say "60 is the new 40." For the field of human development this means that we have to revise our ideas about chronological age and expectations for behavior.

In 1975 there were no cell phones, no desk top computers in the home, and, of course, no email, texting, Facebook, or Twitter. Cell phones are now tiny hand-held computers that dramatically alter the way we connect with one another, entertain ourselves, and gather information. With every kind of streaming resource, people can create their own electronic environment and take it with them, making the notion of "environment" highly personalized.

And amid this swirling technological change, where robots are taking on many of the tasks that used to be done by human hands, the world of work is in flux, and social values are also changing. Dual earner couples are the norm, the boundary between home and work is extremely permeable, there is a great diversity of family structures, more acceptance of lifestyle choices, and fewer constraints about gender roles and sexuality. The task of tracing patterns and pathways of development over the lifespan is becoming increasingly challenging.

Effects of Poverty, Discrimination, and Other Forms of Societal Oppression

The National Center for Children in Poverty at Columbia University estimates that a family of four actually needs twice the income of the poverty level, which was \$24,250 a year in 2015, to cover basic expenses. Using this statistic, the Center estimates that 45% of children live in low-income families. The impact of poverty cascades through life from increased risks during the prenatal period through disruptions in physical, cognitive, and emotional development in infancy, childhood, adolescence, and into adult life.

As income inequality increases and scientific evidence about the impact of poverty on health, educational attainment, employment, housing, and longevity accumulates, a number of nongovernmental groups are taking independent actions to form coalitions, raise awareness, and create local programs to deliver services and support the well-being of low-resource families.

Numerous examples of the ways that poverty, discrimination, and various forms of societal oppression affect individual development are interwoven throughout the text. At the same time, research on resilience illustrates the remarkable capacities for growth and adaptation at every period of life.

Organization

Guided by psychosocial theory, we return again and again to the ideas that human development is a social enterprise, that meaning making emerges in social and cultural contexts, and that individuals play a role in shaping the direction of their development. We use case material, boxes on diversity, international data, and cultural examples to emphasize these themes. The following summarizes the basic organization of the text.

Introducing the Field: Chapters 1 to 3

Chapter 1 describes the orientation and assumptions of the text, introduces the psychosocial life-span perspective, and introduces data about longevity and life expectancy, setting the stage for the idea that the lifespan unfolds in a changing historical context. Chapter 2 introduces the role of theory in human development and the questions that a theory of human development is expected to address. The chapter outlines significant ideas about change and growth from seven theoretical perspectives. The presentation of each theory emphasizes its basic features, implications for the study of human development, and links to the psychosocial framework. Chapter 3 introduces basic concepts of psychosocial theory, including an analysis of its strengths and weaknesses.

The Latest on Pregnancy and Prenatal Development: Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, fetal development is presented, highlighting the bidirectional influences of the fetus and the pregnant woman within her social and cultural environments. Continuing discoveries in the field of behavioral genetics have been included in this revision. The chapter traces changes in physical and sensory development across the three trimesters. The chapter covers issues of infertility, alternative reproductive techniques, and ethical considerations surrounding their implementation. We have emphasized research on the health and well-being of pregnant women and their partners, as well as risks to fetal development associated with a pregnant woman's exposure to a wide range of substances, especially nicotine, alcohol, caffeine, other drugs, and environmental toxins. Poverty is discussed as a context that increases risks for suboptimal development. This chapter includes a detailed description of cultural differences in the way pregnancy and childbirth are conceptualized, providing a model for considering the psychosocial process as it will unfold in subsequent chapters. The applied topic of this chapter is abortion; an issue that clearly illustrates the relevance of the field of human development for salient personal, social and cultural perspectives.

Growth and Development from Infancy to Elderhood: Chapters 5 to 14

Chapters 5 through 14 trace basic patterns of normal growth and development in infancy, toddlerhood, early school age, middle childhood, early adolescence, later adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood, later adulthood, and elderhood. In these chapters we consider how individuals organize and interpret their experience, noting changes in their behavior, attitudes, worldview, and the coping strategies they use in the face of changing environmental demands.

Each chapter begins with an examination of four or five of the critical developmental tasks of the stage. These tasks reflect global aspects of development, including physical maturation, sensory and motor competence, cognitive maturation, emotional development, social relationships, and self-understanding. We consider the psychosocial crisis of each stage in some detail. We also show how successfully resolving a crisis helps individuals develop a prime adaptive ego quality and how unsuccessful resolution leads to a core pathology. Although most people grow developmentally—albeit with pain and struggle—others do not. People who acquire prime adaptive ego qualities are more likely to lead active, flexible, agentic lives, and be resilient in the face of stressors. People who acquire core pathologies are more likely to lead withdrawn, guarded lives; they are more vulnerable to stressors resulting in greater risk of mental and physical health problems.

Applied Topics at the End of Each Chapter

We conclude each chapter by applying research and theory to a topic of societal importance. These applied topics provide an opportunity for students to link the research and theory about normative developmental processes to the analysis of pressing social concerns. Table 3.1 contains an overview of the basic tasks, crises, and applied topics for each stage of life.

Understanding Death, Dying, and Bereavement: Chapter 15

Chapter 15 addresses end-of-life issues within a psychosocial framework. As with the developmental stage chapters, the topic illustrates the interaction of the biological, psychological, and societal systems as they contribute to the experiences of dying, grieving, and bereavement. The chapter includes definitions of death, the process of dying, death-related rituals, grief, and bereavement, including a focus on the role of culture in shaping ideas about death and expressions of grief. The chapter ends with a discussion of the opportunities for psychosocial growth that are a result of bereavement and the considerations of one's own mortality.

Research Appendix

The Research Appendix highlights basic principles of the scientific process, including the positivist and qualitative approaches to inquiry. The Appendix reviews basic topics in research design including sampling, research methods, and designs for studying development. A section on evaluating research highlights the need to approach the results of research as a critical and informed consumer, recognizing some of the limitations and biases that may be imbedded in the research process. Finally, we review ethical guidelines for conducting research with human participants.

New to This Edition

The 13th edition has retained the basic structure and positive developmental emphasis of previous editions. We continue to strive to make the text clear, readable, and thought provoking, while capturing the complexities and novel concepts that make the study of human development so fascinating. In this edition, each chapter begins with case material that helps bring important themes from the chapter into focus. References to these introductory cases are spread throughout the chapter, providing opportunities to apply concepts to real-world examples. In addition, new first-person quotations have been incorporated to highlight the process of meaning-making that takes place as individuals face the developmental challenges of their stage of life.

The chapters have been rewritten with an effort to streamline and reorganize the material to ensure a clearer and more focused discussion. The text has been completely updated. New research findings, recent census data, updated results of ongoing studies that collect data on new cohorts, and results of ongoing longitudinal studies have been integrated into the narrative. The results of studies using large data sets are summarized as well as some discussion about the difficulties associated with these studies.

The 13th edition is published in a vibrant, new 4-color format. The Picasso paintings, which have been so intimately woven into earlier editions, are now in full color. We hope these wondrous works help students see the connection between the creative enterprise in art, with its experimentation, whimsy, innovation, and insight, and the imaginative, playful and innovative forces at work in creating a life. The 4-color format also improves readability, bringing increased attention to features such as section headings, tables, figures, photographs, and boxes.

On the advice of reviewers, three contemporary research themes have been expanded in this edition: 1. developmental neuroscience; 2. health, fitness, and disability; and 3. the impact of the electronic media environment. Research findings, boxes, tables, and case material have been introduced to extend coverage of these themes across the lifespan. Some examples of these additions are listed below:

Updates on risks associated with prescription drugs during pregnancy.

New information on food safety and nutrition during pregnancy.

New approaches and data on outcomes of assisted reproductive technologies. Mental health stressors and possible psychological reactions to childbirth for new immigrants highlighting the interaction of culture with mental and physical health.

A box on the neuroscience of attachment.

The dynamic interaction of neurological structures and systems in the coordination of decision-making, risk assessment, and responses to stress.

Robbie Case's theory of Central Conceptual Structures, which integrates cognitive neuroscience and information processing with a constructivist approach to cognitive development.

The impact of poverty on health, including the long-term consequences of early childhood poverty on adult health.

The impact of harsh and neglectful parenting on brain development.

The nature of autism spectrum disorder and its treatment in toddlerhood.

The nature and prevalence of electronic media use in infancy, toddlerhood, early childhood and adolescence. New insights about sexuality and gender in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

Research on transgender issues in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.

Update on the impact of media on moral development in early school age.

Data on the percent of young children who engage in various types of daily media activities.

The nature and impact of cyber bullying.

Disability and gender atypicality as factors that make children targets of bullying.

The use of computer-assisted match-making and dating sites in adolescence and early adulthood.

Issues faced by new immigrants, especially concerns with family stability, academic success, and physical and mental health.

Added cross-cultural research that highlights social relationships, parenting practices, academic achievement, the role of the elderly, and approaches to death, dying, and bereavement.

The impact of disability on career choice and employment. The importance of exercise and its contribution to mental and physical health, life satisfaction, and cognitive capacities across the lifespan.

An evaluation of computer games on cognitive functioning in later adulthood.

The relationship of health, fitness, and disability to life acceptance and well-being in later adulthood.

Neuroplasticity, cognitive functioning, and aging.

The importance of nutrition, exercise, and fitness as aspects of lifestyle.

The role of neighborhood resources and design on exercise and fitness in later life.

Features That Support Learning

Several features are included in the 13th edition that we expect will contribute to the learning process.

- 1. **Organizational Chart:** There is a chart, Table 3.1, which provides a two-page overview of the organization of the text.
- 2. **Chapter Outlines:** A detailed outline of the chapters is provided at the beginning of the book. An outline is also presented at the start of each chapter.
- 3. **Chapter Learning Objectives:** Each chapter begins with Learning Objectives. These objectives have been stated using the six thinking processes: remember, understand, apply, analyze, evaluate, and create.

These objectives are restated at the opening of each related section to help highlight the primary goal for that section of the text and are stated again in the chapter summary to help students review and integrate concepts from the chapter.

- 4. **Opening Case:** Each chapter starts with a case that brings to life one or more issues addressed in the chapter. These cases are followed by a set of questions labeled "Case Analysis: Using What You Know." The purpose of these cases is threefold: to help students become more personally attached to the concepts of the chapter; to provide a shared life experience that can serve as a basis for class discussion; and to encourage the application of concepts from the text and the course.
- 5. Further Reflection: At the end of each section within the chapter, one or more suggestions are labeled "Further Reflection." These are intended to prompt students to stop and think a bit about what they have just read. These suggestions and questions encourage students to engage in critical thinking, evaluate the information, and link the information to related concepts and/or to personal life experiences.
- 6. Boxes: Two types of boxes are included in the chapters: Applying Theory and Research to Life and Human Development and Diversity. At the end of each box, a series of critical thinking questions encourage students to evaluate and apply information. The boxes are intended to provide added detail to the text. In the boxes labeled Applying Theory and Research to Life, students are encouraged to see the relevance of human development theory and research to issues in contemporary life. In the boxes labeled Human Development and Diversity, topics that are covered in the text are expanded to illustrate how differences in culture, ethnicity, family structure, economic resources, and disability can influence developmental pathways.
- 7. **Case material:** Throughout the chapters longer cases and short vignettes complement the descriptions of developmental issues. These cases highlight the real-life experiences of individuals, sometimes illustrating how individuals cope with challenges at various points in life; and sometimes illustrating the diversity of experiences that are possible at a certain period of life.

- 8. End of Chapter Summary: The chapter summaries are organized around the learning objectives. These summary paragraphs are intended to remind the reader of the big ideas but do not replace a careful reading of the text.
- 9. **Key Terms:** Key terms are boldfaced in the text, typically defined within the text, and also defined in the glossary.
- 10. **Glossary:** A comprehensive glossary with brief definitions can be found at the end of the text.
- 11. **References:** A detailed list of references is provided including references to books, chapters, articles, and websites.
- 12. Index: There is both an author index and a subject index.

Acknowledgments

The works of Erik Erikson and Robert Havighurst have guided and inspired our own intellectual development. Their writings shaped the basic direction of psychosocial theory and have guided an enormous amount of research in human development. They directed us to look at the process of growth and change across the life span. They recognized the intimate interweaving of the individual's life story with a sociohistorical context, emphasizing societal pressures that call for new levels of functioning at each life stage. In their writing, they communicated an underlying optimism about each person's resilience, adaptability, and capacity for growth, an outlook that finds new expression in the work of positive psychology. At the same time, they wrote with a moral passion about our responsibility as teachers, therapists, parents, scholars, and citizens to create a caring society. We celebrate these ideas and continue their expression in the 13th edition of Development Through Life.

We want to acknowledge the hundreds of scholars upon whose work this revision is based. The science of human development is a growing, multidisciplinary field. Over the many editions of *Development Through Life*, we have been gratified to see the increasing use of basic concepts from the psychosocial perspective to inform the research agenda. Key constructs including developmental tasks, psychosocial crisis, the radius of significant relationships (social support), trust, autonomy, shame and guilt, industry, competence, group identity, personal identity, intimacy, isolation, generativity, integrity and wisdom have become cornerstones of the life-span perspective on development.

We want to express our thanks to our many students, colleagues, and friends who share their experiences and expertise. We are so appreciative of the faculty who continue to use this book; they are supportive of the psychosocial stage approach and let us know about the ways the book contributes to their students' learning. Through the years, our mentors, Bill McKeachie and Jim Kelly, were voices of wisdom, reminding us of the values of good scholarship and a generous heart. In the early part of our careers, a few friends stand out as people who encouraged us and trusted in our ability to forge this collaboration: Catherine Chilman, Margaret and Harold Feldman, Gisela Konopka, Anne McCreary Juhasz, and Freda Rebelsky. Our former students Brenda Lohman and Laura Landry Meyer were excellent collaborators on our lifespan development case book. With each new edition, we turn to