Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

SIXTH EDITION

A CULTURAL APPROACH

Jeffrey Jensen Arnett

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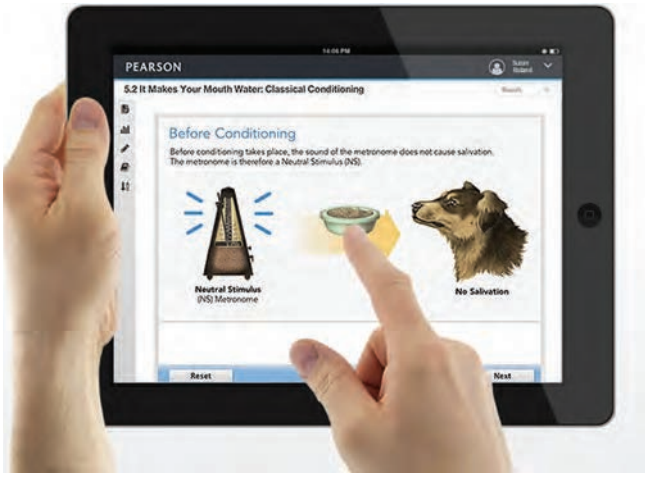

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Brief Contents

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Preface

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

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

The Cultural Approach

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

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

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

Emerging Adulthood

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

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

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

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

The Historical Context

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

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

An Interdisciplinary Approach

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

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

Chapter Topics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New to the Sixth Edition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- New, more integrated **learning objectives** appear at the beginning of each chapter to help students better organize and understand the chapter material. These learning objectives are now tied to each of the chapter's subheads.
- A new **chapter summary** summarizes the content of the chapter and ties directly to the chapter learning objectives, ensuring that students understand the chapter's key takeaways.
- New **video selections** enhance the book's content and help to bring it to life.
- **Updated and expanded research on adolescence** around the world is included to enhance students' understanding of cultural similarities and differences and how culture influences development.
- **Updated and expanded theory and research on emerging adulthood** is included, reflecting the exciting scholarly developments happening in the field.
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Finally, I wish to thank the many students and instructors who have contacted me since the publication of the first edition to tell me how they have responded to this textbook and how it has shaped their thinking about human development. One of the reasons I wrote the book was that I love to teach, and it was attractive to think that instead of teaching a few dozen students a year I could assist instructors in teaching thousands of students a year. I hope students and instructors will continue to let me know their thoughts, not just about what I have done well but also about how it can be done even better next time.

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About the Author

JEFFREY JENSEN ARNETT is a Research Professor in the Department of Psychology at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. He is also the Executive Director of the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA; see www.ssea.org). During 2005 he was a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. He has also taught at Oglethorpe University and the University of Missouri. He was educated at Michigan State University (undergraduate), the University of Virginia (graduate school), and the University of Chicago (postdoctoral studies). His research interests are in risk behavior (especially cigarette smoking), media use in adolescence (especially music), and a wide range of topics in emerging adulthood. He was Editor of the *Journal of Adolescent Research* from 2005 through 2014 and has also edited two encyclopedias, the *International Encyclopedia of Adolescence* (2007) and the *Encyclopedia of Children, Adolescents, and the Media* (2007). The second edition of his book *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens Through the Twenties* was published in 2015. He is also the author of a life span textbook, *Human Development: A Cultural Approach* (2015, Pearson). He lives in Worcester, Massachusetts, with his wife Lene Jensen and their seventeen-year-old twins, Miles and Paris. For more information on Dr. Arnett and his research, see www.jeffreyarnett.com.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Learning Objectives

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

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

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

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

1.5 Summarize the five features of emerging adulthood.

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

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

1.8 Describe the five steps of the scientific method.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adolescence in Western Cultures: A Brief History

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

Adolescence in Ancient Times

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

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

adolescence

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

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

—ARISTOTLE, *RHETORIC*, CA. 330 B.C.

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

THINKING CRITICALLY

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

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

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

—AUGUSTINE, *CONFESSIONS*, A.D. 400

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

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

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

The Children crossing the Alps

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

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

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

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

Adolescence from 1500 to 1890

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

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

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

life-cycle service

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

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

The Age of Adolescence, 1890–1920

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

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

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

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

Key Terms to Know

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

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

culture

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

the West

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

developed countries

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

American majority culture

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

society

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

traditional culture

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

developing countries

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

socioeconomic status (SES)

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

young people

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

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

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

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

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

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

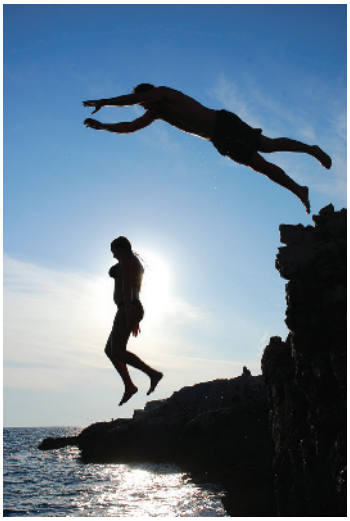
The third major contributor to making the years 1890–1920 the Age of Adolescence was the work of G. Stanley Hall and the beginning of the study of adolescence as a distinct field (Modell & Goodman, 1990). Hall (1904) wrote the first textbook on adolescence, published in 1904 as a two-volume set ambitiously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

Historical Focus

THE "STORM AND STRESS" DEBATE

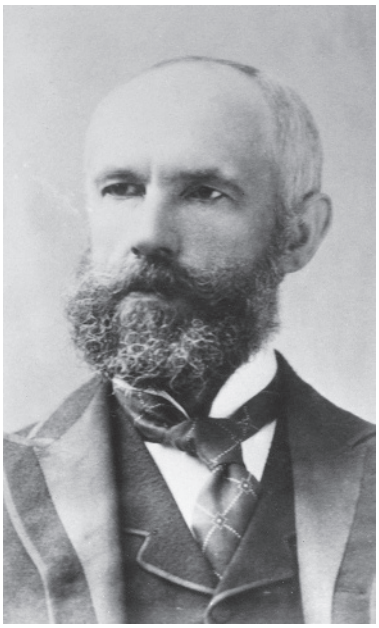
One of G. Stanley Hall's ideas that is still debated today among scholars is his claim that adolescence is inevitably a time of storm and stress. According to Hall, it is normal for adolescence to be a time of considerable upheaval and disruption. As Hall described it (Arnett, 1999), adolescent storm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

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



Risk behavior peaks in late adolescence and emerging adulthood.

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



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

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

From Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood

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

—TERRELL, AGE 23.

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

Lamarckian

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

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

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

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

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

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

THINKING CRITICALLY

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

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

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

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

Adolescence Arrives Earlier

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

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

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

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