

- Other researchers believe that morality lies in moral intuition and moral action as well as thinking.
- Some critics argue that Kohlberg's postconventional level represents morality from the perspective of individualist cultures.

Multiple-Choice Questions

- The growth of _____ around axons speeds neurotransmission, enabling better communication between the frontal lobe and other brain regions.
 - neurons
 - the cell body
 - dendrites
 - myelin
 - synapses
- The maturation of the brain's _____ lags behind the development of the limbic system, which may explain the impulsivity of teenagers compared with adults.
 - frontal lobes
 - temporal lobes
 - occipital lobes
 - parietal lobes
 - corpus collosum
- _____ believed that a child's moral judgments build on cognitive development. _____ agreed and sought to describe the development of moral reasoning.
 - Kohlberg; Erikson
 - Erikson; Kohlberg
 - Piaget; Kohlberg
 - Piaget; Erikson
 - Haidt; Hall
- Which level of moral reasoning includes a focus on upholding laws in order to gain social approval?
 - Collectivist
 - Preconventional
 - Conventional
 - Postconventional
 - Formal operational
- What development in adolescents allows for greater impulse control?
 - The hormonal surge of early adolescence
 - Hindbrain changes associated with the onset of puberty
 - Frontal lobe maturation in late adolescence
 - Limbic system development in mid-adolescence
 - A decrease in myelin production throughout adolescence
- Which of Jean Piaget's stages describes typical adolescent thinking?
 - Sensorimotor
 - Preoperational
 - Concrete operational
 - Formal operational
 - Accommodation
- Which of the following correctly describes one of Kohlberg's levels of moral reasoning?
 - Preconventional stage, where one follows moral principles
 - Conventional stage, where individualism is foremost
 - Conventional stage, where it is imperative to uphold the law and follow rules
 - Preconventional stage, where moral judgment depends on rewards and punishments
 - Postconventional stage, where it is imperative to uphold the law and follow rules

Practice FRQs

- Describe how the ideas of Lawrence Kohlberg and Jonathan Haidt differ in regard to the development of morality.
- Name two biological changes related to sexual maturity in adolescence and briefly describe one change in neurological development in adolescence.

(3 points)

Answer

1 point: Lawrence Kohlberg focused on moral reasoning and the way people *think* about moral situations.

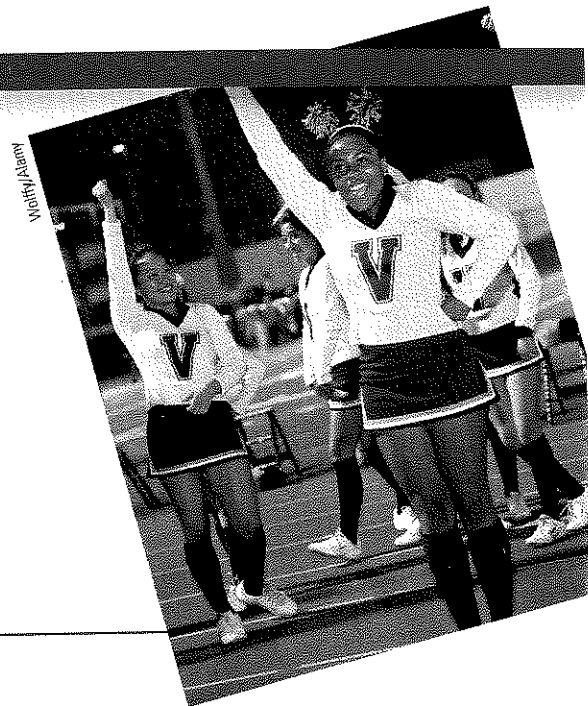
1 point: Jonathan Haidt focused on moral intuition and the way people *feel* about moral situations.

Module 52

Adolescence: Social Development and Emerging Adulthood

Module Learning Objectives

- 52-1** Describe the social tasks and challenges of adolescence.
- 52-2** Contrast parental and peer influences during adolescence.
- 52-3** Discuss the characteristics of emerging adulthood.



52-1 What are the social tasks and challenges of adolescence?

Theorist Erik Erikson (1963) contended that each stage of life has its own *psychosocial* task, a crisis that needs resolution. Young children wrestle with issues of *trust*, then *autonomy* (independence), then *initiative*. School-age children strive for *competence*, feeling able and productive. But for people your age, the task is to synthesize past, present, and future possibilities into a clearer sense of self (**TABLE 52.1** on the next page). Adolescents wonder, “Who am I as an individual? What do I want to do with my life? What values should I live by? What do I believe in?” Erikson called this quest the adolescent’s *search for identity*.

As sometimes happens in psychology, Erikson’s interests were bred by his own life experience. As the son of a Jewish mother and a Danish Gentile father, Erikson was “doubly an outsider,” reported Morton Hunt (1993, p. 391). He was “scorned as a Jew in school but mocked as a Gentile in the synagogue because of his blond hair and blue eyes.” Such episodes fueled his interest in the adolescent struggle for identity.

Forming an Identity

To refine their sense of identity, adolescents in individualist cultures usually try out different “selves” in different situations. They may act out one self at home, another with friends, and still another at school or on Facebook. If two situations overlap—as when a teenager brings friends home—the discomfort can be considerable. The teen asks, “Which self should I be? Which is the real me?” The resolution is a self-definition that unifies the various selves into a consistent and comfortable sense of who one is—an **identity**.

For both adolescents and adults, group identities are often formed by how we differ from those around us. When living in Britain, I become conscious of my Americanness. When spending time with my daughter in Africa, I become conscious of my minority (White) race. When surrounded by women, I am mindful of my gender identity. For international students, for those of a minority ethnic group, for people with a disability, for those on a team, a **social identity** often forms around their distinctiveness.

“Somewhere between the ages of 10 and 13 (depending on how hormone-enhanced their beef was), children entered adolescence, a.k.a. ‘the de-cutening.’” —JON STEWART ET AL., *EARTH (THE BOOK)*, 2010

AP[®] Exam Tip

This is not the only place in the book that the author discusses Erik Erikson’s stage theory. For example, trust was discussed on page 492, integrity comes up on page 548. Table 52.1 pulls it all together in one place for you.

identity our sense of self; according to Erikson, the adolescent’s task is to solidify a sense of self by testing and integrating various roles.

social identity the “we” aspect of our self-concept; the part of our answer to “Who am I?” that comes from our group memberships.



Competence vs. inferiority

© Ben Chapple/Corbis



Intimacy vs. isolation

© Oliver Rossi/Corbis

Table 52.1 Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development

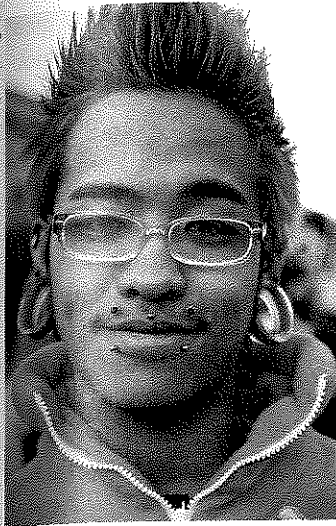
Stage (approximate age)	Issue	Description of Task
<i>Infancy</i> (to 1 year)	Trust vs. mistrust	If needs are dependably met, infants develop a sense of basic trust.
<i>Toddlerhood</i> (1 to 3 years)	Autonomy vs. shame and doubt	Toddlers learn to exercise their will and do things for themselves, or they doubt their abilities.
<i>Preschool</i> (3 to 6 years)	Initiative vs. guilt	Preschoolers learn to initiate tasks and carry out plans, or they feel guilty about their efforts to be independent.
<i>Elementary school</i> (6 years to puberty)	Competence vs. inferiority	Children learn the pleasure of applying themselves to tasks, or they feel inferior.
<i>Adolescence</i> (teen years into 20s)	Identity vs. role confusion	Teenagers work at refining a sense of self by testing roles and then integrating them to form a single identity, or they become confused about who they are.
<i>Young adulthood</i> (20s to early 40s)	Intimacy vs. isolation	Young adults struggle to form close relationships and to gain the capacity for intimate love, or they feel socially isolated.
<i>Middle adulthood</i> (40s to 60s)	Generativity vs. stagnation	In middle age, people discover a sense of contributing to the world, usually through family and work, or they may feel a lack of purpose.
<i>Late adulthood</i> (late 60s and up)	Integrity vs. despair	Reflecting on his or her life, an older adult may feel a sense of satisfaction or failure.

"Self-consciousness, the recognition of a creature by itself as a 'self,' [cannot] exist except in contrast with an 'other,' a something which is not the self."
-C. S. LEWIS, *THE PROBLEM OF PAIN*, 1940

But not always. Erikson noticed that some adolescents forge their identity early, simply by adopting their parents' values and expectations. (Traditional, less individualist cultures teach adolescents who they are, rather than encouraging them to decide on their own.) Other adolescents may adopt an identity defined in opposition to parents but in conformity with a particular peer group—jocks, preps, geeks, band kids, debaters.

Most young people do develop a sense of contentment with their lives. When American teens were asked whether a series of statements described them, 81 percent said *Yes* to "I would choose my life the way it is right now." The other 19 percent agreed that "I wish I were somebody else" (Lyons, 2004). Reflecting on their existence, 75 percent of American collegians say they "discuss religion/spirituality" with friends, "pray," and agree that "we are all spiritual beings" and "search for meaning/purpose in life" (Astin et al., 2004; Bryant & Astin, 2008). This would not surprise Stanford psychologist William Damon and his colleagues (2003), who have contended that a key task of adolescence is to achieve a purpose—a desire to accomplish something personally meaningful that makes a difference to the world beyond oneself.

The late teen years, when many people like you in industrialized countries begin attending college or working full time, provide new opportunities for trying out possible roles. Here is something for you to remember: Many college seniors have achieved a clearer identity and a more positive self-concept than they had as first-year students (Waterman, 1988).



Who shall I be today? By varying the way they look, adolescents try out different “selves.” Although we eventually form a consistent and stable sense of identity, the self we present may change with the situation.

This could be one of the reasons why the first year of college is such a challenge. Collegians who have achieved a clear sense of identity are less prone to self-destructive behavior such as alcohol misuse (Bishop et al., 2005).

Several nationwide studies indicate that young Americans’ self-esteem falls during the early to midteen years, and, for girls, depression scores often increase. But then self-image rebounds during the late teens and twenties (Robins et al., 2002; Twenge & Campbell, 2001; Twenge & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2002). Late adolescence and early adulthood are also when agreeableness and emotional stability scores increase (Kimstra et al., 2009; Lucas and Donnellan, 2011).

Erikson contended that the adolescent identity stage is followed in young adulthood by a developing capacity for **intimacy**, the ability to form emotionally close relationships. Romantic relationships, which tend to be emotionally intense, are reported by some two in three North American 17-year-olds, but fewer among those in collectivist countries such as China (Collins et al., 2009; Li et al., 2010). Those who enjoy high-quality (intimate, supportive) relationships with family and friends tend also to enjoy similarly high-quality romantic relationships in adolescence, which set the stage for healthy adult relationships. Such relationships are, for most of us, a source of great pleasure. When Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi [chick-SENT-me-hi] and Jeremy Hunter (2003) used a beeper to sample the daily experiences of American teens, they found them unhappiest when alone and happiest when with friends. As Aristotle long ago recognized, we humans are “the social animal.” Relationships matter.

intimacy in Erikson’s theory, the ability to form close, loving relationships; a primary developmental task in late adolescence and early adulthood.

AP® Exam Tip

Careful! In the media, to describe a relationship as intimate usually implies that it is sexual. Erikson means something different. In his theory, an intimate relationship may or may not be sexual (and a sexual relationship may or may not be intimate).

Parent and Peer Relationships

52-2 How do parents and peers influence adolescents?

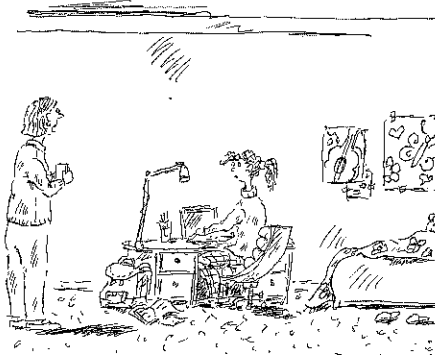
This next research finding will not surprise you: As adolescents in Western cultures seek to form their own identities, they begin to pull away from their parents (Shanahan et al., 2007). The preschooler who can’t be close enough to her mother, who loves to touch and cling to her, becomes the 14-year-old who wouldn’t be caught dead holding hands with Mom. The transition occurs gradually. By adolescence, arguments occur more often, usually over mundane things—household chores, bedtime, homework (Tesser et al., 1989). Parent-child conflict during the transition to adolescence tends to be greater with first-born than with second-born children, and greater with mothers than with fathers (Burk et al., 2009; Shanahan et al., 2007).



“She says she’s someone from your past who gave birth to you, and raised you, and sacrificed everything so you could have whatever you wanted.”

"I love u guys." -EMILY KEYES'
FINAL TEXT MESSAGE TO HER PARENTS
BEFORE DYING IN A COLORADO SCHOOL
SHOOTING, 2006

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"It's you who don't understand me—I've been fifteen, but you have never been forty-eight."

For a minority of parents and their adolescents, differences lead to real splits and great stress (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). But most disagreements are at the level of harmless bickering. And most adolescents—6000 of them in 10 countries, from Australia to Bangladesh to Turkey—said they like their parents (Offer et al., 1988). "We usually get along but . . ." adolescents often reported (Galambos, 1992; Steinberg, 1987).

Positive parent-teen relations and positive peer relations often go hand in hand. High school girls who have the most affectionate relationships with their mothers tend also to enjoy the most intimate friendships with girlfriends (Gold & Yanof, 1985). And teens who feel close to their parents tend to be healthy and happy and to do well in school (Resnick et al., 1997). Of course, we can state this correlation the other way: Misbehaving teens are more likely have tense relationships with parents and other adults.

Adolescence is typically a time of diminishing parental influence and growing peer influence. Asked in a survey if they had "ever had a serious talk" with their child about illegal drugs, 85 percent of American parents answered *Yes*. But if the parents had indeed given this earnest advice, many teens had apparently tuned it out: Only 45 percent could recall such a talk (Morin & Brossard, 1997).

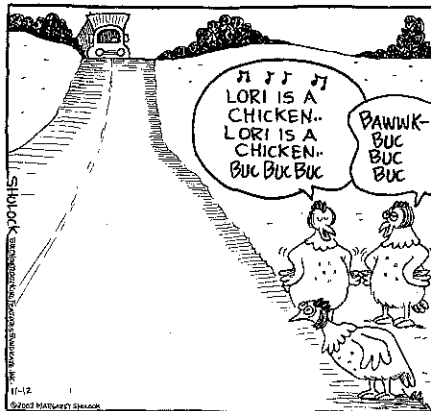
Heredity does much of the heavy lifting in forming individual temperament and personality differences, and peer influences do much of the rest. Most teens are herd animals. They talk, dress, and act more like their peers than their parents. What their friends are, they often become, and what "everybody's doing," they often do. In teen calls to hotline counseling services, peer relationships have been the most discussed topic (Boehm et al., 1999). The average U.S. teen sends 60 text messages per day (Pew, 2012). Many adolescents become absorbed by social networking, sometimes with a compulsive use that produces "Facebook fatigue."

Online communication stimulates intimate self-disclosure—both for better (support groups) and for worse (online predators and extremist groups) (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008; Valkenburg & Peter, 2009).

For those who feel excluded, the pain is acute. "The social atmosphere in most high schools is poisonously clique-driven and exclusionary," observed social psychologist Elliot Aronson (2001). Most excluded "students suffer in silence. . . . A small number act out in violent ways against their classmates." Those who withdraw are vulnerable to loneliness, low self-esteem, and depression (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Peer approval matters.

Teens see their parents as having more influence in other areas—for example, in shaping their religious faith and in thinking about college and career choices (*Emerging Trends*, 1997). A Gallup Youth Survey reveals that most share their parents' political views (Lyons, 2005).

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Nine times out of ten, it's all about peer pressure.

Emerging Adulthood

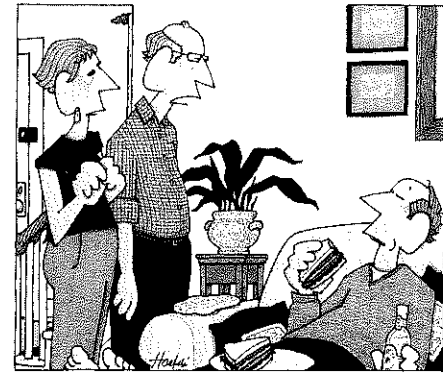


What is emerging adulthood?

In the Western world, adolescence now roughly corresponds to the teen years. At earlier times, and in other parts of the world today, this slice of life has been much smaller (Baumeister & Tice, 1986). Shortly after sexual maturity, young people would assume adult responsibilities and status. The event might be celebrated with an elaborate initiation—a public *rite of passage*. The new adult would then work, marry, and have children.

When schooling became compulsory in many Western countries, independence was put on hold until after graduation. From Europe to Australia, adolescents are now taking more time to establish themselves as adults. In the United States, for example, the average age at first marriage has increased more than 4 years since 1960 (to 28 for men, 26 for women). In 1960, 3 in 4 women and 2 in 3 men had, by age 30, finished school, left home, become financially independent, married, and had a child. Today, fewer than half of 30-year-old women and one-third of men have achieved these five milestones (Henig, 2010). Delayed independence has overlapped with an earlier onset of puberty. Earlier sexual maturity is related both to girls' increased body fat (which can support pregnancy and nursing) and to weakened parent-child bonds, including absent fathers (Ellis, 2004).

Together, later independence and earlier sexual maturity have widened the once-brief interlude between biological maturity and social independence (**FIGURE 52.1**). In prosperous communities, the time from 18 to the mid-twenties is an increasingly not-yet-settled phase of life, which some now call **emerging adulthood** (Arnett, 2006, 2007; Reitzle, 2006). No longer adolescents, these emerging adults, having not yet assumed full adult responsibilities and independence, feel "in between." After high school, those who enter the job market or go to college may be managing their own time and priorities more than ever before. Yet they may be doing so from their parents' home—unable to afford their own place and perhaps still emotionally dependent as well. Recognizing today's more gradually emerging adulthood, the U.S. government now allows dependent children up to age 26 to remain on their parents' health insurance (Cohen, 2010).



"When I was your age, I was an adult."

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emerging adulthood for some people in modern cultures, a period from the late teens to mid-twenties, bridging the gap between adolescent dependence and full independence and responsible adulthood.

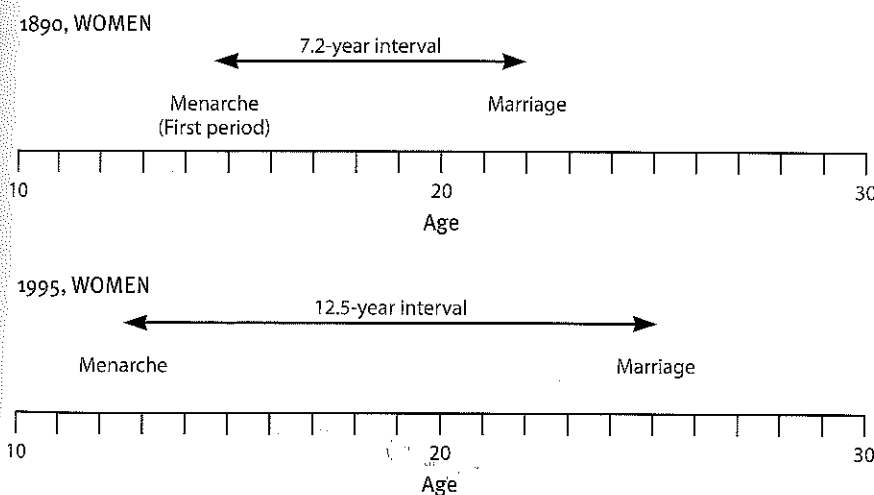


Figure 52.1

The transition to adulthood is being stretched from both ends. In the 1890s, the average interval between a woman's first menstrual period and marriage, which typically marked a transition to adulthood, was about 7 years; in industrialized countries today it is about 12 years (Guttmacher, 1994, 2000). Although many adults are unmarried, later marriage combines with prolonged education and earlier menarche to help stretch out the transition to adulthood.

Before You Move On

▶ ASK YOURSELF

What have been your best and worst experiences during adolescence? How have your experiences been influenced by environmental factors, such as your cultural context, and how have they been influenced by your inborn traits?

▶ TEST YOURSELF

How has the transition from childhood to adulthood changed in Western cultures in the last century or so?

Answers to the Test Yourself questions can be found in Appendix E at the end of the book.

Module 52 Review

52-1

What are the social tasks and challenges of adolescence?

- Erikson theorized that each life stage has its own psychosocial task, and that a chief task of adolescence is solidifying one's sense of self—one's *identity*. This often means "trying on" a number of different roles.
- *Social identity* is the part of the self-concept that comes from a person's group memberships.

52-2

How do parents and peers influence adolescents?

- During adolescence, parental influence diminishes and peer influence increases.
- Adolescents adopt their peers' ways of dressing, acting, and communicating.
- Parents have more influence in religion, politics, and college and career choices.

52-3

What is emerging adulthood?

- The transition from adolescence to adulthood is now taking longer.
- *Emerging adulthood* is the period from age 18 to the mid-twenties, when many young people are not yet fully independent. But critics note that this stage is found mostly in today's Western cultures.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to Erikson, you develop your _____, a part of who you are, from your group memberships.
 - a. self-interest
 - b. social identity
 - c. social self
 - d. self-esteem
 - e. self-consciousness
2. In many Western societies, it is common for adolescents to graduate high school, go to college, and still live at home with their parents. They have not yet assumed full adult responsibilities and independence. Psychologists have identified this period of time as
 - a. adulthood.
 - b. early adulthood.
 - c. emerging adulthood.
 - d. late adolescence.
 - e. role confusion.
3. Which is true of social relations during the teen years?
 - a. As teens distance themselves from parents, peer relationships become more important.
 - b. High school girls who have the poorest relationships with their mothers have the most intense friendships with peers.
 - c. Parental influence peaks during mid to late adolescence.
 - d. Most adolescents have serious disagreements with parents, leading to great social stress.
 - e. Teens are generally more concerned with family relationships than peer relationships.
4. According to Erikson, what is the primary developmental task for adolescents?
 - a. Trust versus mistrust
 - b. Initiative versus guilt
 - c. Competence versus inferiority
 - d. Identity versus role confusion
 - e. Intimacy versus isolation

5. Compared with the late nineteenth century, what is true about the transition from childhood to adulthood in Western cultures?
- It starts earlier and is completed earlier.
 - It starts later and is completed later.
 - It starts later and is completed earlier.
 - It starts earlier and is completed later.
 - It has not changed.
6. Megan, a third grader, is having trouble with math. She is starting to do poorly in other subjects, because she feels she cannot master math. Based on Erikson's stages of psychosocial development, which stage is Megan in?
- Autonomy versus shame and doubt
 - Initiative versus guilt
 - Competence versus inferiority
 - Identity versus role confusion
 - Intimacy versus isolation
7. Boez is a 2-year-old boy who is in the process of potty training. When Boez urinates in the potty, he has a sense of pride. If Boez urinates in his pants, he runs and hides. According to Erikson, in which psychosocial stage is Boez?
- Autonomy versus shame and doubt
 - Initiative versus guilt
 - Competence versus inferiority
 - Identity versus role confusion
 - Intimacy versus isolation

Practice FRQs

1. What is emerging adulthood? Name two trends that have led to adding this to the stages of life.

Answer

1 point: Emerging adulthood is the period in modern Western cultures during the late teens to the mid-twenties that bridges the gap between adolescent dependence and adult independence.

2 points: Longer years of schooling and later age of marriage and moving out of the family home are the trends that have led to this new stage.

2. Name and describe Erik Erikson's stages of psychosocial development for infancy (first year) and middle adulthood (40s to 60s).

(4 points)