THIRTEENTH EDITION

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH LIFE

A Psychosocial Approach

Newman : Newman

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

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

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

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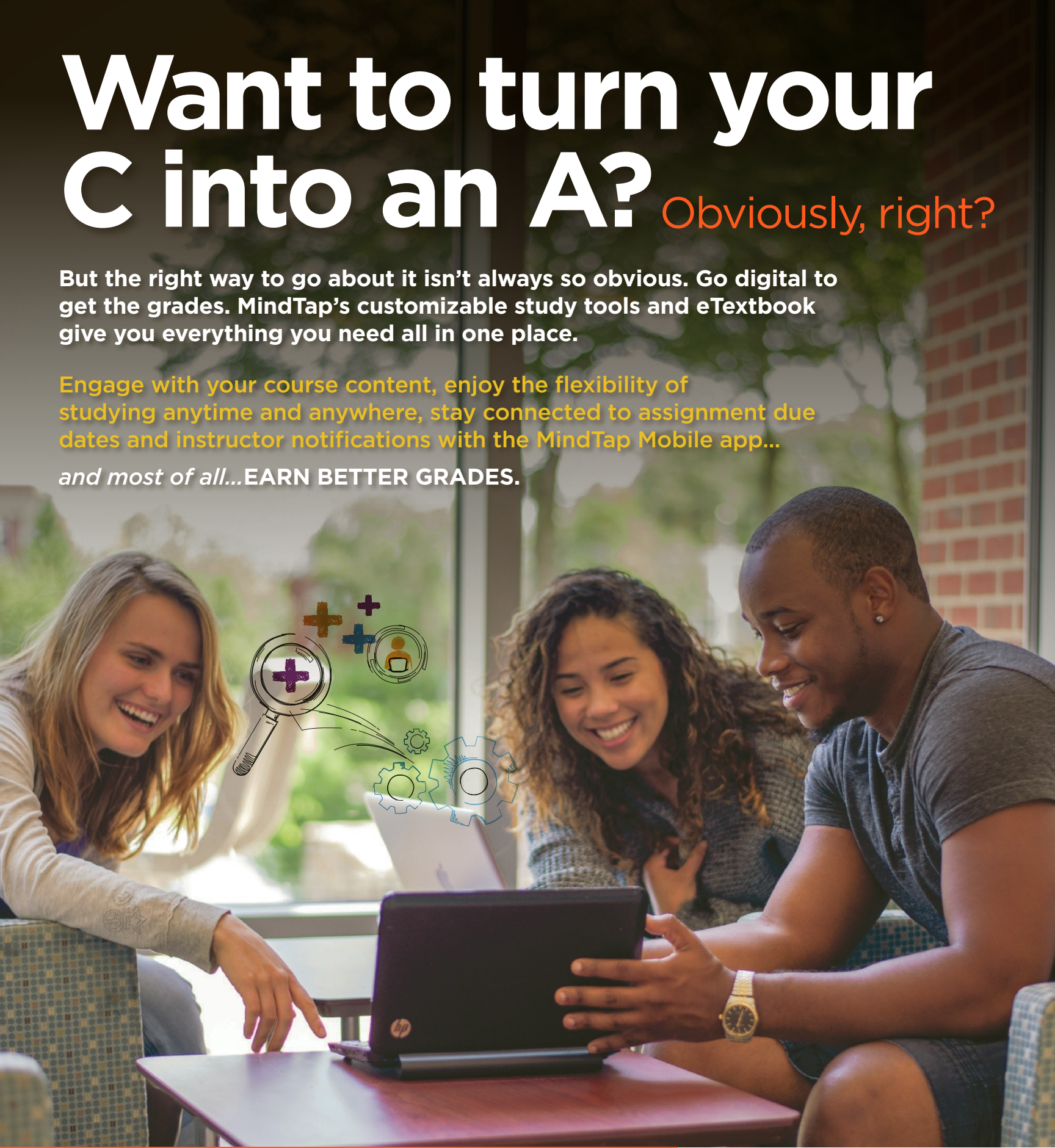

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A Psychosocial Approach

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Preface

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

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

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

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

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

The Stage Approach

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

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

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

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

Advantages of the Psychosocial Framework

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

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

The Life-Span Perspective

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

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

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

Effects of Cultural and Historical Contexts

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

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

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

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

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

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through disruptions in physical, cognitive, and emotional development in infancy, childhood, adolescence, and into adult life.

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

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

Organization

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

Introducing the Field: Chapters 1 to 3

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

The Latest on Pregnancy and Prenatal Development: Chapter 4

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

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

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

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

Applied Topics at the End of Each Chapter

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

Understanding Death, Dying, and Bereavement: Chapter 15

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

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Research Appendix

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

New to This Edition

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

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

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

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

- Updates on risks associated with prescription drugs during pregnancy.
- New information on food safety and nutrition during pregnancy.
- New approaches and data on outcomes of assisted reproductive technologies.
- Mental health stressors and possible psychological reactions to childbirth for new immigrants highlighting the interaction of culture with mental and physical health.
- A box on the neuroscience of attachment.
- The dynamic interaction of neurological structures and systems in the coordination of decision-making, risk assessment, and responses to stress.
- Robbie Case's theory of Central Conceptual Structures, which integrates cognitive neuroscience and information processing with a constructivist approach to cognitive development.
- The impact of poverty on health, including the long-term consequences of early childhood poverty on adult health.
- The impact of harsh and neglectful parenting on brain development.
- The nature of autism spectrum disorder and its treatment in toddlerhood.
- The nature and prevalence of electronic media use in infancy, toddlerhood, early childhood and adolescence.
- New insights about sexuality and gender in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.
- Research on transgender issues in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood.
- Update on the impact of media on moral development in early school age.
- Data on the percent of young children who engage in various types of daily media activities.
- The nature and impact of cyber bullying.
- Disability and gender atypicality as factors that make children targets of bullying.
- The use of computer-assisted match-making and dating sites in adolescence and early adulthood.
- Issues faced by new immigrants, especially concerns with family stability, academic success, and physical and mental health.
- Added cross-cultural research that highlights social relationships, parenting practices, academic achievement, the role of the elderly, and approaches to death, dying, and bereavement.
- The impact of disability on career choice and employment.
- The importance of exercise and its contribution to mental and physical health, life satisfaction, and cognitive capacities across the lifespan.
- An evaluation of computer games on cognitive functioning in later adulthood.
- The relationship of health, fitness, and disability to life acceptance and well-being in later adulthood.
- Neuroplasticity, cognitive functioning, and aging.
- The importance of nutrition, exercise, and fitness as aspects of lifestyle.
- The role of neighborhood resources and design on exercise and fitness in later life.

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Features That Support Learning

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

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

   These objectives are restated at the opening of each related section to help highlight the primary goal for that section of the text and are stated again in the chapter summary to help students review and integrate concepts from the chapter.
4. **Opening Case:** Each chapter starts with a case that brings to life one or more issues addressed in the chapter. These cases are followed by a set of questions labeled "Case Analysis: Using What You Know." The purpose of these cases is threefold: to help students become more personally attached to the concepts of the chapter; to provide a shared life experience that can serve as a basis for class discussion; and to encourage the application of concepts from the text and the course.
5. **Further Reflection:** At the end of each section within the chapter, one or more suggestions are labeled "Further Reflection." These are intended to prompt students to stop and think a bit about what they have just read. These suggestions and questions encourage students to engage in critical thinking, evaluate the information, and link the information to related concepts and/or to personal life experiences.
6. **Boxes:** Two types of boxes are included in the chapters: **Applying Theory and Research to Life** and **Human Development and Diversity**. At the end of each box, a series of critical thinking questions encourage students to evaluate and apply information. The boxes are intended to provide added detail to the text. In the boxes labeled **Applying Theory and Research to Life**, students are encouraged to see the relevance of human development theory and research to issues in contemporary life. In the boxes labeled **Human Development and Diversity**, topics that are covered in the text are expanded to illustrate how differences in culture, ethnicity, family structure, economic resources, and disability can influence developmental pathways.
7. **Case material:** Throughout the chapters longer cases and short vignettes complement the descriptions of developmental issues. These cases highlight the real-life experiences of individuals, sometimes illustrating how individuals cope with challenges at various points in life; and sometimes illustrating the diversity of experiences that are possible at a certain period of life.
8. **End of Chapter Summary:** The chapter summaries are organized around the learning objectives. These summary paragraphs are intended to remind the reader of the big ideas but do not replace a careful reading of the text.
9. **Key Terms:** Key terms are boldfaced in the text, typically defined within the text, and also defined in the glossary.
10. **Glossary:** A comprehensive glossary with brief definitions can be found at the end of the text.
11. **References:** A detailed list of references is provided including references to books, chapters, articles, and websites.
12. **Index:** There is both an author index and a subject index.

Acknowledgments

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

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

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

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our children and their families to offer new observations, try out ideas, and talk over controversies. At each stage, they bring new talents and perspectives that enrich our efforts.

The 13th edition was produced under the guidance of our product manager Star Burruto and content developers Jasmin Tokatlian and Nedah Rose. Their advice, encouragement, support, and vision have been instrumental in bringing this edition to fruition. We are very lucky to have had the benefit of their creative energy. In addition, we would like to express our appreciation to the other professionals at Cengage who have helped make this book possible: Ruth Sataka-Corley, Content Production Manager; Vernon Boes, Art Director; and James Findlay, Marketing Manager.

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Supplements: Video and Electronic

Development Through Life: A Psychosocial Approach, 13th edition, is accompanied by supplementary resources prepared for both the instructor and student.

For the Instructor

Online PowerPoint® Slides

These vibrant Microsoft® PowerPoint® lecture slides for each chapter assist you with your lecture by providing concept coverage using images, figures, and tables directly from the textbook.

Online Instructor's Manual

This detailed manual provides sample syllabi, course guidelines, in-class exercises, and chapter objectives to assist instructors in teaching the course.

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For the Student

Life-Span Development: A Case Book

ISBN-13: 9780534597672

Written by Barbara M. Newman (University of Rhode Island), Philip R. Newman (University of Rhode Island), Laura Landry-Meyer (Bowling Green State University), and Brenda J. Lohman (Iowa State University), *LIFE-SPAN DEVELOPMENT: A CASE BOOK* uses lively, contemporary case studies to illustrate development transitions and challenges in every stage of life. The authors have chosen these cases for their ability to fascinate, engage, and stimulate. Together with thought-provoking questions for analysis, the case studies create a learning experience that helps readers use multiple perspectives to analyze and interpret life events.

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About the Authors

Courtesy of Philip and Barbara Newman

Philip R. Newman (Ph.D., University of Michigan) is a social psychologist whose research has focused on the transition to high school as well as on group identity and alienation. His current project is a book about how high schools can better meet the psychosocial needs of adolescents. He has taught courses in introductory psychology, adolescence, social psychology, developmental psychology, counseling, and family, school, and community contexts for development. He served as the director for research and evaluation of the Young Scholars Program at the Ohio State University and as the director of the Human Behavior Curriculum Project for the American Psychological Association. He is a fellow of the American Psychological Association, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), and the American Orthopsychiatric Association. For fun, Phil enjoys photography, reading mysteries, attending concerts and Broadway plays, and watching baseball. He homeschooled his three children through elementary and middle school.

Barbara M. Newman (Ph.D., University of Michigan) is a professor emeritus in the department of Human Development and Family Studies at the University of Rhode Island. She has also been on the faculty at Russell Sage College and the Ohio State University, where she served as department chair in Human Development and Family Science and as associate provost for faculty recruitment and development. She has taught courses in life-span development, adolescence, human development and family theories, and the research process. Dr. Newman's current research focuses on the sense of belonging among college students, with particular attention to students in minoritized groups. She is a member of an inter-university research team investigating the developing sense of purpose among students with disabilities. For fun, Barbara enjoys reading mysteries, practicing the piano, making up projects with her grandchildren, taking walks along Narragansett Bay and Block Island Sound, and spending time with her family.

Together, the Newmans have worked on programs to bring low-income minority youth to college and have studied the processes involved in their academic success. They are co-authors of 13 books, including a recent book on theories of human development, and numerous articles in the field of human development. They met by the Mason Hall elevator at the University of Michigan, fell in love at first sight, and have been married for 50 years.

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Claude and Paloma Drawing, Claude et Paloma Dessinant, 1954 (oil on canvas)/Picasso, Pablo (1881-1973)/CHRISTIES IMAGES/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

Human development is a social enterprise. Ideally, lives unfold in a network of caring relationships as people engage in productive action within stimulating, safe environments. The young ones observe and imitate their elders; the older ones care for and encourage the young. We strive to understand the ways that individuals make meaning and shape the direction of their lives from the creative, playful work of childhood to the inspiring wisdoms of elderhood.

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Explain the basic assumptions that guide the orientation of the text.
2. Describe the psychosocial approach to the study of development, including the interrelationship among the biological, psychological, and societal systems.
3. Compare historical changes in life expectancy. Analyze individual and group factors that contribute to longevity.

1 THE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH LIFE PERSPECTIVE

CASE STUDY: Ruth Hamilton

Assumptions of the Text

A Psychosocial Approach: The Interaction of the Biological, Psychological, and Societal Systems

- The Biological System
- The Psychological System
- The Societal System
- Overview of the Psychosocial Approach

CASE STUDY: Rose

The Life Span

- Life Expectancy
- Factors That Contribute to Longevity

Chapter Summary

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— CASE STUDY Ruth Hamilton —

Ruth Hamilton was born in 1898 and died in 2008. Over her long life, she was a teacher, wife, mother, businesswoman, radio talk-show host, legislator, and world traveler. Ruth's advice: "No matter what your age, keep learning. Put this motto on your mirror so that you'll see it: Every day without learning something is a day lost" (Enkelis, 2000, p. 95).

Ruth grew up in the farming town of Alta, Iowa, where she graduated from high school and went on to Iowa State Teacher's College. "At that time, they needed teachers so badly in the country schools that they had crash courses," Ruth recalls. "We could get the two years of training that was needed for a teaching certificate in twelve weeks, but we had to go to school night and day to do it" (Enkelis, 2000, pp. 91–92). She began teaching in a one-room country schoolhouse with children in first, second, fourth, and eighth grades. "All the kids could hear all of the recitations. It was fascinating. I think all the kids benefited," Ruth noted (Enkelis, p. 92).

In July 1920, Ruth met Carter Hamilton while she was watching a sandlot baseball game during a 4th of July celebration. She and Carter fell in love. Carter had been drafted by the Cleveland Indians, and when he came to say goodbye, he said he'd like her to come with him, but he knew her parents wouldn't agree unless they were married, so he thought getting married would be a good idea. Ruth took a half day off from teaching, and they went to Des Moines and were married 8 months after they met. Since married women couldn't teach (a widespread practice in the United States at the turn of the 20th century), she tried to keep it a secret. But her students found out and told other teachers. She had to go before the school board, and they agreed to change the rules.

Carter played baseball in the summers and went to college and later to medical school in the off-season. Once Carter completed his internship they settled in Iowa for a while. Carter wanted Ruth to give up teaching and stay at home, but Ruth could never accept this role. She was an energetic, curious, and active person. Even after they adopted their son Peter, she continued to pursue her own interests.

While in Iowa, Ruth continued teaching. Then Carter's specialization as a radiologist took them to Philadelphia. When they moved to Philadelphia, Ruth expanded her professional life by teaching over the radio. In the 1930s, Ruth was one of America's first female radio talk-show hosts. On a whim, Ruth got a loan and bought a building where she set up a women's dress shop. She operated the shop successfully for two years and then sold the building for $2,000 profit. With that money, she bought a log cabin and 10 acres of land in New Hampshire, where she and her husband vacationed.

In 1937, Ruth began what was to become a life-long interest in travel. She took a 2 month trip to Europe to explore her family history, including travel to Denmark and Sweden. At this time, she went to Berlin where she remembers seeing Adolph Hitler and having a glimpse of his magnetism and the way women swooned when they saw him. She became well aware of how dangerous he was and tried to talk to people back home about this.

Following Carter's death in 1948, Ruth moved into the cabin in New Hampshire. From the ages of 50 to 90, Ruth developed a life of international travel and political leadership. She traveled extensively beginning in the 1950s through 1990, giving lectures and writing articles about the countries she visited. She became involved in politics, including the political campaigns of Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, and Jimmy Carter. She was the first woman elected to the New Hampshire legislature, where she was elected twice from 1964 to 1973. She took an active role in legislative issues, including reducing the legal voting age, issues related to wiretapping and eavesdropping, and legislation to have inspections and licensing for residential homes that care for senior citizens. In 1986, she was honored as an "Unsung Heroine" by the Claremont New Hampshire Commission on the Status of Women.

In her 90s Ruth moved to an assisted living community in Florida where she became a member of "Growing Bolder," a social networking site for older adults. At age 109, she was recognized on that site as the world's oldest video blogger. You can watch her blog about the power of curiosity at https://www.growingbolder.com/ruth1898-on-the-power-of-curiosity-1499/.

Ruth was an amazingly active, enthusiastic, outgoing person. She once said, "I just wish I could live to be one thousand years old because there are so many things that I want to see improved" (Enkelis, p. 95).

Imagine for a moment living for more than 100 years into an unknowable future. Think of Ruth Hamilton, starting out as a teacher in a one-room country school and eventually sharing her thoughts over the Internet as a video blogger. Finding love in a most unexpected way, adopting a son, hosting a radio talk show, traveling the world, building a new political career after the early death of her husband, advocating for the young and the old—these are all segments of a life built on intelligence, resilience, and optimism. Ruth's sense of agency—her ability to set goals and make things happen to achieve these goals—her curiosity, and her love of learning propelled her through challenges, losses, and accomplishments from one chapter of her life to the next.

If you are intrigued by the life of Ruth Hamilton, if you wonder how and why people make the choices that they make, how they cope with adversity, and how they maintain a sense of purpose, you have come to the right place—the study of human development. You are about to explore theory and research that have accumulated over the years about how individuals make sense of their experiences, make decisions and take actions to adapt to their environments, cope with challenges, and continue to develop from one period of life to the next. This process is as individual as each person's life story. It is influenced by the quality of one's social relationships, as well as such factors as gender, ethnicity, cultural identity, health, socioeconomic status, education, sexual orientation, physical abilities and disabilities, and historical and social contexts. Even though each person's life is unique, common patterns of experience and meaning allow us to

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Growth occurs at every stage of life. Within a large family, we have opportunities to observe family resemblances and individual differences, patterns of continuity from year to year, as well as evidence of maturation and change.

know and care for one another and contribute to one another's well-being. As you study the life-span approach to human development, you will learn to identify and evaluate patterns of transition and transformation from one period of life to another. In this process, you will come to recognize that there are both intergroup differences and individual variations within groups.

Several features of the chapters are intended to foster your critical thinking and to broaden your ability to link the theories and research presented in the text to important social issues. Boxes labeled "Applying Theory and Research to Life" and "Human Development and Diversity" end with a set of critical thinking questions. Case studies are followed by prompts entitled "Using What You Know." And interspersed in the text are encouragements for "Further Reflection." All these features are designed to engage you as an active reader and to help you link what you are reading about to your own personal life experiences.

This chapter provides a brief introduction to three topics that are central to the study of the **life span**. First, we outline six **assumptions** about human development that guide the orientation of the text. Second, we introduce the concept of a **psychosocial approach** to development. Third, we review data about **life expectancy** to start you thinking in a concrete way about the course of your life and the decisions you make that may directly influence your life story. ●

Assumptions of the Text

OBJECTIVE 1 Explain the basic assumptions that guide the orientation of the text.

Our perspective on development through life makes the following six assumptions that are critical to the orientation of this book:

1. *Growth occurs at every period of life, from conception through elderhood.* At each period, new capacities emerge, new roles are undertaken, new challenges must be faced, and, as a result, a new orientation toward self and society unfolds. The concept of life-span development implies **plasticity**, a capacity for adaptive reorganization at the neurological, psychological, and behavioral levels.
2. *Individual lives show both continuity and developmental change over time.* An awareness of the processes that contribute to both continuity and change is central to an understanding of human development. **Continuity** refers to stability in characteristics from one period of life to another. It also refers to a sense of sameness over time built on a history of memories, identity, and reflected self. **Developmental change** refers to patterns of growth and reorganization. Change may be attributed to biological maturation, systematic socialization, self-directed striving, and the interaction of these forces.
3. *We need to understand the whole person, because we function in an integrated manner.* To achieve such an understanding, we need to study the major developments in physical, social, emotional, and cognitive capacities and their interrelationships. For example, what people think about moving to a new town is influenced by their social roles, their expectations and goals, their feelings in the situation, and their physical health or limitations. Each system serves as a stimulus for the others, requiring an integration of all these capacities in order to produce an adaptive response.
4. *Behavior must be interpreted in the context of relevant settings and personal relationships.* Human beings are highly skilled in adapting to their environments. The meaning of a given behavior pattern or behavior change must be interpreted in light of the significant physical and social environments in which it occurs. While individuals are changing, so are their environments. As children grow older, they may have new siblings; their parents will age; and they may encounter new technologies, health care interventions, or educational approaches that alter the nature of daily life. As a result, we need to be able to consider how changes in the nature of the person are impacted by changes in the environments in which they function.
5. *People contribute actively to their development.* These contributions take many forms, including the expression of tastes and preferences, choices and goals, and one's willingness to embrace or resist cultural and societal expectations. One of the most critical ways in which a person contributes to his or her development is through the creation of significant social relationships, which then form a context for social support and socialization. Some societies offer more opportunities for choice and promote a person's ability to mold the direction of development, whereas others have fewer resources, are more restrictive, or place less value on individuality (Veenhoven, 2000).
6. *Diversity is a product of the interaction of the biological, the psychological, and the societal systems.* Diversity refers to the differences that exist among people. Diversity is built into the architecture of the human genome.

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It increases as individuals encounter new settings and make unique meaning of their experiences. Social identities, economic resources, and educational opportunities are all aspects of the societal system that contribute to diversity. The differences that exist among people are part of what protects the human species and allows it to adapt across a wide and changing range of environments. Throughout the chapters, we highlight the nature of individual, group, and cultural differences and feature some specific examples in the **Human Development and Diversity** boxes.

FURTHER REFLECTION: Describe three examples of assumption 5, illustrating how people's decisions and goals influence the course of their development.

A Psychosocial Approach: The Interaction of the Biological, Psychological, and Societal Systems

OBJECTIVE 2 Describe the psychosocial approach to the study of development, including the interrelationship among the biological, psychological, and societal systems.

Erik Erikson (1963, p. 37) wrote that human life as the individual experiences it is produced by the interaction and modification of three major systems: the biological system, the psychological system, and the societal system. Each system can be examined for patterns of continuity and change over the life course. Each system can be modified by self-guided choices. The integration of the biological, psychological, and societal systems leads to a complex, **biopsychosocial** dynamic portrait of human thought and behavior.

In many developmental analyses of behavior, you may come across the terms "nature" and "nurture." These terms are often used as shorthand for thinking about the roles of genetics and environments in guiding development. Typically, nature refers to genetic predispositions or potentials and inborn or innate qualities that guide the unfolding of capacities and traits. Nurture refers to the patterns of socialization and care that the person receives. The science of development has often been presented as the study of the ways nature and nurture interact to produce a certain outcome, for example intelligence, assertiveness, or hopefulness.

In *Development Through Life* we take a somewhat different approach by expanding the analysis to three interrelated systems: the biological, the societal, and the psychological systems. Rather than thinking of the developing person as passively shaped by forces of nature and nurture, we think of the person as actively engaged in the developmental process through the application of the psychological system. The psychological system is the **meaning-making** system that seeks out information, integrates information from many sources, and evaluates experiences as positive or negative, encouraging or threatening. Depending on their experiences and predispositions, some people are more likely to take the initiative in shaping the course of their development while others are more passive. The psychosocial approach is an attempt to sketch the ways that a person's worldview and sense of self in society change as a product of the interaction of these three dynamic systems over the course of life.

The Biological System

The **biological system** includes all those processes necessary for the physical functioning of the organism and for mental activity (see FIGURE 1.1 ▶). The brain and spinal cord (the central nervous system) and the peripheral nervous system are components of the biological system through which all sensory information is received, processed, and transmitted to guide behavior. Biological processes develop and change as a consequence of genetically guided maturation; environmental stimulation and resources, including social interactions, cognitive challenges, and nutrition; exposure to environmental toxins; encounters with accidents and diseases; and lifestyle patterns of behavior.

We can imagine that when Ruth Hamilton fell in love with Carter, this resulted in many changes to her biological system including changes in hormones, sexual behavior, eating and sleeping patterns, and physical activity. Falling in love is a major change factor that brings out a cascade of modifications to the biological system. As a result of some feature of the biological system which is not disclosed in the case, Ruth and Carter were not able to have children. This biological problem posed new challenges to Ruth's self-concept and led to the eventual decision to adopt a son, thereby altering her social role.

Some components of the biological system influence the maturation of other components of the biological system. For example, when the infant's limbs achieve a certain length and

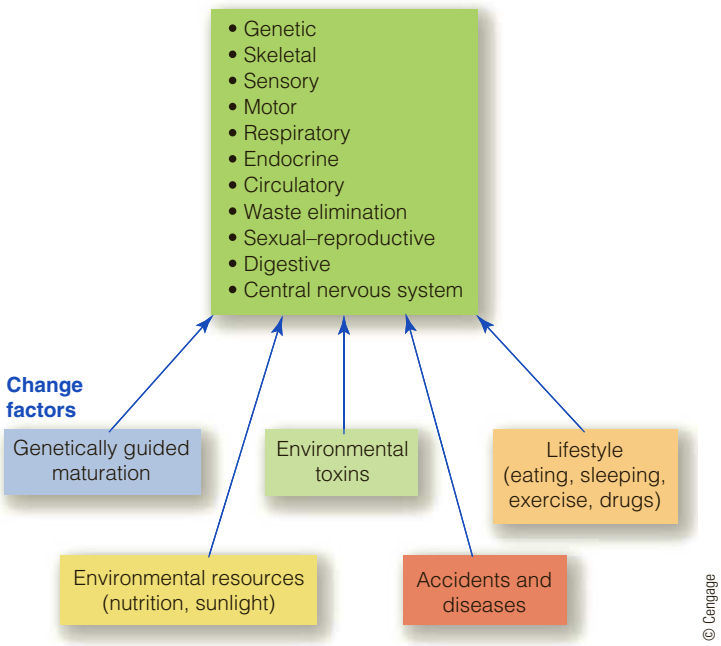

FIGURE 1.1 ▶ THE BIOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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muscle strength, the baby is able to reach out from a sitting position to begin crawling—a new form of locomotion. This results in new opportunities for exploration of the environment which in turn results in new neural networks and changes in the organization of the brain. The biological system is itself a multilevel, dynamic system in which maturation at one level can have profound, and sometimes unexpected, consequences for maturation at another level.

Cultures differ in their support of physical growth and health, depending on the availability of adequate nutritional resources, approaches to the treatment of illness, exposure to environmental toxins and hazardous conditions, and the availability of information about healthy lifestyle choices.

In the case of Ruth Hamilton, two examples of the influences of the biological system on her life experiences are her **longevity** and her good **health**. Looking at Figure 1.1, try to formulate a list of other aspects of the biological system that may have been important in shaping Ruth Hamilton's life story. The theme of health is synergistically integrated throughout the text. At each stage of life, health care practices, access to health care resources and knowledge, and individual differences in health-related risks and resilience have an impact on a person's developmental trajectory.

The Psychological System

The **psychological system** includes those mental processes central to a person's ability to make meaning of experiences and take action (see FIGURE 1.2 ▶). Emotion, memory, perception, motivation, thinking and reasoning, language, symbolic abilities, and one's orientation to the future are examples of psychological processes. When these processes are integrated, they provide the resources for processing information, solving problems, and navigating reality. In the case of Ruth Hamilton, we can appreciate the influence of the psychological system in her motivation, persistence, independence, ingenuity, personal goals, and feelings of self-determination.

Like the biological processes, psychological processes develop and change over one's life span. Psychological change is guided in part by genetic information. The capacity for intellectual functioning and the direction of cognitive maturation are genetically guided. Some genetic diseases result in intellectual impairment and a reduced capacity for learning. Psychological change also results from the accumulation of experiences and from encounters with various educational settings that impact brain development and result in new cognitive structures and new approaches to problem solving. Psychological processes can be enhanced by numerous life experiences including the quality of parenting one receives; interactions with friends; opportunities for play of all types; travel; reading; exposure to music, art, poetry, and the dramatic arts; and schooling.

Finally, psychological change can be self-directed. A person can decide to pursue a new interest, learn another language, or adopt a new set of ideas. Ruth Hamilton took time for self-discovery through travel, which expanded her worldview. By retreating to New Hampshire after the death of her husband, she gave herself time for reflection and recovery in a place that she and Carter enjoyed together. People can strive to achieve new levels of **self-insight**, to be more aware of their thoughts and feelings, and to be less defensive. Meditation and mindfulness practice are examples of techniques people are using to achieve these goals. There is evidence to suggest that self-insight is a vital component of positive mental health (Wilson, 2009). What strategies do you use to alter your worldview or achieve new levels of self-insight?

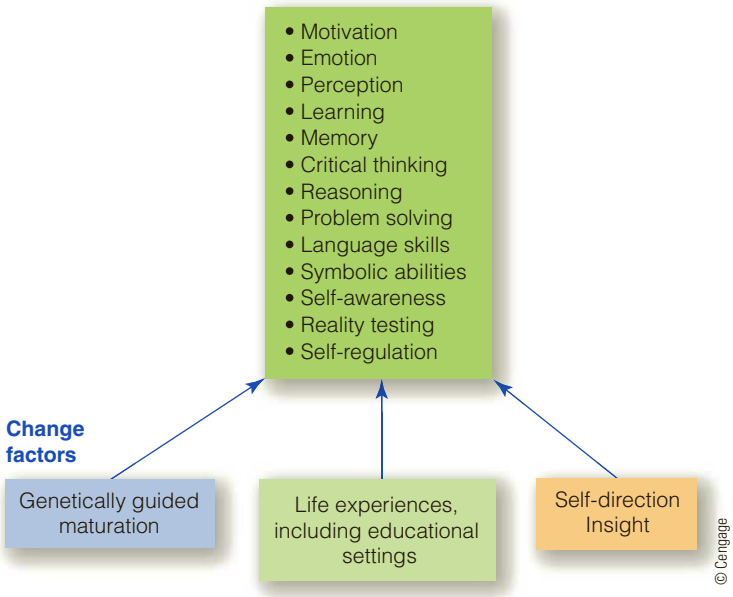

FIGURE 1.2 ▶ THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Meaning Making

The meaning we make of our experiences changes over the course of life. Think about the concept of love as an example. In infancy, love is almost entirely physical. It is the pervasive sense of comfort and security that we feel in the presence of our caregivers. By adolescence, the idea of love includes loyalty, emotional closeness, and sexuality. In adulthood, the concept of love may expand to include a new emphasis on companionship and open communication. The need to be loved and to give love remains important throughout life, but the self we bring to a loving relationship, the context within which the relationship is established, and the signs we look for as evidence of love change with age.

Meaning is created out of efforts to interpret and integrate the experiences of the biological, psychological, and societal systems. A primary focus of this meaning making is the search for **identity**. Humans struggle to define themselves—to achieve a sense of identity—through a sense of connectedness with certain other people and groups and through feelings of distinctiveness from others. We establish categories that define to whom we are connected, about whom we care, and which of our own qualities we admire. We also establish categories that define those to whom we are not connected, those about whom we do not care, and those qualities of our own that we reject or deny. These categories provide us with an orientation toward certain kinds of people and away from others, toward certain life choices and away from others. The psychosocial perspective brings to light the dynamic

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The desire to experience a loving relationship remains strong throughout life. However, the self one brings to a loving relationship changes at each stage. How might experiences of love change from adolescence to early adulthood to later adulthood?

interplay of the roles of the self and the others, the I and the We, as they contribute to the emergence of identity over the life course.

The Societal System

The **societal system** includes social roles; social support; **culture**, including rituals, myths, and social expectations; media; leadership styles; communication patterns; family organization; ethnic and subcultural influences; political ideologies and forms of government; religions; patterns of economic prosperity or **poverty**; conditions of war or peace; and exposure to racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination, intolerance, or intergroup hostility. The societal system encompasses those processes that foster or disrupt a person's sense of social integration and social identity (see FIGURE 1.3 ▶). Through laws and public policies, political and economic structures, and educational opportunities, societies influence the psychosocial development of individuals and alter the life course for future generations (de St. Aubin, McAdams, & Kim, 2004). Societal processes may change over one's life span. The process of modernization may bring exposure to new levels of education, new technologies, encounters with more diverse groups of people, and new forms of work. These changes are likely to result in more individualistic values, new priorities about which skills are valued, and changing patterns of family life (Greenfield, 2009).

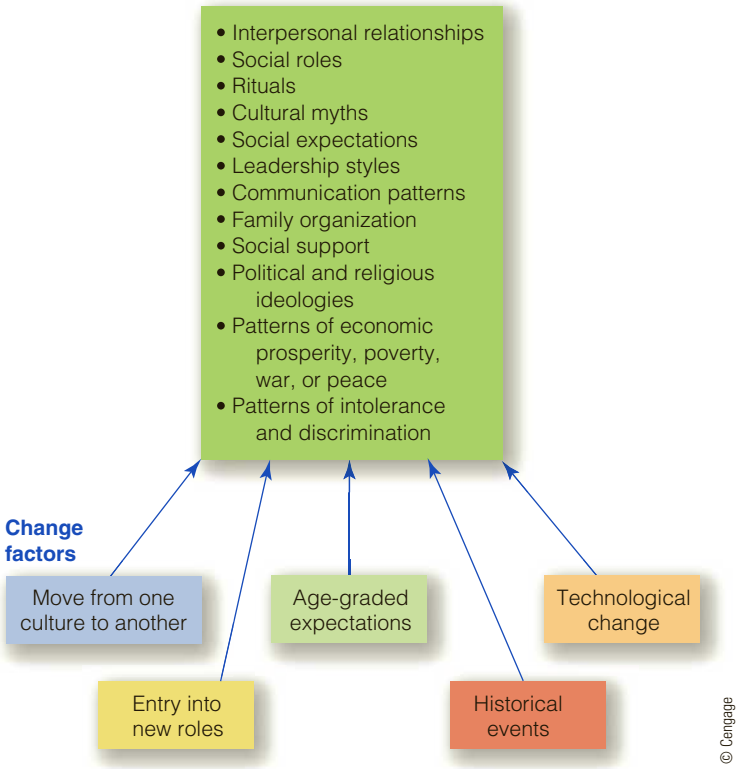

FIGURE 1.3 ▶ THE SOCIETAL SYSTEM

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Technological innovations can modify the societal system. For example, television, cell phones, personal computers, and the Internet are technological innovations that have modified people's access to information and relationships. These technologies have altered children's roles, providing them with resources that can allow them to function at new levels of autonomy and competence. In many families, children teach their parents and grandparents how to make use of new technologies, thus expanding their role. Cell phones reduce barriers to communication, a change that has multiple impacts on patterns of communication—some positive and some negative.

Historical events can also influence the societal system, altering social roles, access to resources, economic conditions, and one's sense of personal safety or security. Events such as the destruction of the World Trade Towers in 2001, the economic collapse of 2008, the devastation of Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Sandy, the bombing at the Boston Marathon, and the shooting at the Sandy Hook Elementary School have an enduring influence on people's sense of safety, economic security, and confidence in key social institutions. Positive events, such as the Supreme Court rulings regarding marriage equality and the passage of the Affordable Health Care Act have provided social validation and access to resources that contribute to a more secure, predictable life.

In this text, the role of culture is emphasized as it contributes to the pattern, pace, and direction of development. Societies differ in their **worldviews**, including the emphasis placed on collectivism or individualism, ideas about the major sources of stress and ways to alleviate stress, and beliefs about which groups are viewed as more powerful or more important than others. Societies differ in their emphasis on and belief in science, spirituality, and fatalism. They differ in their **age-graded expectations**, such as when a person is considered to be a child, an adult, or an elder, and how people in these age roles should be treated. They differ in their definitions of morality, beauty, bravery, wealth, and other ideals that may define individual and group aspirations. As you read the text, you will encounter **Human Development and Diversity** boxes. These boxes provide examples of how norms of development might be viewed differently in different cultures or ethnic groups. We hope these examples will help sensitize you to the role of culture in defining what may be viewed as appropriate, optimal, or normal behavior.

The societal system is illustrated in several ways in the case of Ruth Hamilton. Women did not have the right to vote in the United States until 1920. By then, Ruth was 22. Early in her life, there was a teacher shortage. The societal system responded by providing training opportunities, and Ruth took advantage of this program. When she married Carter, the policies of the school prohibited married women from teaching. In the early part of the 20th century it was considered improper for married women to work. Although many women were trained as teachers, they were forced to leave their profession once they were married (Enkelis, 2000). Ruth, however, pushed back against these restrictions, hoping to continue in her work. Due to her good performance and the need for teachers in her town, the societal system changed in order to keep her in the school. This specific example illustrates that the societal system can impose constraints, but that there are many ways that individuals and groups can alter the societal system.

The Psychosocial Impact of Poverty

In thinking about the impact of societal factors on development, we want to highlight the context of poverty as a major obstacle to optimal development. (See the **Applying Theory and Research to Life** box Poverty.) Racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia, and discrimination against individuals with physical, intellectual, and emotional disabilities are other examples. However, under conditions of poverty, individuals have fewer options and less opportunity to escape or avoid these other societal deterrents. Poverty has powerful and potentially pervasive effects on the biological and psychological systems across the life span.

The government, as an arm of the societal system, defines poverty in order to determine who is eligible for certain resources and services. The **poverty threshold** is defined as the minimum cash income needed to support a person or a family in meeting basic needs of daily living. The poverty threshold varies by family size, number of children, and the age of the householder (Bishaw, 2012). Certain terms are used in the literature to refer to the level or intensity of poverty: Extreme poverty—income less than 50 percent of the poverty threshold; Poverty—income less than 100 percent of the poverty threshold; and Low income—income less than 200 percent of the poverty threshold.

The original definition of the poverty threshold was created in the 1960s. It was formulated based on the idea that under subsistence conditions, a family would need to spend about one third of its income on basic food needs; so the poverty threshold was set at three times the cost of a basic food budget. Each year, the dollar value of this minimum level is recalculated based on the cost of living index. Critics argue that this approach to defining poverty is inadequate in today's economy. The cost of food has remained relatively low in comparison to the cost of housing, transportation, health care, energy, and child care (for families with young children). They suggest that the poverty threshold should be more like five times the cost of a basic food budget. Furthermore, the cost of living and employment opportunities vary by states and regions of the country, but the basic poverty threshold is set at a national level and is applied without consideration for these regional variations (Grusky, Mattingly, & Varner, 2015). Based on the definition used by the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2014 there were 46.7 million people in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

In and of itself, poverty does not place inevitable limits on development. There are many instances of children who grew up in poverty and achieved eminence (Harrington & Boardman, 2000). Many children flourish under conditions of meager family resources. However, it is well documented that poverty increases the risks that individuals face, including risks associated with malnutrition, poor quality health care, living in poor quality and overcrowded housing, living in a hazardous or dangerous neighborhood, and attending ineffective schools. Poverty is linked with reduced access to basic resources associated with health and survival (Crosnoe & Huston, 2007; Yoo, Slack, & Holl, 2009). Exposure to these risk factors early and continuously throughout childhood is associated with higher incidences of health problems, greater challenges in achieving the developmental tasks of each life stage, disruptions in family and work trajectories, and reduced life expectancy (Hayward, Crimmins, Miles, & Yang, 2000; Knitzer, 2007).

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