

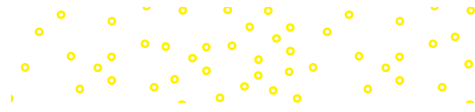
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THIRTEENTH EDITION

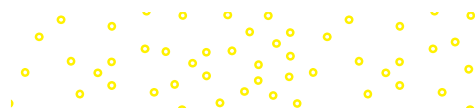


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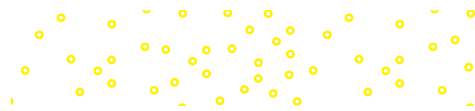
**LAURENCE STEINBERG**



# Adolescence







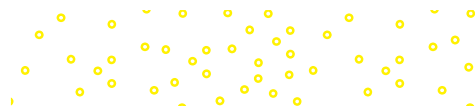
Thirteenth Edition

# Adolescence

Laurence Steinberg

*Temple University*

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## ADOLESCENCE, THIRTEENTH EDITION

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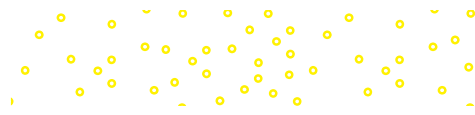
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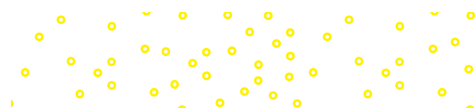
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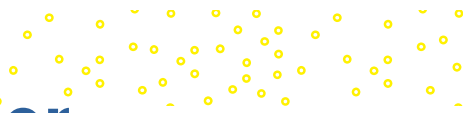
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*For Henry, at the beginning of life's journey.*



# About the Author



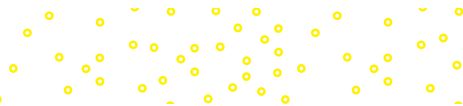
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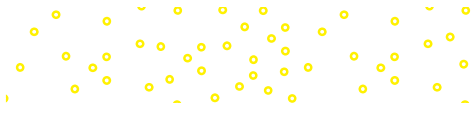


**LAURENCE STEINBERG,** Ph.D., is the Distinguished University Professor and Laura H. Carnell Professor of Psychology at Temple University. He graduated from Vassar College in 1974 and from Cornell University in 1977, where he received his Ph.D. in human development and family studies. He is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association, the Association for Psychological Science, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and former President of the Society for Research on Adolescence and the Division of Developmental Psychology of the American Psychological Association. Dr. Steinberg has been on the editorial boards of many major journals, including *Developmental Psychology* and *Child Development*, where he served as Associate Editor. He chaired the National Academies' Committee on the Science of Adolescence and has been a frequent consultant to state and federal agencies and lawmakers on child labor, secondary education, and juvenile justice policy. His work was cited numerous times by the U.S. Supreme Court in its landmark decisions that abolished the juvenile death penalty and mandatory sentences of life without parole for juveniles.

Dr. Steinberg is one of the most highly cited scholars in the field of developmental psychology. His own research has focused on a range of topics in the study of contemporary adolescence, including parent-adolescent relationships, risk taking and decision making, mental health, adolescent brain development, school-year employment, academic achievement, and juvenile crime and justice. He has been the recipient of numerous honors, including the John P. Hill Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Study of Adolescence, given by the Society for Research on Adolescence; the Society for Adolescent Medicine's Gallagher Lectureship; and, from the American Psychological Association, the Urie Bronfenbrenner Award for Lifetime Contribution to Developmental Psychology in the Service of Science and Society, the Award for Distinguished Contributions to Research in Public Policy, and the APA Presidential Citation. In 2009, he was named as the first recipient of the Klaus J. Jacobs Research Prize for Productive Youth Development.

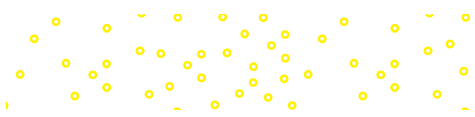
Dr. Steinberg also has been recognized for excellence in research and teaching by the University of California, the University of Wisconsin, and Temple University, where he was honored in 1994 as one of that university's Great Teachers. He has taught undergraduate and graduate courses in adolescence for more than 45 years and has served as the primary advisor to more than 40 graduate students, many of whom have gone on to become influential scholars in their own right in the field of adolescence. In 2013, he





received the Elizabeth Hurlock Beckman Award, a national prize given to college professors who have “inspired their former students to achieve greatness.”

In addition to *Adolescence*, Dr. Steinberg is the author or co-author of approximately 500 scholarly articles on growth and development during the teenage years, as well as the books *You and Your Adolescent: The Essential Guide for Ages 10-25*; *When Teenagers Work: The Psychological and Social Costs of Adolescent Employment* (with Ellen Greenberger); *Crossing Paths: How Your Child's Adolescence Triggers Your Own Crisis* (with Wendy Steinberg); *Beyond the Classroom: Why School Reform Has Failed and What Parents Need to Do* (with B. Bradford Brown and Sanford Dornbusch); *The 10 Basic Principles of Good Parenting* (which has been published in 11 languages); *Rethinking Juvenile Justice* (with Elizabeth Scott); and *Age of Opportunity: Lessons From the New Science of Adolescence*. He is co-editor of *Studying Minority Adolescents: Conceptual, Methodological, and Theoretical Issues* (with Vonnie McLoyd) and the *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology* (with Richard Lerner).





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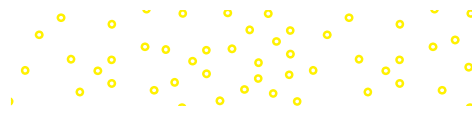
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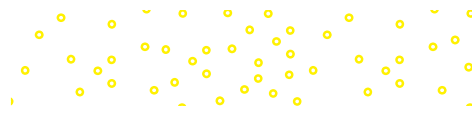
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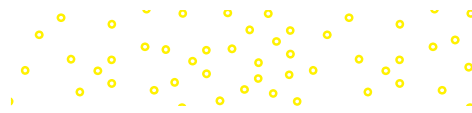
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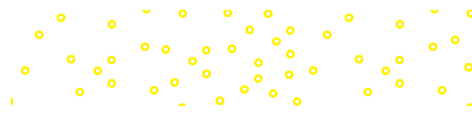
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# Guide to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

The Thirteenth Edition of *Adolescence* has been fully revised and updated with topics related to diversity, equity, and inclusion in mind. In addition to the chapter-specific revisions, this edition has undergone global changes, including an updated photo program to enhance diversity and inclusion. This edition also includes new citations of studies and researchers who represent diverse and international samples and topics.

## Introduction: The Study of Adolescent Development

- “Making the Cultural Connection” box asking students to consider ceremonies and informal events that signify the transition to adulthood
- Adolescence in developing countries, including anthropological perspectives of adolescence in developing and developed countries
- Stereotypes about adolescents and teenagers, including cross-cultural studies related to the connection between how adolescents behave and how they are perceived, including research by Qu et al. (2020).

## Chapter 1: Biological Transitions

- Geographic and environmental factors that influence puberty
- Body image and body dissatisfaction, including influences related to gender, ethnicity, and culture, citing research from BeLue, Francis, & Colaco (2009), Skinner et al. (2018), Huh et al. (2012), and Qualter et al. (2018)
- Pubertal maturation, including cross-cultural and familial trends and influences, citing research from Nagata et al. (2018)
- Sex changes resulting from prenatal hormone exposure, citing research from Sisk & Romeo (2019)
- Obesity and its prevalence in both industrialized and developing countries, citing research from Lewis-Smith et al. (2020), Neumark-Sztainer et al. (2006), and Jackson & Chen (2014)
- Eating disorders, including cross-cultural research and sociocultural factors, citing research from Bodell et al. (2018), Lee et al. (2013), and Olvera et al. (2015)

## Chapter 2: Cognitive Transitions

- Brain structure and function, including similarities and differences related to sex
- Intelligence, cross-cultural contexts and environmental influences, citing research from Ramsden et al. (2011), van den Bos, Crone, & Güroğlu (2012), and others

- “Making the Cultural Connection” box asking students to consider why, globally, rates of risky adolescent behavior varies, despite the universality of adolescent brain development
- Exemplifies how school-based tests alone may not accurately reflect intelligence as it is applied in the real world, citing research from Uncapher et al. (2016), Ahmed et al. (2019), and others
- Adolescents questioning of parental authority, including research from Chen-Gaddini, Liu, & Nucci (2020), Cheah, Leung, & Özemir (2018), and Thomas et al. (2020)

## Chapter 3: Social Transitions

- Adolescence, adulthood, and cross-cultural rites of passage
- Ethnic, religious, and cross-cultural processes of social redefinition
- Adolescents’ views of themselves, including criteria in both developing and developed countries
- Passage to adulthood in both contemporary industrialized and traditional cultures, including cross-cultural research from Arnett & Padilla-Walker (2015), Markstrom (2011), and others
- “Making the Cultural Connection” box asking readers to consider how globalization affects adolescence across various cultures in an international society
- Updated cross cultural data from the United Nations on the international adolescent population
- Discussion of cross-cultural problems faced by poor, underrepresented, and immigrant youth, including updated information from the U.S. Census Bureau and research from Ananat et al. (2017), Motti-Stefanidi (2019), Torres et al. (2018), Stevens et al. (2020), Bayram Özdemir et al. (2018), and Miklikowska, Bohrman, & Titzmann (2019)
- Effects of poverty on adolescent development and transition to adulthood, including difficulties faced by poor rural and urban communities, including research from Briant et al. (2020), Ellwood-Lowe et al. (2018), Coley, O’Brien & Spielvogel (2019), Uy et al. (2019)
- Subjective social status and its effects, citing Du, Chi & King (2019), Rahal et al. (2020), Rivenbark et al. (2019), Russell & Odgers (2020), and Raposa et al. (2019)
- Neighborhood conditions and their effects on adolescent development, including the effects of relocation on striving adolescents, citing Burnside & Gaylord-Harden (2019), Kan et al. (2020), Xiao, Romanelli, Vélez-Grau,

& Lindsay (2020), Orihuela et al. (2020), Wang, Choi, & Shin (2020), DaViera et al. (2020), and Evans et al. (2020)

#### Chapter 4: Families

- Concerns between adolescents and parents in immigrant families and across ethnic groups, citing Cruz et al. (2018), Stein et al. (2020), Motti-Stefandi (2018), Toyokawa & Toyokawa (2019), and Sun, Geeraert, & Simpson (2020)
- Ethnic differences and cross-cultural influences in parenting styles and practices, citing Anguiano (2018), De Los Reyes, Ohannessian, & Racz (2019), Hou et al. (2020), Qu, Pomerantz & Deng (2016), Luebbe, Tu, & Fredrick (2018), and Li et al. (2019)
- Family patterns and composition, including cross-cultural and ethnic trends, citing Wang-Schweig & Miller (2019), Nair, Roche, & White (2018), Yuen et al. (2018), and Van der Crujisen et al. (2019)
- Poverty and its effect on families of adolescents, including ethnic and cross-cultural disparities, citing Fisher et al. (2015) and Maas, Bray, & Noll (2018)
- Financial strain and its effects on families and adolescents, citing Deater-Deckard et al. (2019), Herd, King-Casas, & Kim-Spoon (2020), Simons & Steele (2020), Kotchick, Whitsett, & Sherman (2020), and Di Giunta et al. (2020)
- Homelessness and its connection to ethnic and LGBTQ youth, citing data from the National Runaway Safeline (2018), Gerwitz, O'Brien et al. (2020), and Tyler, Schmitz, & Ray (2018)
- Special family forms, including adolescents raised by same-sex parents, citing Farr (2017) and McConnachie et al. (2021)

#### Chapter 5: Peer Groups

- Updated global population data to show changing demographics
- Anthropological approach to postfigurative, cofigurative, and prefigurative cultures, including the significance of the American cofigurative society, citing Silva et al (2016) and Van Hoorn, Van Dijk, Güroglu, & Crone (2016)
- The role of sex segregation, gender roles, and sexual identity in adolescent peer groups
- Ethnicity and adolescent membership in particular crowds, including the role of ethnicity and identity in students at multiethnic schools, citing Wölfer & Hewstone (2018), Mali et al. (2019), Kelleghan et al. (2019), and Rastogi & Juvonen (2019)
- Ethnicity and discrimination in adolescent cliques, including the role of parental discrimination and cross-ethnic friendships, citing Umaña-Taylor et al. (2020) and Motti-Stefandini, Paclopoulos, & Asendorpf (2018)

- The benefits of cross-ethnic friendships and ethnic diversity within classrooms, citing Lessard, Kogachi, & Juvonen (2019)
- Cross-ethnic differences in bullying and peer victimization, including global research from Koyanagi et al. (2019)

#### Chapter 6: Schools

- Global U.N. data about school enrollment around the world
- The effects of No Child Left Behind on students of different ethnic backgrounds
- “Making the Cultural Connection” box prompting students to consider the benefits and drawbacks of global prevalence of national graduation examinations and why this practice is not popular in the United States
- Racial and ethnic data related to inner-city education, including disparities in proficiency in key subjects that result from the achievement gap
- Updated data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020) and NCES (2019 and 2020) illustrating the correlation between school violence, bullying, attendance, achievement, and job opportunities in inner-city communities
- School transitions and the challenges faced by boys, underrepresented ethnic students, and adolescents from disadvantaged families, citing Benner, Boykle, & Bakhtiari (2017), Kiuru et al. (2020), and Nelemans et al. (2018)
- The effects of school tracking on poor and underrepresented ethnic students due to discrimination
- The issues faced by neurodiverse adolescents, including ADHD, citing Murray et al. (2019) and Humphreys et al. (2019)
- The effects of ethnic diversity and desegregation in schools and classrooms, including the role of stereotypes and private schools and the experiences of students from ethnic and socioeconomic groups, citing DuPont-Reyes & Villatoro (2019) among others
- The cross-cultural issues related to how an adolescent’s ethnic and socioeconomic background influences teacher expectations and behavior, and, in turn, student engagement, citing Alm et al. (2019), Burns (2020), and Engels et al. (2020), Houston, Pearman, & McGee (2020)
- Two new figures about beneficial classroom climate based on Piccolo et al. (2019) and Amemiya, Fine, & Wang (2020)
- School climate and bullying, including effects of gay-straight alliances and LGBTQ-focused policies, citing Day et al. (2020)
- Cross-cultural disparities in school victimization and violence, including the racial gap in school discipline and the disproportionate negative impact of zero-tolerance policies on Black students, which mirrors racial inequities in arrests, citing Jacobsen (2020), Rosenbaum (2020), and Wiley et al. (2020)



- Updated cross-cultural data about college enrollment, including among immigrants and racial and ethnic populations from the NCES (2019 and 2020)

### Chapter 7: Work, Leisure, and Media

- Student employment trends based on socioeconomic background and the effects of working on academic achievement, citing Twenge & Park (2019), Hwang & Domina (2017), and Staff et al. (2020)
- Disparities in the negative effects of social media and texting on adolescent girls versus boys, citing Perrino et al. (2019), Lee et al. (2020), Stockdale & Coyne (2020), and Twenge & Martin (2020)

### Chapter 8: Identity

- Cross-cultural differences in adolescent self-conception, comparing the United States and China as an example (Setoh et al., 2015)
- Disparities in self-esteem among adolescents of different ethnicities and socioeconomic groups, including the effects on students in schools or communities where they are members of an underrepresented ethnic group, citing White, Zeiders, & Safa (2018), Huey et al. (2020), and Krauss, Orth, & Robins (2020)
- “Making the Cultural Connection” box asking students to reflect on how political changes in the Arab world may affect adolescent identity development
- The role of ethnic identity in an adolescent’s overall sense of personal identity, including the trends related to race, religion, and immigration status, citing Abo-Zena (2019), Kiang & Witkow (2018), and Chan, Kiang & Witkow (2020)
- Factors and effects related to the process of ethnic identity development in adolescents, including the benefits of strong ethnic identity and ethnic pride on mental health and academic achievement, citing Hughes, Del Toro, & Way (2017), Cross et al. (2018), Meca et al. (2019), and Spiegler, Wölfer, & Hewstone (2019)
- The effects of mainstream culture on underrepresented ethnic youth, including an awareness of racism and discrimination and a mistrust of others, citing White et al. (2018), Cross et al. (2020), and Anderson et al. (2019)
- The importance of ethnic socialization, including the role of parents in teaching children about dealing with racism, valuing one’s culture, and success in the mainstream culture, citing Svensson & Shannon (2020)
- Trends and consequences of altercations between law enforcement and Black adolescents, including research identifying conversation topics between Black parents and teenagers following the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri: the extent of racism in America, the special dangers faced by Black boys, the effects of violent and nonviolent protests,

- and fighting discrimination by succeeding in school, citing Dunbar et al. (2017) and Threlfall (2018)
- Research about the special situation faced by underrepresented ethnic youth who are recent immigrants, foreign-born adolescents from underrepresented ethnic groups, and first-generation underrepresented ethnic youth, citing Filion, Fenelon, & Boudreaux (2018) and Svensson & Shannon (2020)
- The adverse effects of discrimination on the identity development of underrepresented adolescents, including citations and examples of Latinx, Black, immigrant, Iranian, and Native American adolescents, citing Wang & Yip (2020), Benner et al. (2018), and Del Toro, Hughes, & Way (2020)
- Discrimination’s negative effects on adolescents’ physiology (e.g., poor sleep, inflammatory response), mental health (e.g., substance abuse, depression), behavior, and achievement, citing Bennett et al. (2020), Zapolski et al. (2020), Martin et al. (2019), and Yip et al. (2020)
- Updated discussion of research related to the specific effects of discrimination on Black teenagers, citing Seaton & Tyson (2019)
- Updated discussion of the complicated impact of having race as a central part of one’s identity, which can make adolescents more sensitive to discrimination and also make them better able to cope with it, citing Seaton & Iida (2019), Meca et al. (2020), and Thomann & Suyemoto (2017)
- Updated discussion of the particular challenges of identity faced by multiethnic youth, citing Nishina & Witkow (2020) and Rozek & Gaither (2020)
- Expanded discussion of terminology related to sex and gender, including a new figure illustrating the variability of sexual orientation among different gender identity groups based on research from Watson, Wheldon, & Puhl (2020)
- The adverse effects of discrimination and societal ignorance faced by LGBTQ youth, including potential hostility from parents, citing Mills-Koonce et al. (2018), Robinson (2018), and others
- Discussion of the prevalence of mental-health challenges among transgender adolescents, citing Pacey et al. (2020), Diamond (2020), and others
- The negative effects of stigmatization and discrimination within their communities, including excerpts from interviews with transgender youth living in a conservative, rural Midwestern community, including interview excerpts from Pacey et al. (2020)
- Updated discussion of the fluidity of gender-role behavior rather than absolute categories
- Gender-role socialization, including the role of beliefs and pressures to conform on behavior and attitudes, including a new figure based on research from Looze et al. (2018)

**Chapter 9: Autonomy**

- Cross-cultural discussion of the parents' role in adolescent individuation and the effects of parental support of autonomy
- Ethnic and cultural differences in expectations for autonomy, including racial trends within different countries and how immigration affects perceptions of parents and their adolescents, citing Kiang & Bhattacharjee (2019), Nalipay, King, & Cai (2020), Tran & Rafaeli (2020), Yu et al. (2019), Cheah et al. (2019), and Rogers et al. (2020), among others
- Trends in peer influence related to sex, ethnicity, immigration background, and family structure
- Differences in socioeconomic status as it relates to changes in adolescent political thinking and views of American society
- New research on the political and civil engagement of underrepresented adolescents, including excerpts of interviews from Roy et al. (2019) and the link between political engagement and victimization
- Discussion about adolescent attitudes related to social justice, race relations, and financial insecurity, including the potential effects of Black Lives Matter, COVID-19, and concerns about climate change, including citations from Sanson, Van Hoorn, & Burke (2019) and Oosterhoff et al. (2019), and a new figure based on Metzger et al. (2020)
- Cross-cultural data related to religious beliefs during adolescence, including data related to religious participation in the United States and a figure illustrating differences across countries, citing Vasilenko & Espinosa-Hernández (2019) and a new figure based on Hardy et al. (2020)
- “Making the Cultural Connection” box exploring cultural variability around the world as it relates to the role of religion in adolescents' lives
- Discussion of how religiosity and spirituality change over the course of adolescence and how religious involvement affects adolescent development, including new research from Lee & Neblett (2019) on the impact on Black youth living in urban communities of low socioeconomic status

**Chapter 10: Intimacy**

- Critique of Sullivan's theory of interpersonal development (1953) to address the transition from nonromantic to romantic relationships as opposed to the same-sex and other-sex relationships described by Sullivan
- Sex differences in intimacy, including greater levels of intimacy among girls than boys and the advantages and disadvantages of male and female intimacy, plus a discussion of similarities between male and female intimacy, citing Benner, Hou, & Jackson (2019), Bastin et al. (2018), and others

- Examination of the origins of sex differences in intimacy, including the effects of social pressure, trends among some ethnic groups, and discrimination against gay teenagers, citing Savickaitė et al. (2019)
- Discussion of factors related to the “sex cleavage” and friendships across sexes, including the transition to mixed-sex friendships, curiosity about sexual feelings, and the advantages and disadvantages of platonic friendships, citing Savickaitė et al. (2019), among others
- Differences in the capacity for intimacy among boys and girls during adolescence, including addressing stereotypes about sex differences in romantic relationships
- Cross-cultural nuances in how Latinx and Black adolescents approach dating and their attitudes about gendered roles in relationships
- Challenges, prejudices, and harassment faced by LGBTQ youth when freely expressing their romantic interests and sexual identity, including the increased risks of dating violence on LGBTQ youth, as illustrated in a new figure based on Költő et al. (2018)
- The adverse effects of early dating, sexual harassment, sexual coercion, and date rape on high-school girls, including updated research on the prevalence and effects of dating violence in romantic relationships, citing Cava et al., 2020, Rothman et al. (2020), and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020) data, among others

**Chapter 11: Sexuality**

- Updated CDC research reporting ethnic differences in the age of sexual initiation, which are greater between boys than girls
- Data correlating sexual activity with immigration and socioeconomic status
- The impact of social factors that influence involvement in sexual activity, including the larger effect of social attitudes on girls than boys
- Factors and trends that lead to significant differences in how boys and girls interpret the meaning of sex, including expectations and social disapproval, including excerpts from interviews from Garceau & Ronis (2019) and a figure based on that research
- Discussion of the social and scientific history that has impacted LGBTQ individuals, with a focus on contemporary research that sexual orientation is primarily determined by hormonal and genetic factors, citing Stewart et al. (2019) and Zhang, Solazzo, & Gorman (2020).
- Updated data about the prevalence of gender fluidity and sexual orientation among adolescents and young people, including a new figure illustrating teen participation in both same-sex and other-sex activities, citing Li & Davis (2020), including a new figure based on their research

- Discussion of the importance of parental support when LGBTQ individuals come out, including coverage of peer harassment and discrimination, especially of younger teenagers, citing Hequembourg, Livingston, & Wang (2020), Kaufman, Baams, & Veenstra (2020), and others
- Trends related to sexual harassment and date rape, including the negative effects of sexual coercion and the link between sexual harassment and general bullying, citing Katz et al. (2019), Duncan, Zimmer-Gembeck, & Furman (2019), and others
- Updated discussion of the harassment of LGBTQ adolescents, the negative consequences of discrimination and hostility, the increased rates of depression and suicide among LGBTQ youth, and the importance of school- and community-based programs designed to promote tolerance and provide resources, citing la Roi et al. (2020), Ioverno & Russell (2020), Watson, Wheldon, & Puhl (2020), Eisenberg et al. (2020), Zhang et al. (2020), and Raifman et al. (2020), among others
- Risk factors related to adolescent rape and reasons why rape and sexual abuse are likely far more common than reported studies reveal
- Updated data of contraception use among adolescents, including the challenges of planning, access, and knowledge about sex, contraception, and pregnancy, citing Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020)
- “Making the Cultural Connection” box encouraging students to consider why rates of STDs and teen pregnancy are higher in the United States, despite similar rates of sexual activity to other countries
- Cross-cultural data related to U.S. rates of teen pregnancy by ethnicity, including discussion of the correlation of income inequality and school attendance with teenage childbearing, citing Sedgh et al. (2015)
- Effects of abortion of unplanned pregnancy on both adolescent girls and boys, and the disproportionate impact of policies limiting abortion access on ethnic youth, including figures based on Jalanko et al. (2020) and Everett et al. (2020), and data from the ACLU (2021)
- The risks and negative effects of teenage motherhood and marriage, and how they can be offset by moving in with their own family, a practice that is more common in Black families than in White or Latinx families
- how a lack resources negatively affects opportunity, especially for poor and underrepresented students
- Updated discussion of mixed results related to parental involvement in different ethnic households, including studies of Black, Latinx, Mexican American, Asian, and White students, citing Aceves, Bámaca-Colbert, & Robins (2020) and Day & Dotterer (2018), among others
- Effects of quality of home life, cultural capital, social capital, and Internet access on adolescent achievement, including how inadequate housing, economic and social stress, and poverty can undermine academic achievement and parental support
- Cross-cultural discussion of trends related to the connection between peer influence and student grades, citing Laninga-Wijnen et al. (2018), Shin (2020), Zhang et al. (2019), and Chen, Saafir, & Graham (2020)
- Socioeconomic gaps in school achievement across all ethnic groups and in different countries, including the effects of affluence on brain development and disadvantages in standardized testing, citing (NCES) 2020
- The effects of socioeconomic level, family background, and environmental factors on students, including the effects of neighborhoods
- Ethnic differences in educational achievement, including the success of immigrants of different backgrounds, citing Peguero, Bondy, & Hong (2017), among others
- Discussion of the similarity of educational aspirations and attitudes across ethnic backgrounds, but the gap in academic performance, especially for Black and Latinx students
- Theories of false optimism among Black and Latinx adolescents with high aspirations and positive beliefs about school, including the role of prejudice and discrimination by classmates and teachers on achievement
- Effects of academic performance on Asian teenagers, including increased time spent studying and the benefits of engagement and motivation
- “Making the Cultural Connection” box prompting students to consider the factors that drive immigrant achievement, even when immigrant students are unfamiliar with the English language or American culture
- Updated NCES (2020) and U.S. Census Bureau (2020) research about trends in the achievement gap between White and nonwhite individuals, including an increase in educational attainment
- Global data on U.S. proficiency scores in core subjects, which are mediocre in comparison with other industrialized countries, citing OECD (2020) data
- Cross-cultural, socioeconomic, and ethnic trends related to U.S. high school graduation rates, including the correlates and risk factors of dropping out of school, citing National Center for Education Statistics, 2020 data

## Chapter 12: Achievement

- Self-handicapping strategies, including sex differences and the impact of prejudice and discrimination on underrepresented ethnic youth
- Updated discussion of stereotype threat, including its impact on students of different ethnic backgrounds and sexes, citing McKellar et al. (2019), among others
- Discussion of how school environments and classroom atmosphere influence achievement, including

- Socioeconomic influences on occupational choice, including social class, status, and educational attainment as determinants of what people look for in jobs, citing Afia et al. (2019), Gubbels, van der Put, & Assink (2019), and Samuel & Burger (2020)

### Chapter 13: Psychosocial Problems in Adolescence

- Differences in drug use among adolescents of different sexes, ethnicities, and immigration status, including updated research and explanation that sex, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity respond to risk factors in much the same way, citing Johnston et al. (2020), Alamilla et al. (2018), and others
- Differences in alcohol, tobacco, and drug use between American and European adolescents, citing Miech et al. (2020) and ESPAD (2019)
- The role of environment and social context as it influences adolescent substance use and abuse, including availability of drugs, community norms, drug-law enforcement, and mass media portrayal, citing Meisel & Colder (2020), Wesche, Kreager, & Lefkowitz (2019), Griesler et al. (2019), and Parra et al. (2020)
- Discussion of protective factors related to substance abuse and how they operate similarly across ethnic groups, citing Su et al. (2019), Quach et al. (2020), and others
- Discussion of successful substance-abuse treatments, which are not as available to underrepresented ethnic groups due to financial or insurance reasons
- Sex differences in aggression, including social factors that influence its stability, and the overall gender gap in violent offending, which has closed over time, citing data from the National Center for Juvenile Justice (2020)
- Trends in victimization and shootings by race and ethnicity, including those related to school shootings and inner-city communities, citing Wylie & Rufino (2018) and Yu et al. (2018)
- Trends related to underreporting and selective reporting of rates of juvenile offending, including higher reporting levels among poor and underrepresented adolescents and racial bias and stereotypes that are most likely to impact Black individuals and influence the processing of minor crimes, citing data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2020), the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (2020), and the National Center for Juvenile Justice (2020)
- Discussion of the fact that ethnic differences in the prevalence of self-reported offending are smaller than those in official records, citing Singer (2017)
- Gender roles as a driver of sex differences in depression, including correlated pressures on young women to behave in sex-stereotyped ways, a tendency to respond to stress by turning feelings inward, and greater orientation toward interpersonal relations, citing Kwong et al. (2019), LeMoult et al. (2019), and Owens et al. (2019)
- Ethnic and sex differences in attempted suicide and sex differences in non-suicidal self-injury, citing Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020) data and research from Zhu, Chen, & Su (2020), Hamza & Willoughby (2019), and Schwartz-Mette & Lawrence (2019)
- Cross-cultural similarities in the connection between stress and psychosocial problems

# A Note from the Author

Two psychopathic killers persuaded me to abandon my dreams to someday become a comedy writer and study psychology instead. I did not enter college intending to become either a psychologist or a professor. I majored in English, hoping to study creative writing. I became interested in psychology during the second semester of my freshman year because of an introductory course in personality theory. My professor had assigned the book *In Cold Blood*, and our task was to analyze the personalities of Dick and Perry, the two murderers. I was hooked. I followed this interest in personality development to graduate school in developmental psychology, where I learned that if you really wanted to understand how we develop into the people we ultimately become, you have got to know something about adolescence. That was nearly 50 years ago, and I'm still as passionate about studying this period of life as I was then.

I hope that this book gets you more excited about adolescence, too.

One reason I like teaching and writing about adolescence is that most students find it inherently interesting, in part because pretty much everyone has such vivid recollections of what it was like to be a teenager. In fact, researchers have discovered that people actually remember events from adolescence more intensely than events from other times, something that has been referred to as the "reminiscence bump."

The reminiscence bump makes teaching adolescence both fun and frustrating. Fun, because it isn't hard to get students interested in the topic. Frustrating, though, because it's a challenge to get students to look at adolescence from a scientific, as well as personal, perspective. That, above all, is my goal for this book. I don't want you to forget or set aside your own experience as an adolescent. (I couldn't make that happen, anyway.) But what I hope I can do is to help you understand adolescence—your own adolescence as well as the adolescence that is experienced by others around the world—more deeply and more intelligently by introducing you to the latest science on the subject. I still maintain a very active program of research of my own, and that necessitates staying on top of the field's most recent and important developments. There is a lot of exciting work being done on adolescence these days (one of my interests is the adolescent brain), and I want to share this excitement with you. Who knows, maybe you'll become hooked, too.

I've tried to do my best at covering the most important topics and writing about them in a way that is not only informative but fun and interesting to read. If there's something I could have done better, please let me know.

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# Preface

## Cutting-Edge Science, Personalized for Today's Students

As a well-respected researcher, Laurence Steinberg connects current research with real-world application, helping students see the similarities and differences in adolescent development across different social, economic, and cultural backgrounds.

Paired with McGraw Hill **Connect™**, a digital assignment and assessment platform that strengthens the link between faculty, students, and course work, instructors and students accomplish more in less time and improve their performance.

## Apply Concepts and Theories in an Experiential Learning Environment

An engaging and innovative learning game, **Quest: Journey Through the Lifespan®** provides students with opportunities to apply content from their human development curriculum to real-life scenarios. Students play unique characters who range in age and make decisions that apply key concepts and theories for each age as they negotiate events in an array of authentic environments. Additionally, as students analyze real-world behaviors and contexts, they are exposed to different cultures and intersecting biological, cognitive, and socioemotional processes. Each quest has layered replayability, allowing students to make new choices each time they play—or offering different students in the same class different experiences. Fresh possibilities and outcomes shine light on the complexity of and variations in real human development. This experiential learning game includes follow-up questions, assignable in Connect and auto-graded, to reach a high level of critical thinking.



## A Personalized Experience that Leads to Improved Learning and Results

How many students think they know everything about adolescent psychology but struggle on the first exam? Students study more effectively with Connect and SmartBook.

- Connect's assignments help students contextualize what they've learned through application, so they can better understand the material and think critically.
- Connect reports deliver information regarding performance, study behavior, and effort so instructors can quickly identify students who are having issues or focus on material that the class hasn't mastered.
- SmartBook helps students study more efficiently by highlighting what to focus on in the chapter, asking review questions, and directing them to resources until they understand.
- SmartBook creates a personalized study path customized to individual student needs.

**SmartBook** is now optimized for mobile and tablet and is accessible for students with disabilities. Content-wise, it has been enhanced with improved learning objectives that are measurable and observable to improve student outcomes. SmartBook personalizes learning to individual student needs, continually adapting to pinpoint knowledge gaps and focus learning on topics

## Power of Process for PSYCHOLOGY



Mc  
Graw  
Hill connect®

that need the most attention. Study time is more productive and, as a result, students are better prepared for class and coursework. For instructors, SmartBook tracks student progress and provides insights that can help guide teaching strategies.

### Preparing Students for Higher-Level Thinking

At the higher end of Bloom's taxonomy, **Power of Process** helps students improve critical-thinking skills and allows instructors to assess these skills efficiently and effectively in an online environment. Available through Connect, preloaded journal articles are available for instructors to assign. Using a scaffolded framework such as understanding, synthesizing, and analyzing, **Power of Process** moves students toward higher-level thinking and analysis.

### Writing Assignment

New to this edition and found in Connect, Writing Assignments offer faculty the ability to assign a full range of writing projects to students with just-in-time feedback.

You may set up manually scored assignments in a way that students can:

- automatically receive grammar and high-level feedback to improve their writing before they submit a project to you;
- run originality checks and receive feedback on “exact matches” and “possibly altered text” that includes guidance about how to properly paraphrase, quote, and cite sources to improve the academic integrity of their writing before they submit their work to you.

The new Writing Assignments will also have features that allow you to assign milestone drafts (optional), easily re-use your text and audio comments, build/score with your rubric, and view your own originality report of student's final submission.

### Real People, Real World, Real Life

McGraw Hill Education's Milestones is a powerful video-based learning tool that allows students to experience life as it unfolds, from infancy through emerging adulthood. New to this edition, Milestones are available in a more engaging, WCAG-compliant format. Ask your McGraw Hill representative about this new upgrade.

### Inform and Engage on Psychological Concepts

Located in Connect, **NewsFlash** is a multimedia assignment tool that ties current news stories, TedTalks, blogs, and podcasts to key psychological principles and learning objectives. Students interact with relevant news stories and are assessed on their ability to connect the content to the research findings and course material. NewsFlash is updated twice a year and uses expert sources to cover a wide range of topics including: emotion, personality, stress, drugs, COVID-19, disability, social justice, stigma, bias, inclusion, gender, LGBTQIA+, and many more.

### Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

The thirteenth edition of *Adolescence* features updated and expanded coverage of key issues in development in every chapter. This revision is reflected primarily in Chapters 3, 4, 8, and 12.

Below is a complete list of changes in each chapter:

### **Chapter 1**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 70 new citations)
- Four new figures in total
- Added discussion of changes in brain physiology during adolescence
- Refocused discussion of adrenarche
- Updated discussion of the timing of puberty and additions related to the concept of “precocious” puberty
- Updated discussion of genetic and environmental influences on pubertal timing
- New subsection on the connection between puberty and stress
- New “Making the Scientific Connection” box about the complicated relationship between puberty, psychological functioning, and other significant events.
- Expanded discussion on sleep patterns and the related effects of academic and extracurricular demands
- New figure about the correlation between early-maturing boys and delinquent behavior
- Revised section on obesity, including two new figures and consideration of the potential related effects of COVID-19 on adolescent activity levels

### **Chapter 2**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 60 new citations)
- Five new figures in total
- Refined discussion of adolescent reasoning abilities and metacognition
- Two new figures illustrate patterns of neural connectivity, white matter, and gray matter
- New figure illustrates the brain regions responsible for social cognition, cognitive control, and reward processing
- New figure illustrates the maturity gap
- Updated discussion of IQ and intelligence tests.
- Added discussion of social conventions and laws in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic
- Updated discussion of adolescent risk taking, including a new figure and descriptions of recent research

### **Chapter 3**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 80 new citations)
- Four new figures and two new tables in total
- Updated discussion about the elongation of adolescence
- New discussion and figure about perceptions in the importance of traditional markers of adulthood
- Expanded discussion of the concept of “emerging adulthood,” including the factors and experiences that are related to it
- Revised discussion of social redefinition of adolescents in contemporary society
- Updated data on number of young adults living at home and leaving home during the COVID-19 pandemic, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of transitional problems of poor, minority, and immigrant youth
- Updated discussion of the effects of chronic stress, poverty, and income inequality on adolescents, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of the impact of mentoring programs
- Fully revised discussion of the impact of poverty on adolescent development, including a new figure
- New discussion and table showing the effects of violence and stress on behavioral, emotional, and physical health

### **Chapter 4**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 100 new citations)
- Four new figures in total



- Expanded discussion of changing family relationships during adolescence
- New figure showing what parents are likely to lie to their children about
- Updated discussion about relationships between parents and adolescents in immigrant families
- New figure illustrating the differences in adolescent relationships with their mothers versus fathers
- New figure showing the correlation between an adolescent's impulsivity and aggression in rejecting parenting
- Updated and refined discussion of attachment, parenting style, and adolescent autonomy
- Updated discussion of household composition based on 2020 census data
- Updated discussion of the effects of stress and poverty, including the economic downturn related to the COVID-19 pandemic
- Updated data related to homelessness among the LGBTQ, Black, and Latinx adolescents

### **Chapter 5**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 80 new citations)
- Four new figures in total
- Population trend data updated to reflect the 2020 census
- Updated "Making the Cultural Connection" box about values in different parts of the world
- New figure showing correlation between popularity and peer satisfaction
- New discussion of victimization and depression
- Updated discussion of bullying and victimization, including a new figure showing global trends in adolescent suicide
- New figure showing the different ways adolescents deal with cyberbullying

### **Chapter 6**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 30 new citations)
- Four new and two revised figures in total
- Population trend data updated to reflect the 2020 census
- Updated "Making the Cultural Connection" box about values in different parts of the world
- New content about the impact of remote schooling during the COVID-19 pandemic
- New content about the effects of the shift in focus to standardized testing in schools
- Updated data about the achievement gap among students of different ethnic backgrounds
- New content about school inequality and school size
- Updated content about ADHD, including a figure illustrating gender differences in diagnoses
- Updated research about the connection between school diversity on mental health
- Updated research about school climate, cognitive performance, and striving students, including a new figure
- New figure about school discipline and student trust and engagement
- Updated content about the prevalence of the bullying of LGBTQ teenagers
- New figure illustrating the prevalence of boredom in school

### **Chapter 7**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 80 new citations)
- Five new figures in total
- Updated content about adolescent free time
- New "Making the Cultural Connection" box about student employment
- New figure about participation in extracurricular activities
- Updated discussion of media saturation and sources
- New figure about the topics teenagers text about
- Updated discussion of media exposure
- New figure illustrating the connection between screen time and adolescent depression
- Updated data on the impact of violent video games and adolescent aggression
- Updated discussion of social media's impact and use among adolescents
- Revised subsection on Internet addiction

- New figure about sexting among contemporary teenagers
- New figure about victimization on social media

### **Chapter 8**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 100 new citations)
- Four new figures in total
- Updated discussion of self-concept
- Expanded discussion of dimensions of personality in adolescence, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of self-esteem in adolescence
- Updated discussion of the social context of identity development
- Expanded discussion of ethnic identity, including a new figure and text on multiethnic adolescents
- Revised discussion of discrimination
- New discussion of gender identity, including a section on terminology and a new figure about gender identity and sexual orientation
- Expanded section on transgender adolescents
- Revised discussion of gender-role socialization, including a new figure

### **Chapter 9**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 80 new citations)
- Six new figures in total
- Revised discussion of parenting and emotional autonomy, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of parental and peer influence, including a new figure
- New research on the role of peer influence on adolescent compliance with social-distancing guidelines during the COVID-19 pandemic, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of prosocial reasoning and behavior
- New figure about relationship between socioeconomic status and adolescent views of American society
- Expanded discussion of adolescent political thinking, including a new figure
- Expanded discussion of adolescent religious involvement, including two new figures

### **Chapter 10**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 30 new citations)
- Three new and one revised figure in total
- Updated discussion of changes in the nature of friendship
- Updated discussion of loneliness in adolescence, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of targets of intimacy, low-income youth, and youth programs
- Revised discussion of the role of context in intimacy
- Updated discussion of LGBTQ intimate relationships, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of violence in romantic relationships, including a new figure

### **Chapter 11**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 60 new citations)
- Four new and two revised figures in total
- Updated data related to sexual intercourse, based on 2020 CDC research
- Revised discussion of changes in sexual activity over time, using updated CDC data as a foundation
- Updated discussion of the relationship between sex and drugs
- Revised discussion of parent-adolescent communication
- Expanded discussion of the influence of peers on sexual activity
- Updated discussion of the meaning of sex, including a new figure
- Expanded and heavily revised discussion of same-sex attraction, including a new figure
- Updated discussion of the harassment of sexual minority youth
- Updated discussion of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases
- Updated discussion of teenage pregnancy and abortion, including two new figures
- Expanded and updated discussion of teenage pregnancy and motherhood

**Chapter 12**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 30 new citations)
- One new and two new revised figures and one new table in total
- Updated discussion of fear of failure and the Yerkes-Dodson law, including a new figure
- Revised discussion of stereotype threat
- Updated discussion of the transition to high school
- Updated discussion of environmental influences on achievement
- Updated discussion of socioeconomic status on educational achievement
- Revised and updated discussion of ethnicity and achievement
- Updated discussion in educational achievement changes and discrepancies, including across races and ethnicities
- Updated discussion of the correlates of dropping out of high school

**Chapter 13**

- Thorough update of all content (more than 90 new citations)
- Six new figures in total
- Updated discussion of substance abuse and a new figure
- Updated discussion of ethnic trends and risk factors of drug use
- Updated data related to crime rates and juvenile offenders, including a new figure
- Revised and updated discussion of changes in juvenile offending over time, including trends in gender differences
- Updated discussion of antisocial adolescents
- Revised and expanded discussion of internalizing problems, including a new figure
- New figure illustrating rates of depression among American adolescents
- New figure illustrating sex differences in rates of depression that emerges in adolescence and disappears in early adulthood
- Updated discussion of risk factors for suicide, including a new figure illustrating the connection between suicide and the menstrual cycle
- Updated discussion about suicide contagion

## Online Instructor Resources

The resources listed here accompany the Thirteenth Edition of *Adolescence*. Please contact your McGraw Hill representative for details concerning the availability of these and other valuable materials that can help you design and enhance your course.

**Instructor’s Manual** Broken down by chapter, the Instructor’s Manual includes chapter outlines, suggested lecture topics, classroom activities and demonstrations, suggested student research projects, essay questions, and critical thinking questions.

**Test Bank and Test Builder** Organized by chapter, the questions are designed to test factual, conceptual, and applied understanding; all test questions are available within Test Builder. Available within Connect, Test Builder is a cloud-based tool that enables instructors to format tests that can be printed, administered within a learning management system, or exported as a Word document of the test bank. Test Builder offers a modern, streamlined interface for easy content configuration that matches course needs, without requiring a download.

Test Builder allows you to:

- access all test bank content from a particular title.
- easily pinpoint the most relevant content through robust filtering options.
- manipulate the order of questions or scramble questions and/or answers.
- pin questions to a specific location within a test.
- determine your preferred treatment of algorithmic questions.
- choose the layout and spacing.
- add instructions and configure default settings.

Test Builder provides a secure interface for better protection of content and allows for just-in-time updates to flow directly into assessments.

**PowerPoint Presentations** The PowerPoint presentations, available in both dynamic, lecture-ready and accessible, WCAG-compliant versions, highlight the key points of the chapter and include supporting visuals. All of the slides can be modified to meet individual needs.

**Remote Proctoring and Browser-Locking Capabilities** Remote proctoring and browser-locking capabilities, hosted by Proctorio within Connect, provide control of the assessment environment by enabling security options and verifying the identity of the student. Seamlessly integrated within Connect, these services allow instructors to control students' assessment experience by restricting browser activity, recording students' activity, and verifying students are doing their own work. Instant and detailed reporting gives instructors an at-a-glance view of potential academic integrity concerns, thereby avoiding personal bias and supporting evidence-based claims.

## Acknowledgments

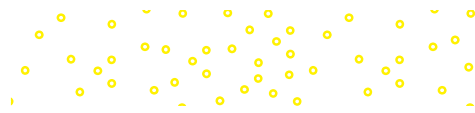
Revising *Adolescence* at a time when so much new information is available is a challenge that requires much assistance. For this new edition, McGraw Hill Education commissioned a broad survey of the course, and I am grateful to the more than 150 instructors who provided feedback on trends in the field and challenges in the classroom. I'm especially grateful to Colleen Brown and Emily Kan for their assistance in identifying new research that informed this revision.

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# The Study of Adolescent Development

## INTRODUCTION

### The Boundaries of Adolescence

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Troy Ossey/Getty Images



**During the early months of 2020**, the rapid and frightening spread of the virus that causes COVID-19 created one of the most serious public health and economic crises the world has ever seen. One of the most difficult challenges faced by countries with a high incidence of infection, such as the United States, was how to safely provide education to millions of elementary, secondary, and college students. Experts worried about the spread of the virus not only among students but also between students and others with whom they come into contact—teachers, parents, and other adults in the community.

As an expert on adolescent development, I was asked frequently about the potential impact of the pandemic on adolescents. There were so many issues to contemplate: whether it was safe to return to school, whether students could learn just as effectively through remote instruction as in in-person classes, whether college undergraduates who returned to campus were capable of adhering to their schools' guidelines for safe behavior, whether the increased use of social media was likely to hurt teenagers' social development, and, of course, how to help adolescents protect their mental health during this difficult time.

Fortunately, today's scientists can do much more than make educated guesses. Over the past three decades, there's been enormous growth in the science of adolescence, so when experts are asked these sorts of questions, we have plenty of research to draw on—research on adolescent decision making, on the impact of social media on teenagers' psychological development, on instructional technology, on factors that make some young people more vulnerable to depression than others.

Research on adolescent risk taking has been especially relevant to discussions about whether it was safe for campuses to reopen. Personally, I was pessimistic about many of the plans colleges and universities had proposed. In an op-ed I published in *The New York Times*, I wrote that students might be able to comply with social distancing guidelines for awhile, but not for more than two weeks or so, and that once they started socializing with each other, the virus would spread rapidly (Steinberg, 2020).



*In the early months of the COVID-19 pandemic, many college undergraduates ignored public health experts who cautioned against large group gatherings. Mike Stocker/Sun Sentinel/Tribune News Service/Getty Images*

It turned out that my two-week estimate was overly optimistic. As soon as colleges reopened, students started partying. Within one week of reopening, universities all over the country began reversing course, closing dorms, sending students home, resuming online instruction, and disrupting the plans of thousands of students. By late August, before very many students had returned to campus, there already were more than 25,000 confirmed cases of COVID-19 on college and university campuses across the United States. By late October, there were nearly 220,000 (New York Times, 2020).

No one familiar with research on adolescent risk taking would have been surprised by this. Dozens of studies have shown that risk taking is more common during the late teens and early 20s than at any other age, not just in the United States, but around the world (Duell et al., 2018). Had university administrators looked to the science of adolescence for guidance, they might have decided to do things differently.

#### adolescence

The stage of development that begins with puberty and ends when individuals make the transition into adult roles, roughly speaking, from about age 10 until the early 20s.

## The Boundaries of Adolescence

The word *adolescence* is derived from the Latin *adolescere*, which means “to grow into adulthood” (Lerner & Steinberg, 2009). In all societies, adolescence is a

time of growing up, of moving from the immaturity of childhood into the maturity of adulthood, of preparation for the future (Larson, Wilson, & Rickman, 2009; Schlegel, 2009). **Adolescence** is a period of transitions: biological, psychological, social, economic. During adolescence, individuals become interested in sex and biologically capable of having children. They become wiser, more sophisticated, and better able to make their own decisions. They

become more self-aware, more independent, and more concerned about what the future holds. Think for a moment about how much you changed between when you finished elementary school and when you graduated from high school. I'm sure you'll agree that the changes you went through were remarkable.

## making the practical connection



Studies of adolescent brain development have revealed that the brain continues to mature well into the mid-20s. This research was used in several U.S. Supreme Court cases in which the court ruled that adolescents should not be punished as severely as adults, even when they have been convicted of the same crimes. But some advocates for youth have worried that this same research can be used to limit what teenagers are allowed to do, such as drive or seek an abortion without their parents' knowledge. How would you respond to someone who, on the basis of this research, says that if adolescents are too young to be punished like adults, they are too young to be treated like adults in other ways as well?

As you can see in Table I.1, there are a variety of boundaries we might draw between childhood and adolescence, and between adolescence and adulthood. A biologist would place a great deal of emphasis on the attainment and completion of puberty, but an attorney would look instead at important age breaks designated by law, and an educator might draw attention to differences between students enrolled in different grades in school. Is

a biologically mature fifth-grader an adolescent or a child? Is a 20-year-old college student who lives at home an adolescent or an adult? There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. Determining the beginning and ending of adolescence is more a matter of opinion than of absolute fact.

We can think of development during adolescence as involving a *series* of transitions from immaturity into maturity (Howard & Galambos, 2011; Trejos-Castillo & Vazsonyi, 2011). Some of these passages are long and some are short; some are smooth and others are rough. And not all of them occur at the same time. Consequently, it is quite possible—even likely—that an individual will mature in some respects before she matures in others. The various aspects of adolescence have different beginnings and different endings for every individual. An individual can be a child in some ways, an adolescent in other ways, and an adult in still others.

For the purposes of this book, we'll define adolescence as beginning with puberty and ending when individuals make the transition into adult roles, roughly from age 10 until the early 20s. Although at one time "adolescence" may have been synonymous with the teenage years (from ages 13 to 19), the adolescent period has lengthened considerably in the past 100 years, both because physical maturation occurs earlier and because so many individuals delay entering into work and marriage until their mid-20s (Steinberg, 2014a).

## Early, Middle, and Late Adolescence

Today, most social scientists and practitioners view adolescence as composed of a series of phases rather than one single stage (Samela-Aro, 2011). The 11-year-old

**Table I.1** The boundaries of adolescence. Here are some examples of the ways in which adolescence has been distinguished from childhood and adulthood that we examine in this book. Which boundaries make the most sense to you?

Perspective	When Adolescence Begins	When Adolescence Ends
Biological	Onset of puberty	Becoming capable of sexual reproduction
Emotional	Beginning of detachment from parents	Attaining a separate sense of identity
Cognitive	Emergence of more advanced reasoning abilities	Consolidation of advanced reasoning abilities
Interpersonal	Beginning of shift in interest from parental to peer relations	Development of the capacity for mature intimacy with peers
Social	Beginning of training for adult work, family, and citizen roles	Full attainment of adult status and privileges
Educational	Entrance into junior high school	Completion of formal schooling
Legal	Attainment of juvenile status	Attainment of majority status
Chronological	Attainment of designated age of adolescence (e.g., 10 years)	Attainment of designated age of adulthood (e.g., 21 years)
Cultural	Entrance into period of training for ceremonial rite of passage	Completion of ceremonial rite of passage



**early adolescence**

The period spanning roughly ages 10 to 13, corresponding roughly to the junior high or middle school years.

**middle adolescence**

The period spanning roughly ages 14 to 17, corresponding to the high school years.

**late adolescence**

The period spanning roughly ages 18 to 21, corresponding approximately to the college years.

**emerging adulthood**

The period spanning roughly ages 18 to 25, during which individuals make the transition from adolescence to adulthood.

**puberty**

The biological changes of adolescence.

whose time and energy is wrapped up in hip-hop, Tik-Tok, and basketball, for example, has little in common with the 21-year-old who is involved in a serious romance, worried about pressures at work, and looking for an affordable apartment. Social scientists who study adolescence differentiate among **early adolescence** (about ages 10 to 13), **middle adolescence** (about ages 14 to 17), and **late adolescence** (about ages 18 to 21).

Some writers also have suggested that a new phase of life, called **emerging adulthood** (Arnett, 2004), characterizes the early and mid-20s. However, despite the popularity of this idea in the mass media, there is little evidence that “emerging adulthood” is a universal stage

or that the majority of young people in their mid-20s are in some sort of psychological or social limbo (Côté & Bynner, 2008; Kloep & Hendry, 2014). Indeed, what is most striking about the transition from adolescence to adulthood today is just how many different pathways there are. Some individuals spend their 20s single, dependent on their parents, and bouncing from job to job, while others leave adolescence and go straight into marriage, full-time employment, and economic independence (Osgood et al., 2005).

One study of rural American youth, in which high school juniors were asked about their expectations for the future, found three distinct groups: “early starters,” “employment focused,” and “education focused.” “Early starters” expected to finish their schooling, enter the labor force, and live on their own immediately after high school; they thought they would start a family before they were 22. The “employment-focused” group expected to

finish school, start regular employment, and live on their own before turning 21 but did not expect to start a family until several years later. The “education-focused” group did not expect to finish their schooling until they were 22 and did not expect to start a family until age 24 or 25 (Beal, Crockett, & Peugh, 2016) (see Figure I.1). Clearly, there are multiple pathways from adolescence into adulthood.

## A Framework for Studying Adolescent Development

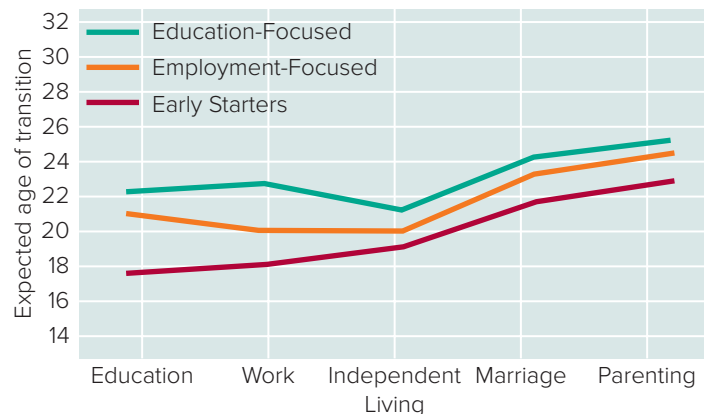
This book uses a framework for studying adolescence that is based on a model originally suggested by John Hill (1983). The model has three basic components: (1) the fundamental changes of adolescence, (2) the contexts of adolescence, and (3) the psychosocial developments of adolescence.

### The Fundamental Changes of Adolescence

What, if anything, is distinctive about adolescence as a period in development? This is the first component of Hill’s framework of study, the *fundamental changes of adolescence*, which encompasses biological, cognitive, and social dimensions. According to Hill, three features of adolescent development give the period its special flavor and significance: (1) the onset of puberty (biological), (2) the emergence of more advanced thinking abilities (cognitive), and (3) the transition into new roles in society (social). Importantly, these three sets of changes are universal; virtually without exception, all adolescents in every society go through them.

**Biological Transitions** The chief elements of the biological changes of adolescence—which collectively are referred to as **puberty**—involve changes in the young person’s physical appearance (including breast development in girls, the growth of facial hair in boys, and a dramatic

**Figure I.1** In one study of expectations for the future among rural high school juniors, three groups were found: “early starters,” “employment focused,” and “education focused.” (Beal, Crockett, & Peugh, 2016)



increase in height for both sexes) and the development of the ability to conceive children (Worthman, Dockray, & Marceau, 2019). We'll look at the biological changes that occur in early adolescence and examine how puberty affects the adolescent's psychological development and social relationships.

**Cognitive Transitions** The word *cognitive* refers to the processes that underlie how people think. Changes in cognitive abilities make up the second of the three fundamental changes of adolescence. Compared with children, adolescents are much better able to think about hypothetical situations (that is, things that have not yet happened but might or things that may not happen but could) and about abstract concepts, such as friendship, democracy, or morality (Keating, 2011). As you'll read, groundbreaking research on brain development is beginning to shed light on the ways in which these and other changes in thinking during adolescence result from the maturation of various brain regions and systems (Spear & Silveri, 2016).

## making the cultural connection



In contemporary industrialized society, we do not have formal ceremonies that designate when a person has become an "adult." Do we have more informal ways to let individuals know when they have made the transition? What were the most important events in your life that signaled your entrance into adulthood?

**Social Transitions** All societies distinguish between individuals who are viewed as children and those who are seen as ready to become adults. Our society, for example, distinguishes between people who are "underage," or minors, and people who have reached the age of majority. Not until adolescence are individuals permitted to drive, marry, and vote. Such changes in rights, privileges, and responsibilities constitute the third set of fundamental changes that occur at adolescence: social changes. In some cultures, the social changes of adolescence are marked by a formal ceremony—a **rite of passage**. In most contemporary industrialized societies, the transition is less clearly marked, but a change in social status is a universal feature of adolescence (Markstrom, 2011).

## The Contexts of Adolescence

Although all adolescents experience the biological, cognitive, and social transitions of the period, the *effects* of these changes are not uniform for all young people. Puberty makes some adolescents feel attractive and self-assured, but it makes others feel ugly and self-conscious. Being able to think in hypothetical terms



*The implications of the cognitive changes of adolescence are far-reaching.* Getty Images

makes some teenagers thankful that they grew up with the parents they have, but it prompts others to run away from home. Reaching 18 prompts some teenagers to enlist in the military or apply for a marriage license, but for others, becoming an adult is something they'd like to delay as long as possible.

If the fundamental changes of adolescence are universal, why are their effects so varied? Why isn't everyone affected in the same ways by puberty, by advanced thinking abilities, and by changes in legal status? The answer is that the psychological impact of the biological, cognitive, and social changes of adolescence is shaped by the environment in which the changes take place. In other words, psychological development during adolescence is a product of the interplay between a set of three very basic, universal changes and the context in which these changes are experienced.

Consider, for example, two 14-year-old girls growing up in neighboring communities. When Mariana went through puberty, around age 13, her parents' first reaction was to restrict her social life. They were afraid she would become too involved with boys and neglect her schoolwork. Mariana thought her parents were being ridiculous. She rarely had a chance to meet anyone she wanted to date because all the older boys went to the high school across town. Even though she was in the eighth grade, she was still going to school with fifth-graders. Mariana reacted by pulling away from parents she felt were overprotective.

Kayla's adolescence was very different. When she had her first period, her parents did not panic about her developing sexuality. Instead, they took her aside and discussed sex and

### rite of passage

A ceremony or ritual marking an individual's transition from one social status to another, especially marking the young person's transition to adulthood.

pregnancy with her. They explained how different contraceptives worked and made an appointment for Kayla to see a gynecologist in case she ever needed to discuss something with a doctor. This made perfect sense. Although she was still only 14, Kayla would probably begin dating soon because in her community, the junior and senior high schools had been combined into one large school, and the older boys frequently showed interest in the younger girls. Puberty brought Kayla closer to her parents, not more distant.

Two teenage girls. Each goes through puberty, each grows intellectually, and each moves closer in age to adulthood. Yet each grows up under very different circumstances: in different families, in different schools, with different groups of peers, and in different communities. Both are adolescents, but their adolescent experiences are markedly different. And, as a result, each girl's psychological development will follow a different course.

Imagine how different your adolescence would have been if you had grown up a century ago and, instead of going to high school, had been expected to work full-time from the age of 15. Imagine how different it might be to grow up 100 years from today. And imagine how different adolescence is for a teenager from a very poor family than for one whose family is wealthy. It is impossible to generalize about the nature of adolescence without taking into account the surroundings and circumstances in which young people grow up.

For this reason, the second component of our framework is the *context* of adolescence. According to the **ecological perspective on human development**, whose main proponent was Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979), we cannot understand development without examining the environment in which it occurs. In modern societies, there are four main contexts in which young people spend time: families, peer groups, schools, and work and leisure settings.

Of course, these settings themselves are located within neighborhoods, which influence how they are structured and what takes place in them. It would be naive, for example, to discuss the impact that "school" has on adolescent development without recognizing that a school in an affluent suburb is likely very different from one in the inner city or in a remote rural area. And the community in which these settings are located is itself embedded in a broader context that is shaped by culture, geography, economics, and history.

In this book, we'll be especially interested in the contexts of adolescence in contemporary industrialized society and the ways in which they

affect young people's development. Key contexts include the following:

#### **ecological perspective on human development**

A perspective on development that emphasizes the broader context in which development occurs.

**Families** Adolescence is a time of dramatic change in

family relationships (Cox, Wang, & Gustafsson, 2011; Martin, Bascoe, & Davies, 2011). In addition, many changes in what constitutes a "family" have taken place over the past several decades, leading to tremendous diversity in family forms and household composition in modern society. It's important to understand how changes within the family, and in the broader context of family life, affect young people's psychological development.

**Peer Groups** Over the past 100 years, the peer group has come to play an increasingly important role in the socialization and development of teenagers (Dijkstra & Veenstra, 2011). But has the rise of peer groups in contemporary society been a positive or negative influence on young people's development? This is one of the many questions that has interested researchers who study the nature and function of adolescent peer groups and their effects on teenagers' psychological development.

**Schools** Contemporary society depends on schools to occupy, socialize, and educate adolescents. But how good a job are schools doing? What should schools do to help prepare adolescents for adulthood? And how should schools for adolescents be structured (Cortina & Arel, 2011)?

**Work, Leisure, and the Mass Media** Some of the most important influences on adolescent development are found outside of home and school: part-time jobs (Neyt et al., 2017), extracurricular activities (Farb & Matjasko, 2012), and the mass media (Brown & Bobkowsky, 2011a), including social media, which have become increasingly important in teenagers' lives (Twenge et al., 2018). To what extent do these forces influence adolescents' attitudes, beliefs, and behavior?



One of the most important contexts for adolescent development is the peer group. SW Productions/Getty Images

## Psychosocial Development in Adolescence

The third, and final, component of our framework concerns the major *psychosocial developments* of adolescence—identity, autonomy, intimacy, sexuality, and achievement—as well as certain psychosocial problems that may arise at this age. Social scientists use the word **psychosocial** to describe aspects of development that are both psychological and social in nature. Sexuality, for instance, is a psychosocial issue because it involves both psychological change (that is, changes in the individual’s emotions, motivations, and behavior) and changes in the individual’s relationships.

Of course, it is not only during the adolescent years that concerns: identity, autonomy, intimacy, sexuality, and achievement arise, and psychological or social problems can and do occur during all periods of life. They represent basic developmental challenges that we face as we grow and change: (1) discovering and understanding who we are as individuals—**identity**; (2) establishing a healthy sense of independence—**autonomy**; (3) forming close and caring relationships with others—**intimacy**; (4) expressing sexual feelings and enjoying physical contact with others—**sexuality**; and (5) being successful and competent members of society—**achievement**.

Although these concerns are not unique to adolescence, development in each of these areas takes a special turn during this stage. Understanding how and why such psychosocial developments take place during adolescence is a major interest of scientists who study this age period. We know that individuals form close relationships before adolescence, for example, but why is it that romantic relationships first develop during adolescence? We know that toddlers struggle with learning how to be independent, but why during adolescence do individuals need to be more on their own and make some decisions apart from their parents? We know that children fantasize about what they will be when they grow up, but why don’t these fantasies become serious concerns until adolescence?

**Identity** In adolescence, a variety of important changes in the realm of identity occur (Harter, 2011; Thomaes, Poorthuis, & Nelemans, 2011). The adolescent may wonder, “Who am I, and what kind of life will I have?” Coming to terms with these questions may involve a period of experimentation—a time of trying on different personalities in an attempt to discover one’s true self. The adolescent’s quest for identity is not only a quest for a personal sense of self but also for recognition from others that he or she is a special, unique individual. Some of the most important changes of adolescence take place in the realms of identity, self-esteem, and self-conceptions.

**Autonomy** Adolescents’ struggle to establish themselves as independent, self-governing individuals—in their own eyes and in the eyes of others—is a long and occasionally

difficult process, not only for young people but also for those around them, especially their parents (Zimmer-Gembeck, Ducat, & Collins, 2011). Three aspects of autonomy are of special importance during adolescence: becoming less emotionally dependent on parents (McElhaney et al., 2009), learning to function independently (Steinberg, 2014), and establishing a personal code of values and morals (Morris, Eisenberg, & Houlberg, 2011).

**Intimacy** During adolescence, important changes take place in the individual’s capacity to be intimate with others, especially with peers. During adolescence, friendships emerge that involve openness, honesty, loyalty, and exchange of confidences, rather than simply a sharing of activities and interests (Brown & Larson, 2009). Dating takes on increased importance, and as a consequence, so does the capacity to form romantic relationships that are trusting and loving (Shulman, Connolly, & McIssac, 2011).

**Sexuality** Sexual activity usually begins during adolescence (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2011). Becoming

### psychosocial

Referring to aspects of development that are both psychological and social in nature, such as developing a sense of identity or sexuality.

### identity

The domain of psychosocial development involving self-conceptions, self-esteem, and the sense of who one is.

### autonomy

The psychosocial domain concerning the development and expression of independence.

### intimacy

The psychosocial domain concerning the formation, maintenance, and termination of close relationships.

### sexuality

The psychosocial domain concerning the development and expression of sexual feelings.

### achievement

The psychosocial domain concerning behaviors and feelings in evaluative situations.



Sexuality is a central psychosocial issue of adolescence. Maria Teijeiro/Getty Images

**biosocial theories**

Theories of adolescence that emphasize the biological changes of the period.

sexual is an important aspect of development at this age—not only because it transforms relationships between adolescents and their peers but also because

it raises many difficult questions for the young person. These concerns include incorporating sexuality into a still-developing sense of self, understanding one’s sexual orientation, resolving questions about sexual values and morals, and coming to terms with the sorts of relationships the adolescent is prepared—or not prepared—to enter.

**Achievement** Adolescence is a time of important changes in individuals’ educational and vocational behavior and plans. Crucial decisions—many with long-term consequences—about schooling and careers are made during adolescence. Many of these decisions depend on adolescents’ achievement in school, on their evaluations of their own competencies and capabilities, on their aspirations and expectations for the future, and on the direction and advice they receive from parents, teachers, and friends (Wigfield, Ho, & Mason-Singh, 2011).

**Psychosocial Problems** Although most adolescents move through the period without experiencing major psychological upheaval, this stage of life is the most common time for the first appearance of serious psychological difficulties (Kessler et al., 2005; Olsson, Druss, & Marcus, 2015). Three sets of problems are often associated with adolescence: drug and alcohol use and abuse (Chassin, Hussong, & Beltran, 2009), delinquency and other “externalizing problems” (Farrington, 2009), and depression and other “internalizing problems” (Graber & Sontag, 2009). In each case, we examine the prevalence of the problem, the factors believed to contribute to its development, and approaches to prevention and intervention.

## Theoretical Perspectives on Adolescence

The study of adolescence is based not just on empirical research but also on theories of development (Newman & Newman, 2011). You will read more about different theories of adolescence throughout this book, but, for now, let’s look briefly at the major ones.

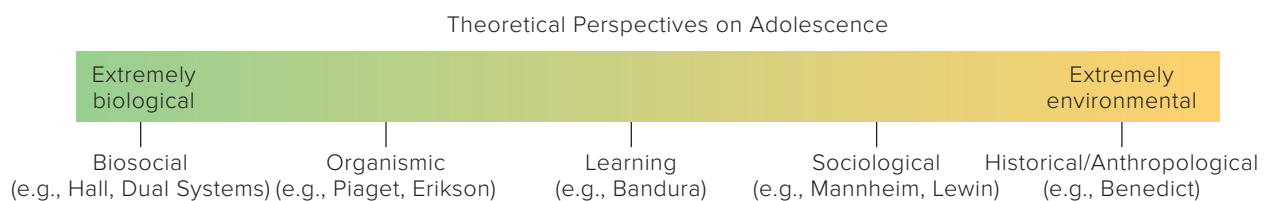
It’s useful to organize theoretical perspectives on adolescence around a question that has long dominated discussions of human development more generally: How much is due to “nature,” or biology, and how much is due to “nurture,” or the environment? Some theories of adolescence emphasize biology, others emphasize the environment, and still others fall somewhere between the two extremes (see Figure I.2). We’ll begin with a look at the most extreme biological perspectives and work our way across a continuum toward the other extreme—perspectives that stress the role of the environment.

### Biosocial Theories

The fact that biological change during adolescence is noteworthy is not a matter of dispute—how could it be, when puberty is such an obvious part of adolescence? But experts on adolescence disagree about just how important this biological change is in defining the psychosocial issues of the period. Theorists who have taken a biological or, more accurately, “biosocial,” view of adolescence stress the hormonal and physical changes of puberty as driving forces. This places **biosocial theories** far at the biological end of the theoretical-perspective continuum. The most important biosocial theorist was G. Stanley Hall (1904), considered the “father” of the scientific study of adolescence.

**Hall’s Theory of Recapitulation** G. Stanley Hall, who was very much influenced by Charles Darwin, the author of the theory of evolution, believed that the development of the individual paralleled the development of the human species. Infancy, in his view, was equivalent to the time during our evolution when we were more like animals than humans. Adolescence, in contrast, was seen as a transitional and turbulent time that paralleled the evolution of our species from primitive “savages” into civilized adults. For Hall, the development of the individual through these stages was determined primarily by instinct—by biological and genetic forces within the person—and hardly influenced by the environment.

The most important legacy of Hall’s view of adolescence is the belief that the adolescence is inevitably a period of “storm and stress.” He believed that the hormonal changes of puberty cause upheaval, both for the individual and for those around him or her. Because this



**Figure I.2** Theories of adolescence range from the extremely biological, such as that of G. Stanley Hall, to the extremely environmental, such as that of Ruth Benedict.

turbulence is biologically determined, it is unavoidable. The best that society can do is to find ways of managing the young person whose “raging hormones” invariably cause difficulties.

Although scientists no longer believe that adolescence is inherently problematic or that pubertal hormones themselves cause emotional problems, much contemporary work continues to emphasize the role that biological factors play in shaping the adolescent experience. More than 100 years ago, in fact, Hall speculated about brain maturation, hormonal influences on behavior, and changes in patterns of sleep during adolescence—all very hot topics in the study of adolescence today (Dahl & Hariri, 2005). Current work in the biosocial tradition, influenced by Hall and his followers as well, also explores the genetic bases of individual differences in adolescence and the evolutionary bases of adolescent behavior (Hollenstein & Lougheed, 2013). Support for the biosocial perspective is also found in many studies of “adolescence” in other species, which have revealed striking similarities between juvenile animals and their human counterparts (Sisk & Romeo, 2019).

**Dual Systems Theories** Recent advances in brain science have given rise to an alternative biosocial account of adolescent development, one that stresses changes in the anatomy and activity of the brain. Among the most prominent of these theories are so-called “dual systems” or “maturational imbalance” theories, which stress the simultaneous development of two different brain systems—one that governs the ways in which the brain processes rewards, punishments, and social and emotional information, and another that regulates self-control and advanced thinking abilities, such as planning or logical reasoning (Shulman et al., 2016). The arousal of this first system takes place early in adolescence, while the second system is still maturing. This creates a maturational imbalance (Casey, Jones, & Somerville, 2011), which has been compared to starting a car without having a good braking system in place. The main challenge of adolescence, according to this view, is to develop better self-regulation, so that this imbalance doesn’t create problems (Steinberg, 2014a).

## Organismic Theories

Our next stop on the continuum is what are called *organismic* theorists. Like biosocial theorists, organismic theorists recognize the importance of the biological changes of adolescence. But unlike their biosocial counterparts, **organismic theories** also take into account the ways in which contextual forces interact with and modify these biological forces. For example, all adolescents experience the biological changes of puberty, but how they are affected by them can be influenced by how their parents and peers respond.

If you have had previous coursework in developmental psychology, you have undoubtedly encountered the major organismic theorists. Three of these theorists, in particular, have had a great influence on the study of adolescence: Sigmund Freud (1938), Erik Erikson (1968), and Jean Piaget (Inhelder & Piaget, 1958). Although these theorists share in common an organismic orientation, the theories they developed emphasize different aspects of individual growth and development.

**Freudian Theory** For Freud, development was best understood in terms of the psychosexual conflicts that arise at different points in development. Like Hall, Freud saw adolescence as a time of upheaval. According to Freud, puberty temporarily throws the adolescent into a period of psychological crisis by reviving old conflicts over uncomfortable sexual urges that had been buried in the unconscious (including feelings toward one’s parents).

Freud actually had very little to say specifically about adolescence. But his daughter, Anna Freud (1958), extended much of her father’s thinking to the study of development during the second decade of life, emphasizing the need for adolescents to break away, or “detach,” from their parents in order to develop normally.

**Eriksonian Theory** Erik Erikson, whose work built on Freud’s, also believed that internal, biological developments moved the individual from one developmental stage to the next. But unlike Freud, Erikson stressed the psychosocial, rather than the psychosexual, conflicts faced by the individual at each point in time. Erikson proposed eight stages in psychosocial development, each characterized by a specific “crisis” that arises at that point in development because of the interplay between the internal forces of biology and the demands of society. In Erikson’s theory, development in adolescence revolves around the identity crisis. According to Erikson, the challenge of adolescence is to resolve the identity crisis and to emerge with a coherent sense of who one is and where one is headed.

**Piagetian Theory** For Jean Piaget, development was best understood by examining changes in the nature of thinking. Piaget believed that, as children mature, they pass through distinct stages of cognitive development.

In Piaget’s theory, adolescence marks the transition from concrete to abstract thought. Adolescence is the period in which individuals become capable of thinking in hypothetical terms, a development that permits a broad expansion of logical capabilities. The development of abstract thinking in adolescence is influenced both by the

### organismic theories

Theories of adolescence that emphasize the interaction between the biological changes of the period and the contexts in which they take place.