

Development Through Life

■ A PSYCHOSOCIAL APPROACH ■



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ELEVENTH EDITION

Development Through Life

A Psychosocial Approach

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University of Rhode Island

and

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Preface

The first edition of *Development Through Life* was published in 1975. Since that time, the science of human development and changes in longevity have converged to create a remarkable revision of our understanding of the life course including new insights about the prenatal period and infancy, new ideas about the transition from adolescence to adulthood, and new views about aging.

Today, the years of infancy and childhood comprise a smaller percentage of the life span than was the case in 1975. At the same time, researchers have looked 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. Research on infant development, particularly development in the first days and weeks of life, has flourished and resulted in a 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 relationship that contribute to survival and long-term growth.

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 other. For example, at the macro level, the resources of parents, their workplace, and their extended family relationships may all contribute to prenatal health, and infant well-being. At the micro level, changes in muscle strength, coordination, and balance contribute to new motor capacities that result in crawling or walking. Many behaviors that were once viewed as a product of genetically guided maturation are now understood as requiring a component of self-directed problem solving.

In 1975, we offered a revision of Erikson's theory by introducing two stages of adolescence, early adolescence with the psychosocial crisis of group identity versus alienation, and later adolescence, with the psychosocial crisis of personal identity versus role confusion. Today, scholars are describing an ever more gradual transition out of adolescence into adulthood, such that the period we call later adolescence is lasting well into the decade of the twenties. Research on brain development, educational and occupational attainment, and relationships with family all point to the idea that the life commitments that used to be formed in the decade of the twenties are being forestalled for many young people into their late twenties and thirties.

The slowed emergence into adulthood is due in part to the expanding life expectancy. If people can expect to live to 85 or 90, what is the urgency of settling down in family, work, or community commitments? Other explanations include the lengthening period of education and training necessary to take one's place in a postindustrial labor market, and the invention of effective birth control, resulting in changing patterns of marriage and childbearing.

Life expectancy in the United States has changed over the past 35 years, so that today those who are already age 65 can expect to live another 19 years. Those in the period of later life, which we call elderhood, 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. And these elders are enjoying a period of life that is more active, less constrained by financial limitations, and more continuously informed about healthy lifestyle practices than ever before.

In the current edition of *Development Through Life*, we have included reference to the conditions of life in other industrialized countries. In that regard, we have been 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 note 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, adults who are homeless, and longevity are all less favorable in the United States than in many other countries. These comparisons lead us to urge students and scholars in human development to address the challenges of how to continue to promote optimal development through the life span.

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 the 11 stages, emphasizing that development results from the interdependence of these areas at every stage. This strategy gives full 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.

Advantages of the Psychosocial Framework

Psychosocial theory provides an organizing conceptual framework that highlights 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 this integrated perspective to an analysis of human development has several advantages:

- Although the subject matter is potentially overwhelming, the psychosocial framework helps to identify and emphasize themes and directions of growth across the life span.
- The psychosocial framework helps readers assess the influence of experiences during earlier life stages on later development.
- The psychosocial framework clarifies how one's past, present, and expectations of the future are systematically connected to the lives of people who are older and younger. This perspective highlights issues of intergenerational transmission and the reciprocal influences of the generations.
- The psychosocial framework offers a hopeful outlook on the total life course. Positive psychological capacities, such as hope, purpose, love, and caring, promote growth and help to clarify how a personal worldview develops. The promise of continuous growth in later adulthood and elderhood validates the struggles of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.
- The psychosocial perspective locates development within a framework of significant relationships. This helps students appreciate the idea that a sense of self and a sense of others emerge and mature together, fostering 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 11th edition, we are looking forward to the birth of our third grandchild; our three adult children are living in cities across the country and are thriving in their careers, and we are experiencing the new 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 three children; 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 hopeful 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 is a means of comprehending the conflicts, opportunities, and achievements of central importance to people living through different stages than one's own. In this respect, it challenges our egocentrism. The life-span perspective assumes an interconnection among people at every period of life. This knowledge helps guide interactions with others so that they are optimally sensitive, supportive, and facilitative for growth at each life stage.

Effects of Cultural and Historical Contexts

Studying development over the course of life requires sensitivity to the ways societies change over time. The developing person exists in a changing cultural and historical context. Events since the 10th edition of *Development Through Life* was published include the election of our first African American president; continuing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the large number of injuries and deaths associated with these wars; the devastation and relocation of thousands associated with the earthquake in Haiti and floods in Pakistan; the mortgage crisis in the United States and the associated worldwide financial recession; a massive oil drilling catastrophe in the Gulf of Mexico with related economic, cultural, and environmental impacts; the loss of millions of jobs in the United States and the highest unemployment rate in 20 years; the formation of new political parties clamoring for less government; and the continued spread of the AIDS epidemic in Africa and China. There is growing international awareness of global warming, which is associated with renewed efforts to make lifestyle changes at the personal, community, and corporate levels. These are just a few examples of the contexts in which development takes place that may dramatically alter people's lived experiences. Nothing could be more fascinating than trying to understand patterns of continuity and change over the life course within the context of a changing environment.

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

The number of children in the United States who lived in families with incomes below the poverty level in 2009 was 15.5 million, or 20.7% of all children. Numerous examples

of the ways that poverty, discrimination, and various forms of societal oppression affect individual development are interwoven throughout the text. The expanding literature aids the further analysis of poverty by pointing out how its impact cascades from increased risks during the prenatal period through disruptions in physical, cognitive, and emotional development in childhood, in adolescence, and into adult life. At the same time, increased research on resilience illustrates the remarkable capacities for growth and adaptation at every period of life.

Organization

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 and introduces the life-span perspective. Chapter 2 introduces the role of theory in human development and outlines significant ideas about change and growth from seven theoretical perspectives. The presentation of each theory emphasizes its basic features, its implications for the study of human development, and its links to the psychosocial framework. Chapter 3 introduces basic concepts of psychosocial theory, including an analysis of its strengths and weaknesses. As in the 10th edition, the chapter on the research process was shortened and moved to the appendix, based on user feedback.

The Latest on Fetal Development and Genetics: 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 three trimesters. We have emphasized research on the 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 first model for considering the psychosocial process as it will unfold in subsequent chapters.

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 that 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 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. The flyleaf on the front cover of the book contains an overview of the basic tasks, crises, and applied topics for each stage of life.

Understanding Death, Dying, and Bereavement: Chapter 15

The book closes with a chapter that 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. We conclude the chapter with a discussion of the opportunities for psychosocial growth that are a result of bereavement and the considerations of one's own mortality.

New to This Edition

The 11th 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 still capturing the complexities and novel concepts that make the study of human development so fascinating. Many new sections bring greater clarity, elaboration, and a fresh way of thinking about a topic. The text has been completely updated. New research findings and recent census data have been integrated into the narrative. The following list highlights examples of the new material in each chapter.

Chapter 1: “The Development Through Life Perspective”

- The case of Patrick Jonathan Carmichael is systematically linked to the discussion of biological, psychological, and societal systems.
- A new emphasis on meaning making.
- Discussion of technology and its influences on the societal system.
- New data on life expectancy at birth for four groups from 1970 to 2004.
- Discussion of the discrepancy in longevity between African American and Anglo populations in the United States.
- International data on life expectancy at birth for 220 countries.

Chapter 2: “Major Theories for Understanding Human Development”

- Revised explanation of the role of theory in the study of human development.
- Introduction to the concept of resilience.
- Distinction between theory, research, and fact.
- New discussion of evolutionary theory and William James’ theory of consciousness.
- New discussion of ego psychology in psychosexual theory.
- New box focusing on cognitive behavioral therapy.
- In theories of learning, we have expanded the discussions of social learning and cognitive behaviorism.
- In cultural theory, new research on the role of culture in shaping the neural pathways.
- In social role theory, a new case example of social identity in a Pakistani American adolescent.
- In systems theory, we present new research about the importance of having links to multiple systems as a buffer against depression.
- New research about how workplace conditions contribute to role strain in the parent role.

Chapter 3: “Psychosocial Theory”

- Analyzes the case of Erik Erikson throughout the chapter using the basic concepts of psychosocial theory.

- Expands the discussion of resilience as an aspect of coping.
- New evidence from longitudinal research supporting the sequence of psychosocial stages.

Chapter 4: “The Period of Pregnancy and Prenatal Development”

- New section about epigenetics including imprinting and epigenetic marks.
- Discussion of plasticity as it relates to the interaction of genes and the environment.
- Explanation about how some genotypes flourish in certain environments but not in others.
- New data about assisted reproductive technology cycles and success.
- New discussion of adoption as an alternative to child-bearing.
- Research on fetal memory.
- New data about the increasing incidence of cesarean delivery.
- Expanded discussion of stress, especially workplace stress, and its impact on pregnancy and fetal development.
- New research on how men think about their responsibility for their partner’s pregnancy.
- New studies linking poverty, ethnicity, and smoking to the risk of preterm delivery.
- Findings from a Task Force of the American Psychological Association on the relationship of abortion to mental health.

Chapter 5: “Infancy”

- Addition of communication as a developmental task, including language perception, communication with gestures, grammar recognition, and first words.
- Expanded discussion of neural development, including transient exuberance—the rapid increase in the number of neurons, dendrites, and synapses during the first 2 years of life.
- New section on information processing, including attention, processing speed, memory, and representational skills.
- Possible benefits of insecure attachment under conditions of danger or threat.
- Increased discussion of the sense of mistrust among abused infants and infants’ sensitivity to increased hostility in the household.
- Increased discussion of the role of nutrition and safety concerns related to food as part of the role of parents.
- Three features of parenting quality that relate to optimal development: sensitivity, cognitive stimulation, and warmth.
- Quotation about how infants play with their fathers.

Chapter 6: “Toddlerhood”

- Discussion of the fact that toddlers are not getting enough moderate to vigorous physical activity to support optimal physical development.

- Impact of the television on language development in toddlerhood.
- A new explanation for theory of mind and a new example of theory of mind research.
- Section on the qualities of early attachment and experiences of shame.
- New studies about the long-lasting consequences of exposure to poverty in young children.
- New studies about the relationship of early, high-quality child care and academic performance in sixth grade.
- New studies about the effects of low-quality child care.
- Costs as well as benefits of bilingualism.
- Introduces the idea of relational aggression.

Chapter 7: “Early School Age”

- Use of gender labels is linked to gender stereotyped play.
- Clarification of concepts of gender permanence and gender constancy.
- Expanded discussion of gender nonconformity and gender dysphoria (the desire to be the opposite sex).
- The principle of care and caring is added to the discussion of moral development.
- New discussion of the relationship between playing violent video games and moral development.
- Discussion about the fact that unstructured, child-initiated play time is dwindling.
- New section on media play.
- New data about family risk factors and reading scores from kindergarten through third grade.

Chapter 8: “Middle Childhood”

- International agreement to stop the use of children as soldiers in armed conflict.
- Expanded definition of social competence.
- New discussion of the role of sibling relationships as they influence social development.
- New discussion of ways to help children who are socially anxious to increase their sense of closeness to friends.
- Section on the use of the Internet to supplement face-to-face friendship.
- New research about bullying.
- Results of policy report indicating that current mathematics instruction is of poor quality.
- Discussion about the impact of early deprivation on higher level skill mastery.
- Expanded discussion of reading as a complex skill.
- Introduced feelings of pride and the attributions that lead to feelings of pride in the discussion of self-evaluation.
- New discussion of cooperation and the evolutionary basis for cooperative behavior.
- Results from the American Psychological Association’s report on stress in America, which highlights aspects of their lives that children worry about.
- New information about the number of children who are victims of corporal punishment in their school.

Chapter 9: “Early Adolescence”

- New discussion of early adolescence as a time of positive strides toward maturity.
- New research about how peers influence a girl’s body dissatisfaction.
- New research about the secular trend.
- New data suggesting that there is a delay in the onset of sexual experience.
- Risk factors for becoming a teen mother.
- New data about the likelihood of pregnant teens having an abortion.
- New data about characteristics of teen fathers.
- More extensive discussion of brain development.
- New examples of the ways that high school experiences may foster formal operational reasoning.
- New discussion of the interaction of cognition and emotion and the way the brain processes emotions.
- Research showing that depression plays a role in engaging in stressful interpersonal relationships, which then increases depression.
- The role of common home language for forming peer groups.
- Examples of how Chinese early adolescents view parents’ efforts to control their behavior.
- New research on the development of ethnic identity.
- Added discussion of how hostile and aggressive parenting can lead to increased feelings of alienation for early adolescent children.
- Narrative about feelings of alienation by a Bosnian immigrant.
- New discussion of four contexts for predicting alcohol misuse: parents, peers, school, and neighborhood.

Chapter 10: “Later Adolescence”

- New introduction explaining our rationale for calling the stage later adolescence rather than emerging adulthood.
- New data showing the percentages of men and women at three ages who have completed the five markers of adult status.
- New research about later adolescents’ living arrangements and their relationships with their parents.
- New research on financial self-sufficiency.
- New box on human development and diversity explaining third gender.
- New studies focusing on the sexual and reproductive health of later adolescents.
- Discussion of the contribution of community service in fostering moral development.
- Added a discussion of the concept of career decision-making self-efficacy.
- New discussion of role experimentation as a cycling of commitment formation and commitment reevaluation.
- Added a first-person account of a student who dropped out of college.

Chapter 11: “Early Adulthood”

- New discussion of how the transition into adulthood has changed.
- Expanded discussion of cohabitation.
- Expanded discussion of relationships between partners of the same sex.
- Discussion of speed dating and online dating as new ways of finding a partner.
- Expanded discussion of the positivity bias and the similarity bias as ways of strengthening partners’ commitment to one another.
- New discussion of the communal norm and the exchange norm as explanations for how relationships are sustained in the early years of marriage.
- Expanded discussion of decisions about childbearing, including unintended pregnancies and characteristics of the firstborn that influence the decision to have another child.
- New section about problems during pregnancy and maternal depression.
- New section on adoption as an alternative to childbearing.
- In section on work, there is a new section on retraining in the context of massive firings and economic recession.
- New discussion of workers who experience hostility from their supervisors.
- New discussion of national comparison and the poverty rate and the limited resources dedicated to workers in the United States.
- Added discussion of online social networking.
- Added section on the benefits of sleep.
- New international data about bike riding and walking as contributors to fitness.
- Expanded discussion about the adaptive value of love.

Chapter 12: “Middle Adulthood”

- Data from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development that provides an international comparison of the working conditions of adults.
- Introduces the concept of adaptive leadership.
- Expands the discussion of interpersonal skills that are needed for effective career management with special emphasis on working in teams.
- Updates the discussion about the use of estrogen therapy for menopausal women.
- Comparison of how fathers and mothers interact with their children when they come home from work.
- Expands the definition of filial obligation including a discussion about its measurement.
- Expands the presentation about building and preserving a positive parent-child relationship as parents age.
- New research on the relationship of generativity to well-being for people who are parents and people who are childless.
- Introduces the case of Bernie Madoff as an example of stagnation.
- New discussions of sex discrimination, age discrimination, race discrimination, and sexual harassment.

Chapter 13: “Later Adulthood”

- New analysis of life goals, including goal domains, goal orientation, and goal-related actions.
- Discussion of openness to experience and sense of humor as aspects of personality that are associated with well-being.
- New research on changes in cognitive abilities across the life span.
- New first-person narrative from grandparents discussing raising their grandchildren.
- Expands the discussion of death anxiety among older adults.
- New data about the increasing involvement of older adults in the labor force and delaying retirement.
- New case study: Anna Quinlin explains her decision to retire as a writer for *Newsweek*.
- New box, “Applying Theory and Research to Life” on patterns of adaptation to widowhood.

Chapter 14: “Elderhood”

- Explanation of the term elderhood as a final stage of the life span.
- Identifies seven components of fitness to assess for the elderly.
- New data about the percentage of the elderly who engage in physical activity.
- New discussion of insomnia in elderhood.
- New discussions of osteoarthritis and osteoporosis.
- New data about the percentage of people in three age groups who need help in the activities of daily living.
- Discussion about online resources that allow elders to pool their experiences and support each other.
- In the discussion of the psychosocial crisis of immortality versus extinction, adds the notion of transcendent future time.
- Updates the symptoms and causes of dementia.

Chapter 15: “Understanding Death, Dying and Bereavement”

- First-person account of a woman describing what she thinks are the benefits of registering her advanced directive.
- Results of a British study describing 12 principles of a good death.
- New first-person account of a woman who changed from being an intensive care nurse to working in hospice.
- Expands the discussion of Oregon Death With Dignity Act.
- Updated information on the moral acceptability of physician-assisted suicide.
- New data from a Gallop poll about Americans’ beliefs about heaven.

Features That Support Learning

Several features are included in the 11th edition that we expect will contribute to the learning process.

Basic Chapter Pedagogy

Each chapter begins with an outline and a list of objectives. These can be used to guide the reader to the main topics and help summarize basic ideas of the chapter. The chapter objectives are repeated at the point in the text where the material addressing each objective is presented, and again in the chapter summary to help students connect the material in the chapter to the major themes. Glossary terms are presented in boldface to help introduce new concepts. Each chapter ends with a chapter summary, which highlights main ideas in an integrative fashion, and a set of questions. With these questions, we hope to encourage students to synthesize information across chapters, to link topics in the text to their own experiences, and to think about how they might relate ideas from the chapters to applied settings. A list of key terms and page numbers is included to draw attention to important ideas presented in the chapter.

Boxed Features

Two types of boxed features are included to extend discussion on topics of special interest:

Applying Theory and Research to Life illustrates how new research and theory can be applied to concerns of daily social life.

Human Development and Diversity presents a wide range of human differences that shape the nature of development at various stages of life.

Each box concludes with a group of critical thinking questions to encourage students to make connections with the topics in the text.

Case Studies

- *Case Studies* and accompanying questions encourage students to apply concepts from the chapter to real-life experiences. The cases can be a focus for self-study or used in groups to foster discussion regarding the application of the main ideas in the chapter.

Acknowledgments

The works of Erik Erikson and Robert Havighurst have guided and inspired our own intellectual development. The combined contributions of these scholars have 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 com-

municated an underlying optimism about each person's resilience, adaptability, and immense capacity for growth 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 11th edition of *Development Through Life*.

We want to express our thanks to our many students, colleagues, and friends who shared their experiences and expertise. Through the years, our mentors, Bill McKeachie and Jim Kelly, have been unfailing sources of support and fresh ideas. Theirs are the voices of wisdom we count on, reminding us of the values of good scholarship and a generous heart. Our former students, Brenda Lohman and Laura Landry Meyer, were excellent collaborators on our life-span development case book. For this edition, we want to thank Clarissa Uttley who revised the Student Study Guide and prepared the Instructor's resource materials. Phil was Clarissa's academic advisor when she was an undergraduate student. He encouraged her to go on for her master's degree in human development, and then her Ph.D. in psychology. She is now a faculty member at Plymouth State University in Plymouth, New Hampshire. It has been a delight to work with her and watch her flourish. With each new edition, we turn to our children and their families to offer new observations, try out ideas, and talk over controversies. At each stage, they bring new talents and perspectives that enrich our efforts.

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