ADOLESCENCE

Seventeenth Edition

JOHN W. SANTROCK
University of Texas at Dallas

Mc Graw Hill Education

ADOLESCENCE, SEVENTEENTH EDITION

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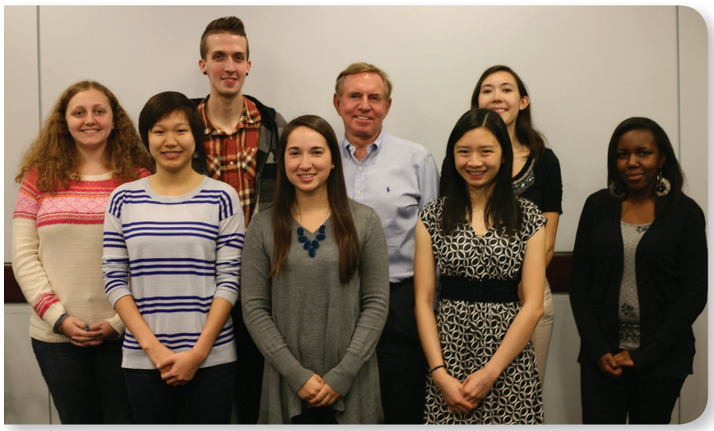
about the author

John W. Santrock

John Santrock received his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota in 1973. He taught at the University of Charleston and the University of Georgia before joining the program in Psychology in the School of Behavioral and Brain Sciences at the University of Texas at Dallas, where he currently teaches a number of undergraduate courses. He has taught the undergraduate course in adolescence once or twice a year for more than three decades.



John Santrock (back row middle) with the 2015 recipients of the Santrock Travel Scholarship Award in developmental psychology. Created by Dr. Santrock, this annual award provides undergraduate students with the opportunity to attend a professional meeting. A number of the students shown here attended the Society for Research in Child Development meeting in 2015.
Courtesy of Jessica Serna

John has been a member of the editorial boards of *Child Development* and *Developmental Psychology*. His research has focused on children and adolescents in divorced families, and his father custody research is widely cited and used in expert witness testimony to promote flexibility and alternative considerations in custody disputes. He also has conducted research on social cognition, especially the influence of affectively-toned cognition on self-regulation. John also has authored these exceptional McGraw-Hill texts: *Psychology* (7th edition), *Children* (14th edition), *Life-Span Development* (17th edition), *A Topical Approach to Life-Span Development* (9th edition), and *Educational Psychology* (6th edition).

For many years, John was involved in tennis as a player, teaching professional, and coach of professional tennis players. At the University of Miami (FL), the tennis team on which he played still holds the NCAA Division I record for most consecutive wins (137) in any sport. His wife, Mary Jo, has a master's degree in special education and has worked as a teacher and a Realtor. She created the first middle school behavioral disorders special education program in Clarke County, Georgia. He has two daughters–Tracy and Jennifer–both of whom are now Realtors. Jennifer was inducted into the SMU Athletic Hall of Fame in 2015 and into the Southwest Conference Athletic Hall of Fame in 2017. He has one granddaughter, Jordan, age 26, who completed the MBA program at Southern Methodist University and works for Ernst & Young in Dallas. He also has two grandsons, Alex, age 13, and Luke, age 12. In the last decade, John also has spent time painting expressionist art.

Dedication:

To my daughters, Tracy and Jennifer, who, as they matured, helped me to appreciate the marvels of adolescent development.

expert consultants

Adolescent development has become an enormous, complex field, and no single author, or even several authors, can possibly keep up with all of the rapidly changing content in the many periods and different areas in this field. To solve this problem, author John Santrock has sought the input of leading experts about content in a number of areas of adolescent development. These experts have provided detailed evaluations and recommendations in their area(s) of expertise.

The following individuals were among those who served as expert consultants for one or more of the previous editions of this text:

Susan Harter
Valerie Reyna
John Schulenberg
Charles Irwin
Ruth Chao
Wyndol Furman
Elizabeth Susman
Shirley Feldman
Lisa Diamond
James Marcia
Kathryn Wentzel
Moin Syed
Bonnie Halpern-Felsher
Joseph Allen
Nancy Guerra
Gerald Patterson
Nancy Galambos
Peter Benson
Catherine Cooper
L. Monique Ward
Bonnie Leadbetter
Reed Larson
Lisa Crockett
Allan Wigfield
Lawrence Walker
Pamela King
Daniel Keating
Diane Halpern
Jane Kroger
John Gibbs
James Rest
Daniel Lapsley
Luc Goosens
Seth Schwartz
Brad Brown
Candice Feiring
Daniel Offer
Harold Grotevant
James Byrnes
Duane Buhrmester
Lorah Dorn
Jerome Dusek
Elizabeth Trejos-Castillo
Robert Roeser
Darcia Narváez

Following are the expert consultants for the seventeenth edition, who (like those of previous editions) literally represent a *Who's Who* in the field of adolescent development.

Valerie Reyna Dr. Reyna is one of the world's leading experts on the development of the adolescent's brain and cognitive processing. She obtained her Ph.D. from Rockefeller University. Currently, she is the Lois and Melvin Tukman Professor of Human Development at Cornell University, as well as Director of the Cornell University Magnetic Resonance Imaging Facility, and co-director of the Center for Behavioral Economics and Decision Making. She created fuzzy-trace theory, a model of memory and decision-making that is widely applied in law, medicine, and public health. Her recent work has focused on the neuroscience of risky decision making and its implications for health and well-being, especially in adolescents; applications of cognitive models and artificial intelligence to improving understanding of genetics (in breast cancer, for example); and medical and legal decision making (about jury awards, medication decisions, and adolescent culpability). Past President of the Society for Judgment and Decision Making, she is a Fellow of numerous scientific societies and has served on the scientific panels of the National Science Foundation, National Institutes of Health, and National Academy of Sciences. Dr. Reyna is Editor of *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* and also has been an associate editor for *Psychological Science* and *Developmental Review*. She has received many years of research support from private foundations and U.S. government agencies, and currently serves as principal investigator of several grants and awards (from organizations such as the National Institutes of Health). Her service has included leadership positions in organizations dedicated to equal opportunity for minorities and women, and on national executive and advisory boards of centers and grants with similar goals, such as the Arizona Hispanic Center of Excellence, National Center of Excellence in Women's Health, and Women in Cognitive Science (supported by a National Science Foundation ADVANCE leadership award).

"It is remarkable how up-to-date this textbook remains (due to regular updating of references). I always learn something new when I read it, even in my areas of specialization . . . The coverage is broad and inclusive, which is ideal for a textbook . . . All the new material in the Preface is highly relevant . . . John Santrock's textbook covers a vast range of topics in adolescence with an impressive clarity and the latest, up-to-date references . . . He has a keen appreciation for the topics that interest students, and his critiques are also especially helpful." **—Valerie Reyna** *Cornell University*

Photo courtesy of Cornell University and Valerie Reyna

Bonnie Halpern-Felsher Dr. Halpern-Felsher is one of the world's leading experts on adolescent and emerging adult health. She currently is a Professor in Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine at Stanford University. Dr. Halpern-Felsher previously was Professor of Adolescent Medicine in the Department of Pediatrics at the University of California–San Francisco. She obtained her Ph.D. in developmental psychology at the University of California–Riverside. Her research has focused on cognitive and psychosocial factors involved in adolescents' and young adults' health-related decision-making, perceptions of risk and vulnerability, and health communication. Among her research studies are those focused on understanding and reducing health risk behaviors such as tobacco use, alcohol and marijuana use, risky

driving, and risky sexual behavior. Her research has been instrumental in changing how health providers discuss sexual risk with adolescents and has influenced national policies regarding youths' tobacco use. She also is one of the Program Directors for the NIH/NDDK-funded Short-Term Research Experience for Underrepresented Persons (Step-Up). She personally mentors approximately 25 middle school and high school students as part of this program.

"This textbook is great as usual. It covers a breadth of information, providing updated references and ideas. The career connections provide a great opportunity for students to understand different career opportunities. All three chapters ('Puberty, Health, and Biological Foundations,' 'Sexuality,' and 'Problems in Adolescence and Early Adulthood') were outstanding." **—Bonnie Halpern-Felsher** *Stanford University*
Courtesy of Dr. Bonnie Halpern-Felsher

John Schulenberg Dr. Schulenberg is one of the world's leading experts on adolescent and early adult problems. He currently holds the positions of Professor, Department of Psychology, and Research Professor, Institute for Social Research, at the University of Michigan. His research expertise focuses on developmental transitions in adolescence and early adulthood, especially involving substance use and abuse and health and well-being. He is the Principal Investigator of the U.S. national Monitoring the Future Follow-Up Study on the epidemiology and etiology of substance use from adolescence through adulthood. Dr. Schulenberg is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association and Past President of the Society for Research on Adolescence. His work has been funded by NIAAA, NICHD, NIMH, NSF, RWJF, Spencer, and WT Grant. He has coached youth community and travel baseball teams for 14 years.

"Thanks for the opportunity to read and review this excellent chapter ('Problems in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood'). As I have in the past with John Santrock's chapters, I found that I learned a lot. He packs a lot in! I reviewed previous versions of this chapter for the previous editions of this book, and I see that this chapter continues to evolve in a very positive and compelling way. Very much was added between this version and previous ones regarding new research and new ideas in the field . . . I can easily imagine that this chapter does very well in terms of engaging college students." **—John Schulenberg** *University of Michigan*
Courtesy of John Schulenberg

Katie Davis Dr. Davis is one of the world's leading experts on media technologies in young people's lives. She is a professor at the University of Washington Information School and a founding member and Co-Director of the Digital Youth Lab there. She holds two master's degrees and a doctorate in Human Development and Education from Harvard Graduate School of Education. Prior to coming to the University of Washington, Dr. Davis worked with Dr. Howard Gardner and other colleagues at Harvard Project Zero. Her research explores the roles of media technologies in young people's personal, social, and academic lives, with a particular focus on the intersection between technology and identity development during adolescence and emerging adulthood. She is the co-author with Howard Gardner of *The App Generation: How Today's Youth Navigate Identity, Intimacy, and Imagination in a Digital World*. In 2015, Dr. Davis was named a Rising Star by the Association for Psychological Science. She also is the recipient of a National Science Foundation Early Career Development Award to support how networked technologies are leveraged to develop learners' STEM identities. Dr. Davis also works with parents, teachers, industry leaders, and policy makers to build connections between research and practice.

"The newest edition of John Santrock's Adolescence *offers a comprehensive and current view of the major developmental tasks facing today's adolescents. Dr. Santrock carefully considers how aspects of adolescent development interact with adolescents' digital media use. This terrain is evolving quickly as new technologies are introduced at a rapid pace. In* Adolescence*, readers are given the opportunity to consider these new trends in the context of biological, cognitive, and social development."* **—Katie Davis** *University of Washington*
Courtesy of Tamell Simons

Melinda Gonzales-Backen Dr. Gonzales-Backen is a leading expert on ethnic and cultural development in adolescence. She is a professor and graduate director in the Department of Family and Child Sciences at Florida State University. Dr. Gonzales-Backen obtained her Ph.D. in Family and Human Development at Arizona State University. Her research focuses on the psychosocial well-being of Latino youth and families. Dr. Gonzales-Backen is interested in studying cultural stressors, such as discrimination and acculturative stress, and cultural strengths, such as ethnic identity and familial ethnic socialization, as well as exploring the intersection of adolescent development and family processes to predict adolescent adjustment in areas such as self-esteem, depression, and substance use. She is a member of the editorial boards of the *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* and *Cultural Minority and Ethnic Diversity Psychology*, and her research has been published in leading journals such as *Child Development*, *Developmental Psychology*, and *Family Process*.

". . . This is a good textbook and I am actually switching to it for next semester. I like that examples are focused on adolescents. Other adolescent development texts I have used have canned descriptions of theoretical content that is often focused on younger children. The integration of the developmental experience within relationships is wonderful." **—Melinda Gonzales-Backen** *Florida State University*
Courtesy Sarah Graves

Moin Syed Dr. Syed is one of the world's leading experts on adolescent and emerging adult identity development. He is a professor of psychology at the University of Minnesota. He obtained his Ph.D. from the University of California–Santa Cruz. Dr. Syed's research is broadly concerned with identity development among ethnically and culturally diverse adolescents and emerging adults, with a particular focus on the development of multiple personal and social identities (for example, ethnic, SES, and gender) and the implications of identity development for educational experiences and career orientation. He has authored more than 80 peer-reviewed articles and chapters, and he is co-editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Identity Development* and editor of *Emerging Adulthood*, the

official journal of the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood. Dr. Syed is currently President of the International Society for Identity Research.

"Overall, the chapter 'The Self, Identity, Emotion, and Personality' is very good and my comments are meant to improve what is already a solid piece of work. The chapter is well-written and reflects many current advances in scholarship, while also including a sufficient amount of 'classic' work. This balance can be difficult to achieve, but I think John Santrock has struck it just right." **—Moin Syed** *University of Minnesota*
Courtesy of Amelie Hyams

Ritch Savin-Williams Dr. Savin-Williams is one of the world's leading experts on adolescent sexuality. He is Emeritus Professor of Psychology at Cornell University and obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He has written 10 books on adolescent development, including *Mostly Straight: Sexual Fluidity in Men*; *Becoming Who I Am: Young Men on Being Gay*; and *"Mom, Dad I'm Gay."* Dr. Savin-Williams continues to write about the sexual and romantic development of young men, regardless of their sexual orientation. He is also a clinical psychologist and has served as an expert witness on same-sex marriage, gay adoption, and Boy Scout court cases. Dr. Savin-Williams also blogs on sex and romance topics for *Psychology Today*.

"Dr. Santrock makes it clear in his sexuality chapter that it is 'critical' not to lose sight of the fact that sexuality is a normal part of adolescence. This perspective is all too often omitted from Adolescence textbooks and readings. To this, Dr. Santrock has included modern 2020-relevant topics that will be of interest to all who read this text to better understand adolescent development: pansexual, gender identity, sexting, pornography, transgender individuals, and fluidity." **—Ritch Savin-Williams** *Cornell University*
Courtesy of Ritch Savin-Williams, Cornell University

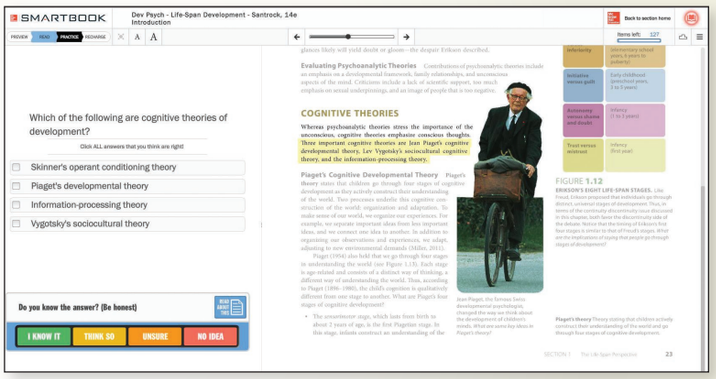
Santrock—connecting *research* and *results!*

As a master teacher, John Santrock connects current research with real-world application, helping students see how adolescent psychology plays a role in their own lives and future careers. Through an integrated, personalized digital learning program, students gain the insight they need to study smarter, stay focused, and improve their performance.

Personalized Study, Better Data, Improved Results

Make It Personal.

McGraw-Hill Education's SmartBook® is an adaptive learning program designed to help students stay focused and maximize their study time. Based on metacognition, and powered by McGraw-Hill LearnSmart®, SmartBook's adaptive capabilities provide students with a personalized reading and learning experience that helps them identify the concepts they know, and more importantly, the concepts they *don't* know.



Make It Effective.

Unlike other eBooks, SmartBook is adaptive. SmartBook creates a personalized reading experience by highlighting the most impactful concepts a student needs to learn at that moment in time. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook is returned to the student as the most value-added minute possible.

Make It Informed.

SmartBook continuously adapts, highlighting content based on what the student knows and doesn't know. Real-time reports quickly identify the concepts that require more attention from individual students—or the entire class. Because SmartBook is personalized, it detects the content individual students are most likely to forget and refreshes them, helping improve retention.

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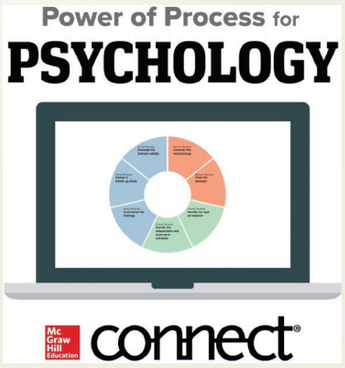
Focused on the higher end of Bloom's Taxonomy, **Power of Process** helps students improve critical thinking skills and allows instructors to assess these skills efficiently and effectively in an online environment. Available through Connect, pre-loaded journal articles are ready for instructors to assign.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



Real People, Real World, Real Life

McGraw-Hill Education's Milestones is a powerful video-based learning tool that allows students to experience life as it unfolds, from infancy through emerging adulthood. A limited number of Milestones videos are available for viewing within the McGraw-Hill Connect Media Bank for Santrock's, *Adolescence*, 17e.

MILESTONES

Mc Graw Hill Education connect®

Current Research, Guided by Experts

With more than 1,400 research citations and reviewed by experts in the field, *Adolescence* provides the most thorough and up-to-date information on issues related to today's adolescents and emerging adults.

connecting with adolescents

Are Social Media an Amplification Tool for Adolescent Egocentrism?

Are teens drawn to social media to express their imaginary audience and personal fable's sense of uniqueness? One analysis concluded that amassing a large number of friends (audience) on social media may help to validate adolescents' perception that their life is a stage and everyone is watching them (Psychster Inc., 2010). Also, one study found that Facebook use does indeed increase self-interest (Chiou, Chen, & Liao, 2014). And a recent meta-analysis concluded that a greater use of social networking sites was linked to a higher level of narcissism (Gnambs & Appel, 2018).

A look at a teen's comments on Instagram or Snapchat may suggest to many adults that what teens are reporting is often rather mundane and uninteresting. Typical comments might include updates like the following: "Studying heavy. Not happy tonight." or "At Starbucks with Jesse. Lattes are great." Possibly for adolescents, though, such comments are not trivial but rather an expression of the personal fable's sense of uniqueness.

Might social media, such as Facebook, increase adolescent egocentrism?
©David J. Green-lifestyle themes/Alamy

What do you think? Are social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat, amplifying the expression of adolescents' imaginary audience and their personal fable's sense of uniqueness? (Source: Psychster Inc., 2010)

preface

Making Connections . . . From My Classroom to *Adolescence* to You

When I wrote the Preface for the first edition of *Adolescence* in 1980, I never envisioned I would be sitting here today writing the Preface for the book's seventeenth edition. It is extremely gratifying that more undergraduate students in the world continue to learn from this text than any other.

As with adolescent and emerging adult development, there have been major changes and transitions across the 17 editions. Over the course of these many editions, the field has become transformed from one in which there were only a handful of scholars (mainly in the United States) studying adolescent and emerging adult development to the thousands of researchers around the world today who are making enormous strides in our understanding of adolescence and emerging adulthood. When I wrote early editions of *Adolescence*, there were no discussions of such topics as adolescents' brain development, decision making, self-regulation, attachment, self-efficacy, religious and spiritual development, ethnic pride, immigration, and technology because research on those topics in the adolescent years had not yet been conducted. And the term *emerging adulthood* had not even been coined yet.

Across the last three and a half decades, I have seen not only a dramatic increase in the quantity of research studies on adolescence and emerging adulthood but also an equally impressive increase in the quality of research. For example, today there are far more high-quality longitudinal studies that provide important information about developmental changes from childhood through emerging adulthood than there were several editions ago. In addition, there is increasing concern about improving the quality of life for adolescents and emerging adults, resulting in more applied research and intervention efforts.

Having taught an undergraduate class on adolescent development one to four times every year across four decades, I'm always looking for ways to improve my course and text. Just as McGraw-Hill looks to those who teach the adolescence and emerging adult course for input, each year I ask the 50 to 70 students in my adolescent and emerging adult development course to tell me what they like about the course and the text, and what they think could be improved. What have my students told me lately about my course, this text, and themselves?

More than ever before, one word highlights what students have been talking about in the last several years when I ask them about their lives and observe them: **Connecting.** Connecting and communicating have always been important themes of adolescents' and emerging adults' lives, but the more I've talked with students recently, the more the word *connecting* comes up in conversations with them.

In further conversations with my students, I explored how they thought I could improve the course and the text by using *connecting* as a theme. Following is an outgrowth of those conversations focused on a *connections* theme and how I have incorporated it into the main goals of the seventeenth edition:

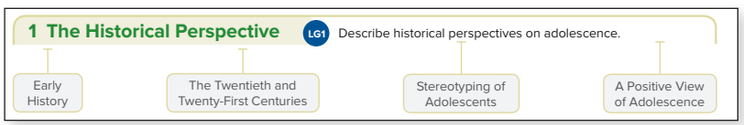
1. **Connecting with today's students** To help students learn about adolescent and emerging adult development more effectively.
2. **Connecting research to what we know about development** To provide students with the best and most recent *theory and research* in the world today about adolescence and emerging adulthood.
3. **Connecting topical processes in development** To guide students in making *topical connections* across different aspects of adolescent and emerging adult development.
4. **Connecting development to the real world** To help students understand ways to *apply* content about adolescence and emerging adulthood to the real world and improve the lives of youth; and to motivate them to think deeply about *their own personal journeys of youth* and better understand who they were, are, and will be.

Connecting with Today's Students

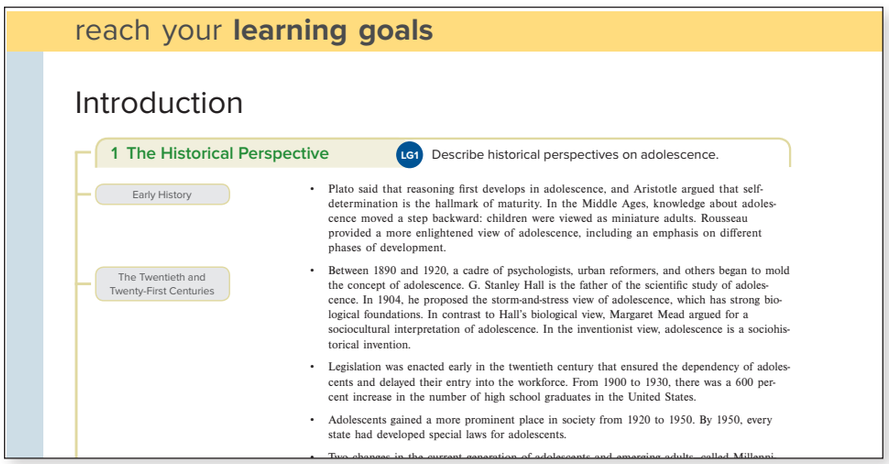
In *Adolescence,* I recognize that today's students are as different in some ways from the learners of the last generation as today's discipline of life-span development is different from the field 30 years ago. Students now learn in multiple modalities; rather than sitting down and reading traditional printed chapters in linear fashion from beginning to end, their work preferences tend to be more visual and more interactive, and their reading and study often occur in short bursts. For many students, a traditionally formatted printed textbook is no longer enough when they have instant, 24/7 access to news and information from around the globe. Two features that specifically support today's students are the adaptive ebook, Smartbook (see page xiv), and the learning goals system.

The Learning Goals System

My students often report that the adolescent and emerging adult development course is challenging because of the amount of material covered. To help today's students focus on the key ideas, the Learning Goals System I developed for *Adolescence* provides extensive learning connections throughout the chapters. The learning system connects the chapter opening outline, learning goals for the chapter, mini-chapter maps that open each main section of the chapter, *Review, Connect, Reflect* questions at the end of each main section, and the chapter summary at the end of each chapter.



The learning system keeps the key ideas in front of the student from the beginning to the end of the chapter. The main headings of each chapter correspond to the learning goals that are presented in the chapter-opening spread. Mini-chapter maps that link up with the learning goals are presented at the beginning of each major section in the chapter.



Then, at the end of each main section of a chapter, the learning goal is repeated in *Review, Connect, Reflect,* which prompts students to review the key topics in the section, connect to existing knowledge, and relate what they learned to their own personal journey through life. *Reach Your Learning Goals,* at the end of the chapter, guides students through the bulleted chapter review, connecting with the chapter outline/learning goals at the beginning of the chapter and the *Review, Connect, Reflect* questions at the end of major chapter sections.

Connecting Research to What We Know about Development

Over the years, it has been important for me to include the most up-to-date research available. The tradition of obtaining detailed, extensive input from a number of leading experts in different areas of adolescent and emerging adult development continues in this edition. Biographies and photographs of the leading experts in the field of adolescent and emerging adult development appear on pages xi–xiii, and the extensive list of chapter-by-chapter highlights of new research content are listed on pages xx–xxxvii. Finally, the research discussions have been updated in every area and topic. I expended every effort to make this edition of *Adolescence* as contemporary and up-to-date as possible. To that end, there are more than 1,400 citations from 2016, 2017, and 2018.

Connecting Developmental Processes

Too often we forget or fail to notice the many connections from one point or topic in development to another.

developmental **connection**

Brain Development

Might there be a link between changes in the adolescent's brain and increases in risk taking and sensation seeking? Connect to "The Brain and Cognitive Development."

Developmental Connections, which appear multiple times in each chapter, point readers to where the topic is discussed in a previous or subsequent chapter. *Developmental Connections* highlight links across topics and age periods of development *and* connections between biological, cognitive, and socioemotional processes. These key developmental processes are typically discussed in isolation from each other, and students often fail to see their connections. Included in the *Developmental Connections* is a brief description of the backward or forward connection.

Also, a *Connect* question appears in the section self-reviews—*Review, Connect, Reflect*—so students can practice making connections between topics. For example, students are asked to connect the discussion of autonomy and attachment to what they have already read about emotional development.

Connecting Development to the Real World

In addition to helping students make research and developmental connections, *Adolescence* shows the important connections between the concepts discussed and the real world. In recent years, students in my adolescence and emerging adulthood course have increasingly told me that they want more of this type of information. In this edition, real-life connections are explicitly made through the chapter opening vignette, *Connecting with Health and Well-Being*, *Connecting with Adolescents, Connecting with Emerging Adults,* and *Connecting with Careers*.

Each chapter begins with a story designed to increase students' interest and motivation to read the chapter. For example, the chapter on moral development introduces you to Jewel Cash, an emerging adult who was raised by a single mother in a Boston housing project and has become a vocal and active participant in improving her community.

Connecting with Health and Well-Being describes the influence of development in a real-world context on topics including increasing health and well-being in emerging adulthood, helping adolescents cope with pubertal changes, strategies for engaging in regular exercise, strategies for developing better sleep habits, guiding adolescents to improve their decision making skills, adolescents' self-esteem, effective sex education, parenting moral children and adolescents, strategies for emerging adults and their parents, effective and ineffective strategies for making friends, and coping strategies in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

Connecting with Adolescents and ***Connecting with Emerging Adults*** share personal experiences from real adolescents and emerging adults. ***Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*** at the end of each chapter describes numerous resources such as books, websites, and organizations that provide valuable information for improving the lives of adolescents in many different areas.

Connecting with Careers profiles careers including a clinical psychologist who especially works with Latino adolescents and emerging adults, an educational psychologist, a teacher with Teach for America, a family and consumer science educator, a marriage and family therapist, and a career counselor.

connecting with health and well-being

How Can We Raise Moral Children and Adolescents?

Parental discipline contributes to children's moral development, but other aspects of parenting also play an important role, including providing opportunities for perspective taking and modeling moral behavior and thinking. Nancy Eisenberg and her colleagues (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Knafo, 2015; Eisenberg & Valiente, 2002) suggest that when parents adopt the following strategies they are more likely to have children and adolescents who behave morally:

- Be warm and supportive, use inductive reasoning, and engage in authoritative parenting.
- Avoid being punitive and do not use love withdrawal as a disciplinary strategy.
- Use inductive discipline.
- Provide opportunities for children and youth to learn about others' perspectives and feelings.
- Involve children and youth in family decision making and in the process of thinking about moral decisions.
- Model moral behaviors and thinking themselves, and provide opportunities for their children and youth to do so.
- Provide information about what behaviors are expected and why.
- Foster an internal rather than an external sense of morality.
- Help children and youth to understand and regulate negative emotion rather than becoming overaroused.

Parents who show this configuration of behaviors are likely to foster concern and caring about others in their children and youth, and to create a positive parent-child relationship. In terms of relationship quality, secure attachment may play an important role in children's and adolescents' moral development (Goffin, Boldt, & Kochanska, 2018). A secure attachment can place children on a positive path for internalizing parents' socializing goals and adhering to family values. In one study, early secure attachment defused a maladaptive trajectory toward antisocial outcomes (Kochanska & others, 2010a). In another study, securely attached children's willing, cooperative stance was linked to positive future socialization outcomes such as a lower incidence of externalizing problems (aggression, for example) (Kochanska & others, 2010b).

What are some parenting characteristics and practices that are linked with children's and adolescents' moral development?
©Digital Vision/Getty Images

What type of studies do you think researchers might design to compare the relative effectiveness of various parenting strategies on adolescents' moral development?

connecting with adolescents

Rochelle Ballantyne, Chess Star

Rochelle Ballantyne, a Stanford University student who grew up in Brooklyn, New York, is close to becoming the first female African American to reach the level of chess master (Kastenbaum, 2012). Born in 1995, she grew up in a single-parent family in a lower-income context. Her grandmother taught her to play chess because she didn't want Rochelle's impoverished background to prevent her from reaching her full potential. Rochelle was fortunate to attend I.S. 318, an inner-city public middle school where the chess team is one of the best in the United States. Rochelle has won several national chess championships and she is a rising star in the world of chess. Rochelle's motivation and confidence are reflected in her comment: "When I push myself, then nothing can stop me."

Rochelle Ballantyne, 17-year-old chess champion from Brooklyn, New York, is a rising star in the world of chess. *How might her ability to process information about chess be different from that of a novice chess player?*
©First Run Features/Courtesy Everett Collection

The careers highlighted extend from the Careers Appendix that provides a comprehensive overview of careers in adolescent and emerging adult development to show students where knowledge of adolescent development could lead them.

Part of applying development to the real world is understanding its impact on oneself. An important goal I have established for my adolescence and emerging adulthood course and *Adolescence* is to motivate students to think deeply about their own journey through life. To further encourage students to make personal connections to content in this edition, *Reflect: Your Own Personal Journey of Life* appears in the end-of-section reviews in each chapter. This feature involves a question that asks students to reflect on some aspect of the discussion in the section they have just read and connect it to their own life. For example, students are asked:

- *What are some examples of circumstances in which you think you were stereotyped as an adolescent?*
- *How was your adolescence likely similar to, or different from, the adolescence of your parents and grandparents?*

In addition, students are asked a number of personal connections questions in the photograph captions.

connecting with careers

Grace Leaf, College/Career Counselor and College Administrator

Grace Leaf is a counselor at Spokane Community College in Washington. She has a master's degree in educational leadership and is working toward a doctoral degree in educational leadership at Gonzaga University in Washington. Her college counseling job has involved teaching, providing orientation for international students, conducting individual and group advisory sessions, and doing individual and group career planning. Leaf tries to connect students with their own goals and values and helps them design an educational program that fits their needs and visions. Following a long career as a college counselor, she is now vice-president of instruction at Lower Columbia College in Washington.

For more information about what career counselors do, see the Careers in Adolescent Development appendix.

Grace Leaf counsels college students at Spokane Community College about careers.
Courtesy of Grace Leaf

Content Revisions

A significant reason why *Adolescence* has been successfully used by instructors for sixteen editions now is the painstaking effort and review that goes into making sure the text provides the latest research on all topic areas discussed in the classroom. This new seventeenth edition is no exception, with more than 1,400 citations from 2016, 2017, and 2018.

Along with many new ***Connecting with Careers*** profiles that highlight professionals in practice, this edition includes updated and expanded **research and content** focusing on the following topics:

- The positive aspects of adolescents' lives, including health and well-being
- Diversity and culture
- Identity issues, including gender and transgender
- Social contexts involving families, peers, and schools
- Technology, including social media
- Neuroscience and the brain
- Genetics and epigenetics

Below is a sample of the many chapter-by-chapter changes that were made in this new edition of *Adolescence.*

Chapter 1: Introduction

- Coverage of a recent study of non-Latino White and African American 12- to 20-year-olds in the United States that found they were characterized much more by positive than problematic development (Gutman & others, 2017). Their engagement in healthy behaviors, supportive relationships with parents and friends, and positive self-conceptions were much stronger than their angry and depressed feelings.
- New *Connecting with Careers* profile on Gustavo Medrano, a clinical psychologist who works with adolescents and emerging adults, especially those with a Latino background, at the Family Institute at Northwestern University.
- New description of the positive outcomes when individuals have pride in their ethnic group, including recent research (Anglin & others, 2018; Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2017; Umana-Taylor & others, 2017; Umana-Taylor & others, 2018).
- Updated data on the percentage of U.S. children and adolescents under 18 years of age living in poverty, including data reported separately for African American and Latino families (Jiang, Granja, & Koball, 2017).
- Technology has been added to the section on contemporary topics, including an emphasis on how pervasive it has become in people's lives and how it might influence their development.
- New *Connecting with Health and Well-Being* interlude that explores whether health and well-being change in emerging adulthood. The selection highlights recent thoughts about how many individuals in emerging adulthood have more positive health and well-being than when they were adolescents, while others in emerging adulthood experience increased anxiety, depression, and other problems (Schwartz, 2016), including higher rates of alcohol abuse (Schulenberg & others, 2017), worse sleep habits (Schlarb, Friedrich, & Clausen, 2017), increased rates of eating disorders (Lipson & others, 2017), and engagement in more risky sexual behavior (Savage, Menegatos, & Roberto, 2017).
- New section "The Changing Landscape of Emerging and Early Adulthood" describes how today's emerging and young adults have profiles and experiences that differ greatly from those of their counterparts from earlier generations in education, work, and lifestyles (Vespa, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that recent cohorts of emerging adults seem more reluctant to mature than earlier cohorts (Smith & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study with U.S. community college students that found they believe they will have reached adulthood when they can care for themselves and others (Katsiaficas, 2017).
- New discussion in the nature-nurture section regarding the epigenetic approach and the dramatic increase in the number of studies conducted with this approach (Barker, 2018; Rozenblat & others, 2017; Ryan, Saffery, & Patton, 2018).
- New coverage of recent advances in assessing genes in the section on physiological methods, including specific genes linked to child obesity (Moore, 2017; Tymofiyeva & others, 2018).
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults: The Cambridge Handbook of International Prevention Science*, edited by Moshe Israelashvili and John L. Romano (2017). This reference book provides up-to-date coverage of social policy and intervention in children's and adolescents' lives to improve their well-being and development in the United States and countries around the world.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Lifespan Human Development*, edited by Marc H. Bornstein (2018). Leading experts provide up-to-date discussions of many of the topics found throughout this edition.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults: Flourishing in Emerging Adulthood*, edited by Laura M. Padilla-Walker and Larry J. Nelson (2017). This book focuses on the diverse opportunities emerging adults have for experiencing positive development.
- In the Appendix: Careers in Adolescent and Emerging Adult Development, new career sections on Adolescent Nursing and Juvenile Delinquency.

Chapter 2: Puberty, Health, and Biological Foundations

- Condensed descriptions of individual research studies and inclusion of more summary statements about a research area.
- Discussion of a recent U.S. study that found earlier pubertal onset occurred in girls with a higher body mass index (BMI) (Bratke & others, 2017), and a recent Chinese study that revealed similar results (Deng & others, 2018).
- New commentary about leptin levels in obese children having been linked to earlier pubertal onset in some studies (Shalitin & Kiess, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that indicated accelerated weight gain from 6 to 15 months of age was linked to earlier presence of pubertal signs in 6- to 9-year-old girls (Aydin & others, 2017).
- New discussion of recent studies in Korea and Japan (Cole & Mori, 2018), China (Song & others, 2017), and Saudi Arabia (Al Alwan & others, 2017), all of which found secular trends of earlier pubertal onset in recent years.
- Study indicating that girls with precocious puberty are more likely to be overweight or obese (Cicek & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent study that revealed child sexual abuse was linked to earlier pubertal onset (Noll & others, 2017).
- New research that revealed young adolescent boys had a more positive body image than their female counterparts did (Morin & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of research in which onset of menarche before 11 years of age was linked to a higher incidence of distress disorders, fear disorders, and externalizing disorders in females (Platt & others, 2017).
- New content on the influence of social media and the Internet on adolescents' body images, including one study of U.S. 12- to 14-year-olds that found heavier social media use was associated with body dissatisfaction (Burnette, Kwitowski, & Mazzeo, 2017).
- New discussion of research with seventh- to twelfth-graders in Thailand revealing that increased time spent on the Internet, especially when engaging in activities related to self-image and eating attitudes/behavior, was linked to increasing body dissatisfaction (Kaewpradub & others, 2017).
- New coverage of research linking adolescents' and college students' Internet and social media use with their body image.
- Inclusion of a recent study of U.S. college women that found spending more time on Facebook was related to more frequent body and weight concern comparisons with other women, more attention to the physical appearance of others, and more negative feelings about their own bodies (Eckler, Kalyango, & Paasch, 2017).
- New research in which exposure to attractive female celebrity and peer images on Instagram was detrimental to female college students' body image (Brown & Fingerman, 2016).
- Updated and expanded content on body modification (tattoos, body piercing, and scarification), including a survey revealing how extensively these activities occur in adolescents and emerging adults (Breuner & others, 2018; Pew Research Center, 2010; Van Hoover, Rademayer, & Farley, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that found early-maturing girls had higher rates of depression and antisocial behavior as middle-aged adults mainly because their difficulties began in adolescence and did not lessen over time (Mendle, Ryan, & McKone, 2018).
- New research indicating that early-maturing girls are at increased risk for physical and verbal abuse in dating (Chen, Rothman, & Jaffee, 2018).
- New summary of the influence of early and late maturation on adolescent development.
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis of more than 100 studies that found no sex differences in internalized and externalized disorders, but did find early-maturing males and females had a higher incidence of these disorders than on-time maturers (Ullsperger & Nikolas, 2017).
- New *Connecting with Health and Well-Being* interlude on strategies for effectively guiding adolescents through puberty.
- New content indicating that intervention to improve various aspects of adolescent health would be more effective if it included treating adolescents with respect and according them higher status (Yeager, Dahl, & Dweck, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study in which treating adolescents with more respect and according them higher status increased their healthy eating behavior (Bryan & others, 2016).
- New discussion of a recent study of more than 5,000 individuals from 10 to 30 years of age in 11 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas showing that sensation seeking increased steadily from 11 years of age through adolescence, peaking at 19 years of age and declining through the twenties (Steinberg & others, 2018). However, in this study, self-regulation increased steadily from 11 years of age into emerging adulthood, reaching a plateau from 23 to 26 years of age.
- New *Connecting with Careers* profile on Bonnie Halpern-Felsher, university professor in pediatrics and director of community efforts to improve adolescents' health.
- Updated and revised content on adolescent suicide rates revealing an increase in the last two decades, especially among young adolescent girls (National Center for Health Statistics, 2016).
- New content on the increased numbers of adolescents who mix alcohol and energy drinks, a practice that is linked to higher rates of risky driving (Wilson & others, 2018).
- New content on warning signs of health problems for which emerging adults should obtain medical care.
- Updated data on the percentage of adolescents who had not eaten breakfast in the 7 days before the national survey took place (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Updated national data on adolescents' exercise patterns, including gender and ethnic variations (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Updated data on the significant gender differences in exercise habits of adolescents, with females exercising far less than males (YRBSS, 2016).

- Coverage of recent research indicating that a combination of regular exercise and a diet plan results in weight loss and enhanced executive function in adolescents (Xie & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent large-scale study of Dutch adolescents that revealed physically active adolescents had fewer emotional and peer problems (Kuiper & others, 2018).
- Discussion of a recent study in which a high-intensity exercise program decreased the depressive symptoms and improved the moods of depressed adolescents (Carter & others, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent study that indicated aerobic exercise reduced the depressive symptoms of adolescents with MDD (Kuiper, Broer, & van der Wouden, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent research review that concluded school and community-based physical activity interventions improve the executive function of overweight and obese adolescents (Martin & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent research review indicating that among a number of cognitive factors, memory was the factor most often improved by exercise in adolescence (Li & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that a school-based exercise program of 20 minutes each day over the course of 8 weeks improved students' working memory (Ludyga & others, 2018).
- Updated information on the percentage of students participating in physical education classes in U.S. high schools (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Coverage of a recent study of U.S. eighth-, tenth-, and twelfth-graders from 1991 to 2016 that found psychological well-being abruptly decreased after 2012 (Twenge, Martin, & Campbell, 2018). In this study, adolescents who spent more on electronic communication and screens and less time on non-screen activities such as exercise had lower psychological well-being.
- Update on the percentage of adolescents (including gender and ethnic variations) who had participated in at least one sport during the past year (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Inclusion of a recent study of out-of-school time that revealed time spent in organized sports was associated with increased positive self-identity (Lee & others, 2018).
- Coverage of recent research indicating that adolescents who participate in sports have a lower risk profile for cardiovascular disease (Herbert & others, 2017).
- New recommendations for treating the female athlete triad (Thein-Nissenbaum & Hammer, 2017).
- New *Connecting with Health and Well-Being* interlude offering exercise strategies for college students.
- Update on the low percentage of adolescents who get 8 hours of sleep or more per night (Kann & others, 2016), which had decreased by 5 percent on school nights within a two-year time frame.
- Discussion of a recent experimental study in which adolescents whose sleep had been restricted to 5 hours for five nights, then restored to 10 hours for two nights, showed negative effects on sustained attention, especially in the early morning (Agostini & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent national study of more than 10,000 13- to 18-year-olds revealing that a number of factors involving sleep timing and duration were associated with increased rates of anxiety, mood, substance abuse, and behavioral disorders (Zhang & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a longitudinal study of adolescents in which poor sleep patterns were linked to an increased likelihood of drinking alcohol and using marijuana four years later (Miller, Janssen, & Jackson, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent national study of high school students that found using electronic devices 5 or more hours a day was linked to getting inadequate sleep (Kenney & Gortmaker, 2017).
- Description of a recent study of college students that revealed consistently low sleep duration was associated with less effective attention the next day (Whiting & Murdock, 2016).
- Coverage of a recent study of college students in which shorter sleep duration was associated with increased suicide risk (Becker & others, 2018a).
- Inclusion of a recent study of college students that found 27 percent described their sleep as poor and 36 percent reported getting 7 hours or less of sleep per night (Becker & others, 2018b).
- Description of a recent experimental study in which emerging adults who were given a brief sleep quality intervention reported improved sleep, stopped using electronic devices earlier, kept a more regular sleep schedule, and had earlier weekday rise times than a control group who did not get the intervention (Hershner & O'Brien, 2018).
- Discussion of a recent study of college students that found a higher level of text messaging activity during the day and at night was related to a lower level of sleep quality (Murdock, Horissian, & Crichlow-Ball, 2017).
- New coverage of a research review that concluded heavy media multitasking in adolescence is linked to poorer memory, increased impulsiveness, and lower volume in the cerebral cortex (Uncapher & others, 2017).
- New *Connecting with Health and Well-Being* interlude on effective strategies for improving college students' sleep.
- Updated and expanded coverage of the process of methylation, in which tiny atoms attach themselves to the outside of a gene. Researchers have found that exercise, diet, and tobacco use can change whether a gene is expressed or not through the methylation process (Marioni & others, 2018; Zaghlool & others, 2018).
- Updated and expanded research on gene-gene interaction, including studies of obesity (Bordoni & others, 2017), type 2 diabetes (Saxena, Srivastava, & Banerjee, 2017), cancer (Su & others, 2018), and cardiovascular disease (De & others, 2017).
- Deletion of section on shared and non-shared environmental experiences because this topic is receiving less attention due to the increased emphasis on gene × environment interaction.

Chapter 3: The Brain and Cognitive Development

- Discussion of recent research in which reduced connectivity between the brain's frontal lobes and amygdala during adolescence was linked to increased risk of depression (Scheuer & others, 2017).
- Coverage a longitudinal study that found 11- to 18-year-olds who lived in poverty conditions had diminished brain functioning at 25 years of age (Brody & others, 2017). However, those adolescents whose families participated in a supportive parenting intervention did not show this diminished brain functioning.
- New discussion of a study that found the search for and presence of meaning was linked to wisdom in emerging adults (Webster & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study in which sustained attention continued to improve during adolescence, with this improvement linked to maturation of the brain's frontal lobes (Thillay & others, 2015).
- Inclusion of a recent study that revealed working memory training in adolescents decreased their risk taking in the presence of peers (Rosenbaum & others, 2017).
- New discussion of hot and cool executive function (Semenov & Zelazo, 2018) and coverage of a recent study that charted developmental changes in hot and cool executive function across adolescence (Poon, 2018).
- Description of a recent study in which young adolescents showed a better understanding of metaphors than children and this increased understanding was linked to increased cognitive flexibility (Willinger & others, 2018).
- New *Connecting with Health and Well-Being* interlude on guiding adolescents to engage in better decision making.
- Coverage of recent research indicating that mindfulness training improved students' self-regulation (Poehlmann-Tynan & others, 2016), achievement (Singh & others, 2017), and coping strategies in stressful situations (Dariotis & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of recent research that found mindfulness-based intervention improved children's attention self-regulation (Felver & others, 2017).
- Discussion of two recent studies in which mindfulness-based interventions reduced public school teachers' stress, produced a better mood at school and at home, and resulted in better sleep (Crain, Schonert, & Roeser, 2017; Taylor & others, 2016).
- New content on how various aspects of the school environment can enhance students' creativity (Beghetto & Kaufman, 2017; Sternberg, 2018).
- Description of a recent meta-analysis that revealed a correlation of +.54 between intelligence and school grades (Roth & others, 2015).
- New section on theory of mind in adolescence, including content on recursive thinking and connection with executive function (Devine & Hughes, 2018a, b; Oktay-Gur, Schultz, & Rakoczy, 2018).
- Description of the most recent revision of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children–V and its increased number of subtests and composite scores (Canivez, Watkins, & Dombrowski, 2017).
- New content on stereotype threat in the section on cultural bias in intelligence tests (Grand, 2017; von Hippel, Kalokerinos, & Zacher, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent meta-analysis that concluded greater use of social networking sites is linked to a higher level of narcissism (Gnambs & Appel, 2018).
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a description of ACT for Youth, an organization that connects research to practice to promote positive youth development. The center's website (www.actforyouth.net) has a number of webinars and videos that provide excellent strategies for improving the lives of adolescents by enhancing their decision-making skills.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a book titled *The Adolescent Brain* by Eveline A. Crone (2017) that provides up-to-date coverage of the many changes in the adolescent's brain along with extensive examples, applications, and connections to physical, cognitive, and socioemotional development.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a book titled *Building Executive Function: The Missing Link to Student Achievement* by Nancy Sulla (2018), which emphasizes the importance of executive function and describes activities aimed at improving students' executive function skills.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a book titled *The Nature of Human Intelligence*, edited by Robert J. Sternberg (2018), in which leading experts provide up-to-date views regarding many aspects of intelligence.

Chapter 4: The Self, Identity, Emotion, and Personality

- Revisions based on feedback from leading expert consultant Moin Syed.
- New description of recent research studies indicating that adolescents who do not have good perspective-taking skills are more likely to have difficulty in peer relations and to engage in criminal behavior (Morosan & others, 2017; Nilsen & Bacso, 2017).
- Inclusion of a longitudinal study that revealed the quality of children's home environment (which involved assessment of parenting quality, cognitive stimulation, and the physical home environment) was linked to their self-esteem in early adulthood (Orth, 2017).
- New discussion of a recent book, *Challenging the Cult of Self-Esteem in Education* (Bergeron, 2018), that criticizes education for promising high self-esteem for students without addressing their underlying needs, especially for students who are impoverished or marginalized.

- Coverage of a recent study that revealed a reciprocal relation between school engagement and self-regulation in adolescence (Stefansson & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study in which effortful control at 2 to 3 years of age predicted higher academic achievement at 14 to 15 years of age (Dindo & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study of Mexican American adolescents that found effortful control was linked to more effective coping with stress (Taylor, Widaman, & Robins, 2018).
- New commentary that too little research attention has been given to the domains of identity (Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017).
- New content on the newer dual-cycle identity model that separates identity development into two processes: (1) a formation cycle and (2) a maintenance cycle (Luyckx & others, 2014, 2017).
- New section "Identity Development and the Digital Environment" that explores the widening audience adolescents and emerging adults have to express their identity and get feedback about it in their daily connections on social media such as Instagram, Snapchat, and Facebook (Davis & Weinstein, 2017).
- New description of the positive outcomes when individuals have pride in their ethnic group, including recent research (Anglin & others, 2018; Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2017; Umana-Taylor & Douglass, 2017; Umana-Taylor & others, 2018).
- New discussion of recent longitudinal studies that revealed the ethnic identity of adolescents is influenced by positive and diverse friendships (Rivas-Drake & others, 2017; Santos & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of Mexican-origin adolescents in the United States in which a positive ethnic identity, social support, and anger suppression helped them with racial discrimination, whereas anger expression reduced their ability to cope with the discrimination (Park & others, 2018).
- Expanded content on emotion regulation and its link to many aspects of adolescent competence and problems (Blair, 2017; Hollenstein & Lanteigne, 2018; Modecki & others, 2017; Zimmerman & Iwanski, 2018).
- Description of recent research that found individuals who are high in openness to experience have superior cognitive functioning across the life span, have better health and well-being (Strickhouser, Zell, & Krizan, 2017), cope more effectively with stress (Leger & others, 2016), and are more likely to eat fruits and vegetables (Conner & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research that found conscientiousness was linked to better health and well-being (Strickhouser, Zell, & Krizan, 2017), a lower risk for alcohol addiction (Raketic & others, 2017), superior problem-focused coping (Sesker & others, 2016), greater success in accomplishing goals (McCabe & Fleeson, 2016), more academic success in medical school (Sobowale & others, 2018), and less susceptibility to Internet addiction (Zhou & others, 2017).
- Coverage of recent research indicating that individuals high in extraversion are more satisfied with their relationships (Toy, Nai, & Lee, 2016), cope more effectively with stress (Leger & others, 2016), have a more positive sense of well-being in the future (Soto & others, 2015), and are more likely to live longer (Graham & others, 2017).
- Discussion of recent research indicating that people high in agreeableness cope with stress more effectively than those who are low in agreeableness (Leger & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that individuals high in neuroticism have worse health and report having more health problems (Strickhouser, Zell, & Krisan, 2017), and are likely to die at a younger age (Graham & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that revealed a higher level of optimism was linked to having less emotional stress in adolescence (Jimenez, Montorio, & Izal, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research in which more pessimistic college students had more anxious mood and stress symptoms (Lau & others, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study that indicated being optimistic was associated with a higher health-related quality of life in adolescence (Häggström Westberg & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study that found being more optimistic was linked to better academic achievement five months later in the seventh grade (Tetzner & Becker, 2018).
- Description of a recent study in which children with a low level of effortful control were more likely to have ADHD symptoms at 13 years of age (Einziger & others, 2018).
- New section titled "Social-Emotional Education Programs" that describes two increasingly implemented programs: Second Step (Committee for Children, 2016) and CASEL (2016).
- Description of recent research indicating that a high level of emotionality at 6 years of age was associated with depression in emerging adulthood (Bould & others, 2015).
- Discussion of a longitudinal study in which an increasing trajectory of shyness in adolescence and emerging adulthood was linked to social anxiety, mood disorders, and substance use in adulthood (Tang & others, 2017).
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a journal article by Renee V. Galliher, Deborah Rivas-Drake, and Eric F. Dubow titled "Identity Development Process and Content Toward an Integrated and Contextualized Science of Identity," *Developmental Psychology* (2017), *53,* 2009–2217.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: *Emotion Regulation: A Matter of Time*, edited by Pamela M. Cole and Tom Hollenstein (2018). This volume includes four articles about emotion regulation in adolescence written by leading experts.

Chapter 5: Gender

- Revisions based on feedback from leading expert Stephanie Budge.
- New content revealing that the most established effects of testosterone on behavior involve an increase in aggressive behavior (Li, Kung, & Hines, 2017).

- New commentary that levels of testosterone are correlated with sexual behavior in boys during puberty (Dreher & others, 2016; Hyde & DeLamater, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study in Great Britain in which gender-nonconforming boys were at highest risk for peer rejection (Braun & Davidson, 2017).
- Description of a recent cross-cultural study of 11- to 13-year-olds in five countries that found a growing acceptance of girls who engage in stereotypical masculine activities but no comparable acceptance for boys who engage in traditionally feminine activities (Yu & others, 2017).
- Updated data on national gender differences in math and reading (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2015).
- Updated data on national gender differences in school dropout rates (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent data indicating that women were 33 percent more likely to earn a college degree by 27 years of age than were men (U.S. Bureau of Labor, 2015).
- Updated coverage of effects of media on self-image in adolescents, including recent studies showing that time spent on Facebook by college women was linked to more negative feelings about their bodies (Eckler, Kalyango, & Paasch, 2017) and exposure to attractive female celebrities and peer images on Instagram was related to more negative body images among female college students (Brown & Tiggemann, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research with eighth-grade students in 36 countries that revealed girls had more egalitarian attitudes about gender roles than did boys (Dotti Sani & Quaranta, 2017).
- Description of the recently created term *functional flexibility* to describe the importance of considering contexts when linking one's gender identity to adjustment and competence (Martin & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that found androgynous boys and girls had high self-esteem and few internalizing problems (Pauletti & others, 2017).
- Extensive new content on transgender (Budge & Orovecz, 2017; Budge & others, 2017), including a discussion of a variety of terms used to describe transgender individuals.
- New content indicating that it is much more common to have a transgender identity of being born male but identifying with being a female than the reverse (Zucker, Lawrence, & Kreukels, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent research review that concluded transgender youth have higher rates of depression, suicide attempts, and eating disorders than their cisgender peers (Connolly & others, 2016).
- Coverage of a recent cross-cultural study in which individuals in the United States had a more positive attitude about transgender individuals than their counterparts in India (Elischberger & others, 2018).
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a 2016 journal article titled "A Content Analysis of Literature on Trans People and Issues: 2002–2012," *The Counseling Psychologist, 44,* 960–965, by leading experts in this field.

Chapter 6: Sexuality

- A number of updates based on feedback from leading experts Bonnie Halpern-Felsher and Ritch Savin-Williams.
- Discussion of a recent study of prime-time TV shows that U.S. adolescents and emerging adults watched, which found that sexual violence and abuse, casual sex, lack of contraception use, and no coverage of the negative consequences of risky sexual behavior were common (Kinsler & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent study of television shows which revealed that sexual behavior with casual acquaintances was almost as common as sexual behavior in committed relationships (Timmermans & Van den Bulck, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent study in which non-Latino White adolescents reported learning more sexual information from their parents and less from the media than African American adolescents did (Bleakley & others, 2018).
- New discussion of two recent studies of sexting, one indicating the frequency of sexting by high school students (Strassberg, Cann, & Velarde, 2017), the other documenting that for Latino adolescents, sexting is associated with engaging in oral, vaginal, and anal sex (Romo & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of Latino and non-Latino White girls' preferred TV programs in which female characters were portrayed in a sexualized manner more often than were male characters (McDade-Montez, Wallander, & Cameron, 2017).
- Updated data on the frequency with which adolescents engage in various sexual activities according to age, gender, and ethnicity, including updates for Figure 5 (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Coverage of a recent national study of 7,000 15- to 24-year-olds' engagement in oral sex, including information on the low percentage of youth who use a condom when having oral sex (Holway & Hernandez, 2018).
- Updated data on the percentage of 15- to 19-year-old males and females who engage in oral sex (Child Trends, 2015).
- Description of a recent study indicating that early sexual debut was associated with a number of problems, including sexual risk taking, substance use, violent victimization, and suicidal thoughts and attempts in both sexual minority and heterosexual adolescents (Lowry & others, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study of Korean girls in which early menarche was associated with earlier initiation of sexual intercourse (Kim & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study of South African youth indicating that early sexual debut predicted a lower probability of graduating from high school (Bengesai, Khan, & Dube, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research in which adolescents who in the eighth grade reported greater parental knowledge and more rules about dating were less likely to initiate sex between the eighth and tenth grade (Ethier & others, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent study of emerging adults that found on days when they had vaginal sex they had more positive emotions but on days when they had sex with a nondating partner or had negative consequences of sex, they reported experiencing more negative emotions (Vasilenko & Lefkowitz, 2018).

- Inclusion of a recent study of emerging adults in which those who drank alcohol only and those who drank alcohol and used marijuana during their most recent sexual encounter were more likely to be with a casual acquaintance and had greater loss of respect than their counterparts who used neither substance (Fairle & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study in which pregaming occurred more frequently in college women when they drank alcohol mixed with energy drinks (Linden-Carmichael & Lau-Barraco, 2017).
- New research indicating that suicidal ideation was associated with entrance into a friends-with-benefits (FWB) relationship as well as continuation of the FWB relationship (Dube & others, 2017).
- New commentary pointing out that while the majority of sexual minority adolescents have competent and successful developmental paths through adolescence, a recent large-scale study revealed that sexual minority youth engage in a higher prevalence of health-risk factors than nonsexual minority youth (Kann & others, 2016b).
- New commentary about considering adolescent sexuality not as categories of sexual orientation but as a continuum in sexual and romantic dimensions from exclusive attraction to the opposite sex to exclusive attraction to the same sex (Savin-Williams, 2016).
- New emphasis on the similarities in sexual timing and developmental sequences in heterosexual and sexual minority adolescents, except that sexual minority adolescents have to cope with the more stressful aspects of their sexual identity and disclosing this identity (Savin-Williams, 2018).
- Significant updating of the percentage of individuals 18 to 44 years of age in the United States who report they are heterosexual, gay, lesbian, or bisexual, as well as the percentages of these men and women who describe various feelings involving sexual orientation (Copen, Chandra, & Febo-Vazquez, 2016).
- Description of recent research indicating early childhood sex-typed behavior was linked to adolescent sexual orientation (Li, Kung, & Hines, 2017).
- Updated data on the percentage of adolescents who use contraceptives when they have sexual intercourse (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Important new section on the increasing number of medical organizations and experts who have recently recommended that adolescents use long-acting reversible contraception (LARC), which consists of intrauterine devices (IUDs) and contraceptive implants (Allen & others, 2017; Deidrich, Klein, & Peipert, 2017; Fridy & others, 2018; Society for Adolescent Medicine, 2017; World Health Organization, 2018).
- Updated data on the ongoing decline in adolescent pregnancy rates to an historic low in 2015 (Martin & others, 2017).
- New research on factors that are linked to repeated adolescent pregnancy (Dee & others, 2017; Maravilla & others, 2017).
- Updated data on the percentage of adolescents who report having experienced forcible sexual intercourse (Kann & others, 2016a).
- Discussion of a recent study of a number of parenting practices which revealed that the factor that best predicted a lower level of risky sexual behavior by adolescents was supportive parenting (Simons & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent study in which a higher level of education for adolescent mothers improved the achievement of their children through the eighth grade (Tang & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study in which males and heavy drinkers were more likely to adhere to rape myths than were women and non/light drinkers (Hayes, Abbott, & Cook, 2016).
- New content on the high percentage of college men who admit that they fondle women against their will and force them to have sex (Wiersma-Mosley, Jozkowski, & Martinez, 2017).
- New description of the "No Means No" worldwide program that is being widely implemented with adolescents in Kenya and Malawi and has been effective in reducing sexual assaults in adolescence.
- Inclusion of recent studies and research views that find comprehensive sex education programs and policies are far more effective in pregnancy prevention, reduction of sexually transmitted infections, and delay of sexual intercourse than are abstinence-only programs and policies (Denford & others, 2017; Jaramillo & others, 2017).
- New content on the recent increase in abstinence-only-until-marriage (AOUM) policies and programs in the United States, a trend that doesn't seem to recognize that a large majority of adolescents and emerging adults will initiate sexual intercourse, especially given the recent increase in the age at which U.S. males and females get married.
- New position of the Adolescent Society of Health and Medicine (2017) that states research clearly indicates that AOUM programs and policies are not effective and that comprehensive sex education programs and policies are effective in delaying sexual intercourse and reducing other sexual risk behaviors.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a reference book titled the *Cambridge Handbook of Sexuality: Childhood and Adolescence* (2018, in press), in which leading experts such as Lisa Diamond and Ritch Savin-Williams discuss up-to-date ideas and research on many aspects of adolescent sexuality.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a special issue of *Pediatric Clinics of North America* titled *Adolescent Sexuality* (2017, February), in which a number of leading experts provide up-to-date content on a wide range of adolescent sexuality topics.

Chapter 7: Moral Development, Values, and Religion

- Extensive updating and streamlining of content, including deletion of older, less influential studies.
- In response to feedback from instructors and students, content on Kohlberg's theory was reduced and made easier for students to understand, including new commentary that Kohlberg's theory has been less influential in recent years.
- Expanded and updated discussion of Darcia Narváez's view that we need to make better progress in dealing with an increasing array of temptations and possible wrongdoings in a human social world that is becoming more complex over time (Christen, Narváez, & Gutzwiller, 2018).
- Description of two recent studies in which forgiving others was associated with a lower risk of suicidal behavior in adolescents (Dangel, Webb, & Hirsch, 2018; Quintana-Orts & Rey, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study that found a higher degree of empathy was linked to greater civic engagement by adolescents (Metzger & others, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent study of individuals from adolescence through middle adulthood that revealed as they got older their external moral identity motivation decreased while their internal moral identity motivation increased (Krettenaur & Victor, 2017).
- New research with 14- to 65-year-olds in which moral identity increased in the adult years (Krettenauer, Murua, & Jia, 2016). In this study, self-direction involving value orientations and conformity to rules became more important in the adult years.
- Discussion of a recent study of links between purpose and character, with three components of character (gratitude, compassion, and grit) linked to character in young adolescents (Malin, Liauw, & Damon, 2017).
- New commentary about connections between different emotions and how they may influence development, including a recent study in which participants' guilt proneness combined with their empathy to predict an increase in prosocial behavior (Torstveit, Sutterlin, & Lugo, 2016).
- New description of research linking authoritative parenting to children's and youth's higher levels of prosocial behavior (Carlo & others, 2018).
- New discussion of a recent Colombian study of young adolescents that found a positive school climate at age 12 was associated with higher levels of prosocial behavior a year later (Luengo Kanacri & others, 2017).
- Updated content on the number of states in 2018 that legislatively mandated character education in schools (18), had legislation that encouraged character education (18), supported character education, but without legislation (7), or had no legislation specifying character education (8).
- Inclusion of recent research on middle school students in which a higher level of gratitude was linked to having a higher level of purpose (Malin, Liauw, & Damon, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of young adolescent Chinese students that revealed when they engaged in more gratitude they experienced higher levels of well-being at school (Tian & others, 2016).
- Description of recent research that revealed Mexican American adolescents had stronger prosocial tendencies when their parents had higher familism values (Knight & others, 2016).
- Updated data on the goals of first-year college students in relation to the relative importance they assign to developing a meaningful philosophy of life versus becoming very well-off financially (Eagan & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study across three countries (England, Scotland, and Canada) that revealed high school students who reported turning to spiritual beliefs when they were experiencing problems were less likely to engage in substance use (Debnam & others, 2018).
- Discussion of a recent study which found that adolescents who reported having a higher level of spirituality were more likely to have positive health outcomes (Brooks & others, 2018).
- Update on Nina Vasan's work in *Connecting with Adolescents.*
- Updated data on the continuing decrease in college freshmen who say they attended a religious service occasionally or frequently in the past year (Eagan & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a national poll that found people in the United States increasingly describe themselves as spiritual but not religious (Lipka & Gecewicz, 2017).
- Discussion of recent research on African American adolescent girls that found those who reported that religion was of low or moderate importance to them had an earlier sexual debut than did their counterparts who indicated that religion was extremely important to them (George Dalmida & others, 2018).
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a book titled *Atlas of Moral Psychology,* edited by Kurt Gray and Jesse Graham (2018), in which leading experts in the field of moral psychology address a number of diverse topics, including moral thinking, emotion and moral development, and moral identity.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults: The American Freshman*, edited by Kevin Eagan and others (2017). This book is based on information from surveys of U.S. college freshmen conducted over the past 50 years by the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA. Students were asked about various aspects of their lives, including values, attitudes, and interests.

Chapter 8: Families

- Reduction in the complexity of studies covered, including deletion of many older studies that have been replaced with updated content.
- Inclusion of recent research with fifth- to eighth-graders in which a higher level of parental monitoring was associated with students' earning higher grades (Top, Liew, & Luo, 2017).

- Discussion of a recent study that found better parental monitoring was linked to lower rates of marijuana use by adolescents (Haas & others, 2018) and another study that revealed lower parental monitoring was associated with earlier initiation of alcohol use, binge drinking, and marijuana use in 13- to 14-year-olds (Rusby & others, 2018).
- Description of recent research in which higher parental monitoring reduced negative peer influence on adolescent risk-taking (Wang & others, 2016).
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis that revealed higher levels of parental monitoring and rule enforcement were related to later initiation of sexual intercourse and increased use of condoms by adolescents (Dittus & others, 2015).
- Inclusion of a recent study that indicated two types of parental media monitoring—active monitoring and connective co-use (engaging in media with the intent to connect with adolescents—were linked to lower media use by adolescents (Padilla-Walker & others, 2018).
- Discussion of recent research that found snooping was a relatively infrequent parental monitoring technique (compared with solicitation and control) but was a better indicator of problems in adolescent and family functioning (Hawk, Becht, & Branje, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent national study of U.S. adolescents that revealed adolescents whose parents engaged in authoritarian parenting were more likely to have depressive symptoms than their counterparts who had experienced authoritative parenting (King, Vidourek, & Merianos, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent research review of a large number of studies that found authoritarian parenting was associated with a higher level of externalizing problems (Pinquart, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study that revealed children of authoritative parents engaged in more prosocial behavior than their counterparts whose parents used the other parenting styles discussed in the section (Carlo & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent research review in which authoritative parenting was the most effective parenting style in predicting which children and adolescents would be less likely to be overweight or obese later in their development (Sokol, Qin, & Poti, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study of Latino families that found supportive parenting was associated with the most positive adjustment outcomes for adolescents, followed by engaged parenting; the most negative outcomes occurred for indulgent and disengaged parenting (Bamaca-Colbert & others, 2018).
- New commentary about how in many traditional cultures, fathers use an authoritarian style; in such cultures, children benefit more when mothers use an authoritative parenting style.
- Inclusion of a recent study in which coparenting disagreements undermined adolescents' adjustment by interfering with secure attachment of adolescents to their mothers and adolescents' autonomy (Martin & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study of Chinese American families that found parent-adolescent conflict increased in early adolescence, peaked at about 16 years of age, and then declined through late adolescence and emerging adulthood (Juang & others, 2018).
- New research with Latino families indicating that high rates of parent-adolescent conflict were associated with higher adolescent rates of aggression (Smokowski & others, 2017).
- New research on Chinese American families that revealed parent-adolescent conflict was linked to a sense of alienation between parents and adolescents, which in turn was related to more depressive symptoms, delinquent behavior, and lower academic achievement (Hou, Kim, & Wang, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent study that revealed from 16 to 20 years of age, adolescents perceived that they had increasing independence and a better relationship with their parents (Hadiwijaya & others, 2017).
- Coverage of recent research indicating that most adolescents have a fairly stable attachment style, but that attachment stability increased in adulthood (Jones & others, 2018). Also in this study, family conflict and parental separation/divorce were likely candidates for undermining attachment stability.
- Coverage of a recent longitudinal study that found a secure base of attachment knowledge in adolescence and emerging adulthood was predicted by observations of maternal sensitivity across childhood and adolescence (Waters, Ruiz, & Roisman, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study of Latino families that revealed a higher level of secure attachment with mothers during adolescence was linked to a lower level of heavy drug use (Gattamorta & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study in which adolescents who had grown up in poverty engaged in less risk-taking if they had a history of secure attachments to caregivers (Delker, Bernstein, & Laurent, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent analysis that found secure attachment to the mother and to the father was associated with fewer depressive symptoms in adolescents (Kerstis, Aslund, & Sonnby, 2018).
- Description of a study in which attachment-anxious individuals had higher levels of health anxiety (Maunder & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent research review that concluded insecure attachment was linked to a higher level of social anxiety in adults (Manning & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a longitudinal study of 13- to 72-year-olds in which avoidant attachment declined across the life span and being in a relationship predicted lower levels of anxious and avoidant attachment across adulthood (Chopik, Edelstein, & Grimm, 2018).
- Description of a recent analysis that concluded attachments styles are more malleable in childhood and adolescence than in adulthood (Fraley & Roisman, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent cross-cultural study that found college students in four countries (United States, Germany, Hong Kong, and Korea) experienced frequent contact with and support from their parents (Fingerman & others, 2016). In this study, Asian students were given more frequent support than U.S. or German students but were less satisfied with it.

- Discussion of a recent study in which high levels of parental control and helicopter parenting were detrimental to emerging adults' vocational identity development and perceived competence in transitioning to adulthood (Lindell, Campione-Barr, & Killoren, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that revealed helicopter parenting was related to more negative emotional functioning, less competent decision making, and lower grades/poorer adjustment in college students (Luebbe & others, 2018).
- Deletion of section on latchkey adolescents as this term is rarely used anymore, but inclusion of new comments in the section on working parents regarding two time frames (the summer months and 3 to 6 p.m. on weekdays during the school year) when adolescents need to be involved in structured activities and monitored by adults.
- New section titled "Grandparents and Grandchildren" noting that grandparents play especially important roles in grandchildren's lives when family crises occur, such as divorce, death, illness, abandonment, or poverty (Dolbin-MacNab & Yancura, 2018).
- New content on how grandparents in many countries facilitate women's participation in the labor force.
- Description of the increasing percentage of grandparents who are raising grandchildren (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).
- Discussion of a recent study that revealed parental and offspring marital disruptions were linked, with each parental disruption associated with a 16 percent increase in the number of offspring marital disruptions (Amato & Patterson, 2017). In this study, marital conflict also was related to more marital disruptions in offspring.
- Description of an intergenerational study of African American families that found grown children who had a better relationship with their biological father (but not their social father) were more involved as fathers with their own children (Brown, Kagan, & Kim, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study in which middle-aged parents provided more active strategies (discussing problems, for example) with their adult children when they had conflicts with them than with their aging parents (Birditt & others, 2018). In this study, if middle-aged parents used passive strategies (avoidance, for example) when they had conflicts with their adult children, the adult children were more likely to develop depressive symptoms.
- Inclusion of a longitudinal study of 12- to 18-year-olds that revealed older siblings relinquished their power the most over time (Lindell & Campione-Barr, 2017).
- Coverage of a large-scale study that found a birth order effect for intelligence, with older siblings having slightly higher intelligence, but no birth order effects for life satisfaction, internal/external control, trust, risk taking, patience, and impulsivity (Rohrer, Egloff, & Schukle, 2017).
- Extensively revised introduction to the divorce discussion with updated data on divorce rates indicating a substantial increase in divorce in middle-aged adults, the age that most often characterizes parents of adolescents (Stepler, 2017).
- Explanations of the increased divorce rate in middle-aged adults.
- Updated cross-cultural comparisons of divorce rates (OECD, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent study in which depressed adolescents with separated parents had a higher risk of recurrent depression in adulthood than depressed adolescents with non-separated parents (Bohman & others, 2017).
- Description of recent research on nonresidential fathers in divorced families that found high father-child involvement and low interparental conflict were linked to positive child outcomes (Flam & others, 2016).
- Coverage of a recent study in which intensification of interparental conflict in the early elementary school years predicted increases in emotional insecurity five years later in early adolescence, which in turn predicted decreases in adolescent friendship affiliation, and this friendship decrease was linked to a downturn in social competence (Davies, Martin, & Cummings, 2018).
- Discussion of a recent study that found coparenting following divorce was positively associated with better mental health and higher self-esteem and academic achievement (Lamela & Figueiredo, 2016).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that positive adolescent-stepfather relationship quality was associated with a higher level of physical health and a lower level of mental health problems for adolescents (Jensen & Harris, 2017; Jensen & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent research review of internationally adopted adolescents indicating that although a majority were well adjusted, adoptees had higher rates of mental health problems than their nonadopted counterparts (Askeland & others, 2017).
- Updated data on the percentage of gay and lesbian parents who are raising children.
- Inclusion of recent research that revealed no differences in the adjustment of school-aged children adopted in infancy by gay, lesbian, and heterosexual parents (Farr, 2017).
- Description of a recent study of lesbian and gay adoptive families which indicated that 98 percent of the parents reported their children had adjusted well to school (Farr, Oakley, & Ollen, 2016).
- New discussion of the stress faced by immigrant families with adolescents (Bas-Sarmiento & others, 2017; Wang & Palacios, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of Latina(o) adolescents' family profiles that found a supportive parenting profile was linked to the most positive adjustment (lowest depression, highest self-esteem) for youth, followed by the engaged profile (Bamaca-Colbert & others, 2018). Youth in the intrusive and disengaged parenting profiles showed the poorest adjustment.

Chapter 9: Peers, Romantic Relationships, and Lifestyles

- New discussion of five ways that social media have transformed peer and friendship interactions and relationships in adolescence (Nesi, Choukas-Bradley, & Prinstein, 2018).

- Inclusion of a recent study that focused on parental and peer influences on adolescents' smoking and revealed that peer influences were much stronger than parental influences (Scalici & Schulz, 2017).
- Description of a recent study in which mothers who engaged in a permissive parenting style had adolescents with negative attachments to their peers (Llorca, Richaud, & Malonda, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of young adolescents in which peer rejection predicted increases in aggressive and rule-breaking behavior (Janssens & others, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study in which boys were more likely to be influenced by peer pressure involving sexual behavior than were girls (Widman & others, 2016).
- Description of a recent study that revealed adolescents adapted their smoking and drinking behavior to that of their best friends (Wang & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of recent research on adolescent girls that found friends' dieting predicted whether adolescent girls would engage in dieting or extreme dieting (Balantekin, Birch, & Savage, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent analysis that concluded boys are as satisfied with their friendships as girls are (Rose & Asher, 2017). This analysis concluded that boys' friendships have not been adequately studied in past research and the friendship tasks assessed have been too narrow. This analysis also describes the friendship tasks in which girls do better and those that boys do better.
- Description of recent research on short-term and long-term romantic relationships in adolescents and emerging adults, including different characteristics of adolescent and emerging adult romantic relationships (Lantagne & Furman, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study in which friendship quality was linked to the quality of romantic relationships in adolescence (Kochendorfer & Kerns, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that revealed hostile conflict with a romantic partner at age 17 predicted an increase in internalized problems from 17 to 27, and romantic partner support at age 17 predicted decreases in externalized problems over time (Kansky & Allen, 2018).
- Inclusion of recent research in which having a supportive romantic relationship in adolescence was linked with positive outcomes for adolescents who had a negative relationship with their mother (Szwedo, Hessel, & Allen, 2017).
- New section, "Youth Relationship Education," that examines the increasing number of relationship education programs for adolescents and emerging adults, describes their main components, and evaluates their effectiveness (Hawkins, 2018; Simpson, Leonhardt, & Hawkins, 2018).
- Discussion of recent research that revealed mother-daughter conflict in Mexican American families was linked to an increase in daughters' romantic involvement (Tyrell & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent study that found contextual, relationship, and individual factors predicted relationship dissolution in emerging adults (Lantagne, Furman, & Novak, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of how a romantic breakup was associated with low self-esteem, but the effect disappeared after one year (Luciano & Orth, 2017).
- Description of a recent study indicating that high commitment in a romantic relationship is a risk factor for depression and suicidal ideation when the relationship ends (Love & others, 2018).
- Updated data on the number of Americans who have tried Internet matchmaking, and gender differences in the categories males and females lie about on dating sites (statisticbrain.com, 2017).
- Inclusion of data indicating that in 2014, living with parents was the most frequent living arrangement for individuals 18 to 34 years of age for the first time since 1880 (Fry, 2016).
- Update on the percentage of U.S. adults who are single (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).
- Inclusion of data from the Match.com Singles in America 2017 national poll that describes millennials' interest in having sex before a first date, interest in marrying but taking considerable time to get to know someone before committing to a serious relationship, and males' interest in having females initiate the first kiss and ask guys for their phone number (Match.com, 2017).
- Updated data on the percentage of U.S. adults who are cohabiting, which increased to 18 million people in 2016, an increase of 29 percent since 2007 (Stepler, 2017; U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that women who cohabited within the first year of a sexual relationship were less likely to get married than women who waited more than one year before cohabiting (Sassler, Michelmore, & Qian, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study in which cohabiting individuals were not as mentally healthy as their counterparts in committed marital relationships (Braithwaite & Holt-Lunstad, 2017).
- Description of a recent study of long-term cohabitation (more than 3 years) in emerging adulthood that found emotional distress was higher in long-term cohabitation than in time spent single, with men especially driving the effect (Memitz, 2018). However, heavy drinking was more common during time spent single than in long-term cohabitation.
- Updated data on the continued tendency for U.S. couples to wait longer than before getting married than couples in previous generations, with the age at first marriage for men now at 29.5 years and for women at 27.4 years (Livingston, 2017).
- New section titled "Cross-Cultural Differences in Romantic Relationships" that includes comparisons of collectivist and individualist cultures (Gao, 2016) as well as intriguing comparisons of romantic relationships in Japan, Argentina, France, and Qatar (Ansari, 2015).
- New discussion of the marriage paradox including research showing that emerging adults may not be abandoning marriage because they don't like marriage or are not interested in it, but because they want to position themselves in the best possible way for developing a healthy marital relationship (Willoughby, Hall, & Goff, 2015; Willoughby & James, 2017).

- Coverage of a recent study of married, divorced, widowed, and single adults that revealed married individuals had the best cardiovascular profile, single men the worst (Manfredini & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study in Great Britain that found no differences in the causes of breakdowns in marriage and cohabitation (Gravningen & others, 2017). In this study, "grew apart," "arguments," "unfaithfulness/adultery," "lack of respect, appreciation," and "domestic violence" were the most frequent reasons given for such breakdowns.
- Description of a study of individuals one to 16 years into their marriage that found an increasing trajectory of tension over the course of the marriage was consistently linked to an eventual divorce (Birditt & others, 2017).
- Updated statistics on divorce rates around the world, with Russia continuing to have the highest rate (OECD, 2016).
- Coverage of a study that found individuals who were divorced had a higher risk of alcohol use disorder (Kendler & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent data indicating that the remarriage rate for men is almost twice as high as it is for women (Livingston, 2017).
- New introduction to the section on gay and lesbian adults including discussion of legalization of same-sex marriage in all 50 states (Diamond, 2017).

Chapter 10: Schools

- New section, "Technology and Education," that highlights the importance of adolescents being educated to become technologically literate and discusses technology standards for students created by the International Society for Technology in Education (ISTE) (2016).
- New content on the *Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA)* that became U.S. law in December 2015 (Hess & Eden, 2017; Manzo, 2017). This law replaces *No Child Left Behind* and while not totally eliminating state standards for testing students, it reduces their influence. The new law also allows states to opt out of Common Core standards.
- 2018–2019 update on ESSA, with the Trump administration going forward with ESSA but giving states some flexibility in its implementation (Klein, 2018a, b).
- Coverage of a recent study in which teacher warmth was higher in the last 4 years of elementary school and then dropped during the middle school years (Hughes & Cao, 2018). The drop in teacher warmth was associated with lower student math scores.
- New content indicating that only 25 percent of U.S. high school graduates have the skills to be academically successful in college (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2017).
- Greatly expanded discussion of high school education, including problems in making the transition to high school (Eccles & Roeser, 2015; Wigfield, Rosenzweig, & Eccles, 2017).
- Updated data on school dropouts, including the dramatic decrease in dropout rates for Latino adolescents in recent years (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017).
- Inclusion of new information on the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's (2011, 2017, 2018) funding of a new generation of digital courseware to improve students' learning.
- Updates on the increasing number of "I Have a Dream" programs, which have expanded to 28 states plus Washington, DC, and New Zealand ("I Have a Dream Foundation," 2017).
- Updated data on the percentage of first-year college students who feel overwhelmed with all they have to do, a burden that continues to increase (Eagan & others, 2016).
- Substantial expansion and updating of bullying and cyberbullying (Hall, 2017; Muijs, 2017; Zarate-Garza & others, 2017).
- Description of a longitudinal study that revealed children who were bullied at 6 years of age were more likely to have excess weight gain when they were 12 to 13 years old (Sutin & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of a longitudinal study that revealed being a victim of bullying in childhood was linked to increased use of mental health services five decades later (Evans-Lacko & others, 2017).
- Description of recent longitudinal studies that indicated victims bullied in childhood and adolescence have higher rates of agoraphobia, depression, anxiety, panic disorder, and suicidality in the early to mid-twenties (Arseneault, 2017; Copeland & others, 2013).
- Coverage of recent research in which adolescents who were bullied in both a direct way and through cyberbullying had more behavioral problems and lower self-esteem than their counterparts who were only bullied in one of two ways (Wolke, Lee, & Guy, 2017).
- New section, "Technology Connections with Adolescents Around the World," which includes numerous ways that teachers can guide their students to connect with adolescents in other countries.
- Coverage of a recent intervention (City Connects program) with first-generation immigrant children attending high-poverty schools that was successful in improving the children's reading and math skills (Dearing & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of a longitudinal study that involved implementation of the Child-Parent Center Program in high-poverty neighborhoods of Chicago that provided school-based educational enrichment and comprehensive family services for children from 3 to 9 years of age (Reynolds, Ou, & Temple, 2018). Children who participated in the program had higher rates of postsecondary completion, including more years of education, including increased likelihood of receiving an associate's degree or higher.
- New discussion of a recent research review that concluded increased family income for children in poverty was linked to increased achievement in middle school as well as higher educational attainment in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Duncan, Magnuson, & Votruba-Drzal, 2017).

- New content on Teach for America and its efforts to place college graduates in teaching positions in schools located in low-income areas and a new *Connecting with Careers* profile of a Teach for America instructor.
- Inclusion of a recent study that found African American adolescents who liked school, felt safe at their school, and experienced academic press (environmental push for academic achievement) were more likely to attend college (Minor & Benner, 2018). These outcomes occurred for all adolescents in the study, regardless of their SES or gender.
- Updated statistics on the percentage of U.S. children who have different types of disabilities and revised update of Figure 2 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016).
- Description of a recent study in which individuals with ADHD were more likely to become parents at 12 to 16 years of age (Ostergaard & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent research review that concluded stimulation medications are effective in treating children with ADHD in the short term, but that long-term benefits of such medications are not clear (Rajeh & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study that revealed an 8-week yoga program was effective in improving the sustained attention of children with ADHD (Chou & Huang, 2017).
- Updated statistics on the percentage of U.S. children who have ever been diagnosed with ADHD (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016).
- Description of a recent research review that found girls with ADHD had more problematic peer relations than typically developing girls in a number of areas (Kok & others, 2016).
- Coverage of a recent research review that concluded ADHD in childhood is linked to a number of long-term outcomes (Erksine & others, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent study that found childhood ADHD was associated with long-term underachievement in math and reading (Voigt & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis that found neurofeedback had moderate effects on improving children's attention and reducing their hyperactivity/impulsivity (Van Doren & others, 2018).
- New discussion of the recent interest in mindfulness training for children with ADHD, including a recent meta-analysis in which mindfulness training significantly improved the attention of children with ADHD (Cairncross & Miller, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent meta-analysis that concluded physical exercise is effective in reducing cognitive symptoms of ADHD in individuals 3 to 25 years of age (Tan, Pooley, & Speelman, 2016).
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis in which exercise was associated with better executive function in children with ADHD (Vysniauske & others, 2018).
- Inclusion of recent commentary noting that despite the recent positive findings regarding use of neurofeedback, mindfulness training, and exercise to improve the attention of children with ADHD, it remains to be determined whether these interventions are as effective as stimulant drugs and/or whether they benefit children as add-ons to stimulant drugs (Den Heijer & others, 2017).
- New section on autism spectrum disorders (Boutot, 2017; Gerenser & Lopez, 2017; Jones & others, 2018).
- Inclusion of recent data on the increasing percentage of children being diagnosed with autism spectrum disorders (Christensen & others, 2016).
- Description of recent statistics on the percentage of 3- to 21-year-olds in the United States who have autism spectrum disorders (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study that revealed a lower level of working memory was the executive function most strongly associated with autism spectrum disorders (Ziermans & others, 2017).
- Update on the percentage of U.S. students who are classified as gifted (National Association for Gifted Children, 2017).
- Expanded discussion of characteristics of gifted children and adolescents, which include learning at a faster pace, processing information more rapidly, using superior reasoning skills, using better strategies, and monitoring understanding better (Sternberg & Kaufman, 2018b).
- New entries in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults* including information on the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Teach for America, and the International Society for Technology in Education (ISTE).

Chapter 11: Achievement, Work, and Careers

- Updated data on the dramatic increase in the percentage of Asian American adolescents in the United States.
- Description of a recent study of minority low-SES youth that found their intrinsic motivation (but not their extrinsic motivation) predicted their intention to pursue a health-science-related career (Boekeloo & others, 2015).
- Discussion of a recent experimental study with ninth-grade math students in which an intervention emphasizing family interest in math and the utility of math in everyday life and future careers increased students' intrinsic valuing of math and effort in math (Hafner & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent meta-analysis that concluded self-determination plays a central role in human motivation (Howard, Gagne, & Bureau, 2018).
- Description of a recent Chinese study in which autonomy-supportive parenting was associated with adolescents' adaptive school adjustment while a higher level of parental psychological control was linked to their maladaptive school adjustment (Xiang, Liu, & Bai, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study in which students who experienced flow were more likely than their non-flow counterparts to earn higher grades and better able to predict their grades accurately (Sumaya & Darling, 2018).
- Coverage of recent research indicating that many parents and teachers with growth mindsets don't have children and adolescents with growth mindsets (Haimovitz & Dweck, 2017).

- New research indicating that parents and teachers can nurture growth mindsets in children and adolescents by doing the following things: teach for understanding, provide feedback that improves understanding, give students opportunities to revise their work, communicate how effort and struggle are involved in learning, and function as partners with children and adolescents in the learning process (Hooper & others, 2016; Sun, 2015).
- Inclusion of recent research that found students from lower-income families were less likely to have a growth mindset than were students from wealthier families, but the achievement of students from lower-income families was more likely to be protected if they had a growth mindset (Claro, Paunesku, & Dweck, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent study that revealed having a growth mindset protected women's and minorities' outlook when they chose to confront expressions of bias toward them in the workplace (Rattan & Dweck, 2018).
- Coverage of a national study in which tenth-grade English and math teachers perceived that their classes were too difficult for African American and Latino students compared with non-Latino White students (Sebastian Cherng, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study that revealed adolescents' expectancy and value beliefs predicted math-related career attainment 15 years after graduating from high school (Lauermann, Tsai, & Eccles, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study that found pre-service teachers had lower expectations for girls' than for boys' math achievement (Mizala, Martinez, & Martinez, 2015).
- New section titled "Social Motives" that focuses on how adolescence is a time when social motivation takes on a more central role and can compete with academic motivation.
- New coverage of the recently developed concept of a belonging mindset and its link to academic achievement and physical and mental health (Rattan & others, 2015).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that experiences and discussions involving a belonging mindset were associated with improvements in the academic achievement of underrepresented groups (Stephens, Hamedani, & Destin, 2014; Walton & others, 2014).
- New description of a recent experimental study in which a social belonging intervention prior to entering college with urban charter school students increased their likelihood of enrolling full-time in college, and also increased their social and academic integration on campus (Yeager & others, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent meta-analysis that found natural mentoring that involved relatedness, social support, and autonomy support was especially helpful in improving adolescents' academic and vocational achievement (Van Dam & others, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent study of African American males that found those who participated in an AVID (Advancement Via Individual Determination) program were more likely to enroll in more rigorous courses such as advanced placement and honors courses (Taylor, 2016).
- New coverage of a recent research review that concluded increases in family income for children in poverty were linked to increased achievement in middle school, as well as higher educational attainment in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Duncan, Magnuson, & Votruba-Drzal, 2017).
- Updated data on U.S. students' math and science achievement in comparison with their counterparts in other countries (Desilver, 2017; PISA, 2015; TIMSS, 2015).
- Discussion of a recent study in China that found young adolescents with authoritative parents showed better adjustment than their counterparts with authoritarian parents (Zhang & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study in which a higher level of academic procrastination was linked to lower accomplishment of goals in college students (Gustavson & Miyake, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research that revealed a metacognitive model that emphasized self-regulation and executive function predicted unintentional procrastination in college students (Fernie & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent experimental study in which students who were assigned a condition that emphasized the importance of self-regulated learning (time management and dealing with distractions, for example) reduced their academic procrastination and improved their self-regulated learning in areas such as time management and concentration, while those assigned to the control condition did not improve in these areas (Grunschel & others, 2018).
- Discussion of a study of individuals from 14 to 95 years of age that found procrastination was highest in 14- to 29-year-olds (Beutel & others, 2016). Also, only in the 14- to 29-year-old age range did males show more procrastination than females. And in this study, a higher level of procrastination was associated with higher levels of anxiety, depression, and fatigue, as well as lower life satisfaction.
- Inclusion of a study conducted from 1989 to 2016 of college students in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain that revealed students' perfectionism increased in a linear fashion across the 27 years (Curran & Hill, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis in which a higher level of perfectionism was associated with a greater risk of eating disorders, obsessive compulsive disorder, anxiety disorders, and depression (Limburg & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent meta-analysis that revealed perfectionistic concerns, perfectionistic strivings, parental criticism, and overly high parental expectations were linked to suicidal ideation (Smith & others, 2017b).
- Update on the percentage of U.S. college students who work full-time and part-time (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015).
- Description of a recent study that found the worry component of test anxiety was linked to lower achievement in eleventh-grade students (Steinmayr & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent Korean study in which part-time employment was associated with adolescents' higher levels of drinking and smoking (Lee & others, 2017).

- Updated data from a recent survey revealing that employers say 2017 was the best year for recent college graduates to be on the job market since 2007 (CareerBuilder, 2017).
- Updated discussion of the job categories most likely to have increased openings through 2024 (Occupational Outlook Handbook, 2016/2017).
- New book entries in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: the second edition of *Handbook of Competence and Achievement*, edited by Andrew Eliot, Carol Dweck, and David Yeager; and the second edition of *Handbook of Self-Regulation of Learning and Performance*, edited by Dale Schunk and Jeffrey Greene.

Chapter 12: Culture

- Coverage of a recent research review that concluded Japan is becoming more individualistic in a number of areas of people's lives (Ogihara, 2017).
- Description of a recent research review that concluded increases in family income for children in poverty were associated with increased achievement in middle school as well as greater educational attainment in adolescence and emerging adulthood (Duncan, Magnuson, & Votruba-Drzal, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study that found of 13 risk factors, low SES was the most likely to be associated with smoking initiation in fifth-graders (Wellman & others, 2017).
- Discussion a recent Chinese study in which adolescents were more likely to have depressive symptoms in low-SES families (Zhou, Fan, & Zin, 2017).
- Coverage of a U.S. longitudinal study that revealed low SES in adolescence was linked to having a higher level of depressive symptoms at age 54 for females (Pino & others, 2018). In this study, low-SES females who completed college were less likely to have depressive symptoms than low-SES females who did not complete college.
- Inclusion of a U.S. longitudinal study that found low SES in adolescence was a risk factor for cardiovascular disease 30 years later (Doom & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study of more than 13,000 high school students that found those who attended more affluent schools had a greater likelihood of drug use, being intoxicated, and engaging in property crime, while those who attended poorer schools were more likely to have a higher level of depressive and anxiety symptoms, as well as a higher risk of engaging in violent behavior (Coley & others, 2018).
- Updated statistics on the percentage of U.S. children and adolescents living in poverty, including ethnic variations and comparisons of married-couple with single-parent mother-headed and father-headed households (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study of 12- to 19-year-olds which indicated that their perceived well-being was lowest when they had lived in poverty from 0 to 2 years of age (compared with 3 to 5, 6 to 8, and 9 to 11 years of age) and that each additional year lived in poverty was associated with an even lower perceived well-being in adolescence (Gariepy & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study that identified four psychological and social factors which predicted higher achievement by adolescents living in poverty: (1) academic commitment, (2) emotional control, (3) family involvement, and (4) school climate (Li, Allen, & Casillas, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study of more than 10,000 children and adolescents which revealed that a family environment characterized by poverty and child maltreatment was linked to entering the juvenile justice system in adolescence (Vidal & others, 2017).
- Significant updating of the discussion of the Eisenhower Quantum program, including a recent research review of the program's success in improving the achievement and educational success of disadvantaged ninth- to twelfth-graders (Curtis & Brady, 2015, 2016; Eisenhower Foundation, 2018).
- New opening commentary in the section on Ethnicity that focuses on the importance of not using a deficit model in studying ethnic minority adolescents and of recognizing not just stressors in their lives but also the positive aspects of their lives (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018; Sam, 2018; Titzmann, Ferrer-Wreda, & Dmitrova, 2018).
- Update on the dramatic increase in Latino and Asian American children and adolescents in the United States, with projections from 2014 to 2060 (Colby & Ortman, 2015).
- Coverage of a recent intervention (City Connects program) with first-generation immigrant children attending high-poverty schools that was successful in improving the children's reading and math skills (Dragoset & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study that found a higher level of family obligation was associated with higher academic achievement (Anguiano, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study of Mexican-origin adolescent girls with different cultural profiles that indicated a strong cultural profile (consisting of having a positive ethnic identity, experiencing strong familial ethnic socialization, being bilingual, and being characterized as second generation) was linked to having higher self-esteem (Gonzales-Backen & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study of Mexican-origin youth that revealed when adolescents reported a higher level of familism, they engaged in lower levels of risk taking (Wheeler & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study comparing Asian, Latino, and non-Latino immigrant adolescents in which immigrant Asian adolescents had the highest level of depression, lowest self-esteem, and experienced the most discrimination (Lo & others, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study of Latino youth in which economic hardship predicted less effective coping and a lower level of effortful control (Taylor, Widaman, & Robins, 2018). However, in this study, for Latino youth experiencing economic hardship, those who did have a higher level of effortful control were able to cope more effectively with stress and problems.

- Inclusion of a study of seventh- and eighth-grade Latino adolescents (mostly of Mexican origin) in which peer discrimination was linked to higher levels of internalizing problems while cultural assets were associated with higher academic motivation (Cavanaugh & others, 2017). Also in this study, having a higher level of cultural assets protected against the development of externalizing problems.
- Coverage of a recent study of Mexican-origin adolescents in the United States that revealed a positive ethnic identity, social support, and anger suppression helped them cope with racial discrimination, whereas outward anger expression reduced their ability to cope with the discrimination (Park & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent research view that concluded media multitasking is associated with poorer memory, increased impulsivity, and less effective functioning in the brain's cerebral cortex (Uncapher & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of information that many adolescents engage in media multitasking while they are doing homework and almost two-thirds do not think it interferes with the quality of their work (Common Sense, 2015).
- Discussion of a recent study in which heavy media multitaskers were less likely to delay gratification and more likely to endorse intuitive, but wrong, answers on a cognitive reflection task (Schutten, Stokes, & Arnell, 2017).
- Description of a recent research review in which a higher level of media multitasking was linked to lower levels of school achievement, executive function, and growth mindset in adolescents (Cain & others, 2016).
- Updated data on the dramatic increase in mobile media use by adolescents and a prediction that 92 percent of youth would have smartphones/cell phones in 2019 (eMarketeer, 2016).
- Discussion of a recent study of 13- to 16-year-olds that found increased nighttime mobile phone use was linked to increased externalizing problems and decreased self-esteem (Vernon, Modecki, & Barber, 2017).
- Coverage of conclusions about higher screen time being linked to obesity, with a description of the pathways likely responsible for this connection (Robinson & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent research review that concluded the vast majority of research studies find that a higher level of exposure to screen-based media is linked to sleep health problems (LeBourgeois & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent cross-cultural study of adolescents and emerging adults in which those who had more exposure to violent screen media were more likely to engage in aggression in each of the seven countries in the study (Anderson & others, 2017a).
- Inclusion of recent conclusions reached by the Workgroup on Media Violence and Violent Video Games (Anderson & others, 2017) about the short-term and long-term harmful effects of viewing media violence and playing violent video games.
- Inclusion of recent research on children in which higher exposure to TV violence, video game violence, and music video violence was independently associated with higher levels of physical aggression (Coker & others, 2015).
- Description of recent research on the negative effects of sexual media on adolescents' behavior and development (Ward, 2016; Ybarra, Strasburger, & Mitchell, 2014).
- Coverage of a recent review of sexual media indicating that online pornography is likely more problematic for youth than offline pornography (Collins & others, 2017).
- Extensive updating and expansion of content on social media use.
- Updated data on the percentage of adolescents who use social networking sites and engage in text messaging daily (Lenhart, 2015a, b).
- Coverage of a recent national study of social media indicating how extensively 18- to 24-year-olds are using various sites such as Snapchat, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube (Smith & Anderson, 2018).
- Inclusion of recent survey information indicating that adolescents report that social media is a positive influence on their lives (Rideout, 2016).
- New coverage of how social media use can have positive outcomes for self-esteem, identity exploration, opportunities for self-disclosure, and increased social support and connections (Uhls, Ellison, & Subrahmanyam, 2017).
- Description of recent research indicating that social media use is associated with physical health problems such as inadequate sleep (Lemola & others, 2015) and heavy drinking (Brunborg, Andreas, & Kvaavik, 2017); mental health problems such as depression (Pantic, 2014) and anxiety (Hoge, Bickham, & Cantor, 2017); cyberbullying (Shapka & others, 2018); and developmentally inappropriate interests and behavior, such as sexual content and sexting (Rice & others, 2018).
- Commentary that social media provides a platform for adults with deviant motives to contact adolescents (Uhls, Ellison, & Subrahmanyam, 2017).
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: a book titled *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* published by the American Psychological Association, which includes articles about a wide range of topics involving culturally and ethnically diverse groups.
- New entry in *Improving the Lives of Adolescents and Emerging Adults*: Supplement 2 (2017) of *Pediatrics,* which provides up-to-date coverage by leading experts on a wide range of topics and issues involving the influence of digital media on adolescents and emerging adults.

Chapter 13: Problems in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood

- New discussion of a developmental cascades study in which maternal warmth/sensitivity and child self-regulation in early childhood, followed by parental monitoring in middle and late childhood, predicted less engagement with delinquent peers, fewer externalizing problems, and less underage drinking in adolescence (Eiden & others, 2016).

- Inclusion of a recent study in which children in middle and late childhood with fathers who had depressive symptoms were at increased risk for developing depressive symptoms in early adolescence (Lewis & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent study that revealed rejecting parenting at age 2 predicted greater aggression at age 12 and risky sexual behavior at ages 15 and 22 (Hentges, Shaw, & Wang, 2018).
- Inclusion of new content indicating growing concern about the increased number of adolescents who mix alcohol and energy drinks, a practice that is linked to a higher rate of risky driving (Wilson & others, 2018).
- Updated coverage of the Monitoring the Future study's assessment of drug use by secondary school students with 2017 data on U.S. eighth-, tenth-, and twelfth-graders (Johnston & others, 2018). Included in the update is an important discussion of how the increase in adolescent use of illicit drugs in the last decade is largely due to increased use of marijuana by adolescents.
- Updated coverage of the Monitoring the Future study's assessment of adolescents' frequency of vaping nicotine, which now is occurring more frequently than adolescents' cigarette smoking (Johnston & others, 2018).
- Description of a recent meta-analysis of longitudinal studies that found when adolescents use e-cigarettes they are at higher risk for subsequent cigarette smoking (Soneji & others, 2018).
- Discussion of a recent large-scale national study in which friends' use of alcohol was a stronger influence on adolescents' alcohol use than parental use (Deutsch, Wood, & Slutske, 2018).
- Inclusion of recent research in which parental monitoring was linked to a lower level of polysubstance use by adolescents (Chan & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent intervention study that revealed Latino parents who had participated in a program that emphasized the importance of parental monitoring had adolescents with a lower level of drug use than a control group of adolescents who did not receive the program (Estrada & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis of parenting factors involved in adolescents' alcohol use that indicated higher levels of parental monitoring, support, and involvement were associated with a lower risk of adolescent alcohol misuse (Yap & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study that revealed adolescent dishonesty increased future alcohol use by reducing parental monitoring knowledge (Lushin, Jaccard, & Kaploun, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that found harsh parenting by fathers during adolescence predicted increased alcohol use in emerging adulthood (Diggs & others, 2017).
- Updated data on binge drinking in college and through early adulthood, including new Figure 5 (Schulenberg & others, 2017).
- Updated data on extreme binge drinking in college students, including data on not only rates of consuming 10 or more drinks at one time in the last two weeks, but also rates of consuming 15 or more drinks in the same time frame (Schulenberg & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a longitudinal study that revealed frequent binge drinking and marijuana use in the freshman year of college predicted delayed college graduation (White & others, 2018).
- Updated data on the percentage of individuals in emerging adulthood and early adulthood who are using electronic vaporizers (including e-cigarettes) (Schulenberg & others, 2017).
- Description of seven longitudinal studies in which each of the studies found that e-cigarette use predicted future cigarette smoking initiation and together, in a meta-analysis, that e-cigarette use increased the probability of cigarette smoking initiation fourfold (Soneji & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study in which e-cigarette use increased when emerging adults were experiencing role transitions, such as job loss or a romantic breakup (Allen & others, 2015).
- New discussion of the recent decline in adolescents' use of Oxycontin and Vicodin (Johnston & others, 2017).
- Updated statistics on the significant decline in juvenile court delinquency caseloads in the United States in recent years (Hockenberry & Puzzanchera, 2017).
- Description of a recent study of middle school adolescents that found peer pressure for fighting and friends' delinquent behavior were linked to adolescents' aggression and delinquent behavior (Farrell, Thompson, & Mehari, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study of more than 10,000 children and adolescents which revealed that a family environment characterized by poverty and child maltreatment was linked to entering the juvenile justice system in adolescence (Vidal & others, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study that revealed that having a higher proportion of classmates who engage in delinquent behavior increased the likelihood that students would become delinquents (Kim & Fletcher, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent study that indicated adolescent delinquents were high on affiliating with deviant peers and engaging in pseudomature behavior and low on peer popularity and school achievement (Gordon Simons & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent study in which low self-control was linked to a higher incidence of delinquent behavior (Fine & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of recent research in which having callous-unemotional traits predicts an increased risk of engaging in delinquency for adolescent males (Ray & others, 2017).
- New content indicating that at 12 years of age, 5.2 percent of females and 2 percent of males had experienced first-onset depression (Breslau & others, 2017). Also in this study, the cumulative incidence of depression from 12 to 17 years of age was 36 percent for females and 14 percent for males.
- New description of genetic influences on adolescent depression (Hannigan, McAdams, & Eley, 2017; Van Asche & others, 2017).
- Discussion of recent research indicating that family therapy can be effective in reducing adolescent depression (Poole & others, 2017).
- Description of recent research that found co-rumination with friends was linked to greater peer stress for adolescent girls (Rose & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of a recent study that revealed adolescents who were isolated from their peers and whose caregivers

emotionally neglected them were at significant risk for developing depression (Christ, Kwak, & Lu, 2017).

- Description of a recent meta-analysis in which adolescent females who were obese were more likely to have depression (Quek & others, 2017).
- Updated data on the percentage of U.S. adolescents who seriously consider suicide each year (Kann & others, 2016a).
- New coverage of the influence of genes on adolescent suicide (De la Cruz-Cano, 2017; Rao & others, 2017).
- Discussion of recent research indicating that the most significant factor in a first suicide attempt during adolescence was having a major depressive episode, while for children it was child maltreatment (Peyre & others, 2017).
- Inclusion of recent research indicating that adolescents who were being treated in a suicide clinic experienced lower family cohesion than nonclinical adolescents and adolescents going to a general psychiatric clinic (Jakobesen, Larson, & Harwood, 2017).
- Description of two recent studies that revealed maltreatment during the childhood years was linked with suicide attempts in adulthood (Park, 2017; Turner & others, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study in which a sense of hopelessness predicted an increase in suicidal ideation in depressed adolescents (Wolfe & others, 2018).
- New discussion of cross-cultural suicide rates, with New Zealand and Iceland having the highest rates, and Greece and Israel the lowest rates (OECD, 2017a).
- Updated data on the percentage of U.S. ninth- to twelfth-graders who are obese, including gender and ethnic variations (Kann & others, 2016).
- Inclusion of a recent cross-cultural study of 15-year-olds in 35 countries that found U.S. adolescents had the highest rate of obesity (31 percent) and Danish adolescents the lowest (10 percent) (OECD, 2017b).
- Discussion of a recent meta-analysis that revealed adolescents who were the victims of cyberbullying were 2½ times more likely to attempt suicide and 2 times more likely to have suicidal thoughts than adolescents who had not been bullied (John & others, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent study that confirmed childhood sexual abuse was a significant factor in suicide attempts (Ng & others, 2018).
- Coverage of a recent meta-analysis that concluded supervised exercise, especially aerobic exercise, was linked to a reduction of abdominal fat in adolescents (Gonzalez-Ruis & others, 2017).
- Description of a recent study that indicated a combination of regular exercise and a diet plan resulted in weight loss and enhanced executive function (Xie & others, 2017).
- Discussion of a recent study in which children and adolescents were less likely to be obese or overweight when they attended schools in states that had a strong policy emphasis on serving healthy foods and beverages (Datar & Nicosia, 2017).
- New research indicating that having an increase in Facebook friends across two years in adolescence was linked to an enhanced motivation to be thin (Tiggemann & Slater, 2017).
- Coverage of a recent study that revealed cognitive inflexibility, especially in perfectionistic adolescents, was associated with anorexia nervosa (Buzzichelli & others, 2018).
- Inclusion of a recent study in which individuals with binge eating disorder were more likely to come from families with ineffective functioning, especially in the area of emotional involvement (Tetzlaff & others, 2017).
- Description of cognitive behavior therapy and interpersonal therapy as the most strongly supported therapies for treating binge eating disorder (Grilo, 2017).
- New coverage of the most recent research on the Fast Track program, in which one-third of its reduction in later crime outcomes in emerging adulthood was accounted for by improvements in social and self-regulation skills at 6 to 11 years of age (Sorensen, Dodge, and Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2016).

Online Instructor Resources

The resources listed here accompany *Adolescence,* 17e. Please contact your McGraw-Hill representative for details concerning the availability of these and other valuable materials that can help you design and enhance your course.

Instructor's Manual Broken down by chapter, these include chapter outlines, suggested lecture topics, classroom activities and demonstrations, suggested student research projects, essay questions, and critical thinking questions.

Test Bank and Computerized Test Bank This comprehensive Test Bank includes multiple-choice and essay questions. Organized by chapter, the questions are designed to test factual, applied, and conceptual understanding. All test questions are available within TestGen™ software.

PowerPoint Slides The PowerPoint presentations, now WCAG compliant, highlight the key points of the chapter and include supporting visuals. All of the slides can be modified to meet individual needs.

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EXPERT CONSULTANTS

As I develop a new edition, I consult with leading experts in their respective areas of adolescent development. Their invaluable feedback ensures that the latest research, knowledge, and perspectives are presented throughout the text. Their willingness to devote their time and expertise to this endeavor is greatly appreciated. The Expert Consultants who contributed to this edition, along with their biographies and commentary, can be found on pages xi–xiii.

REVIEWERS

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Williams,** *University of Minnesota;* **Shelli Wynants,** *California State University.*

chapter 4

THE SELF, IDENTITY, EMOTION, AND PERSONALITY

chapter **outline**

1 The Self

Learning Goal 1 Describe the development of the self in adolescence.

Self-Understanding and Understanding Others
Self-Esteem and Self-Concept
Self-Regulation

2 Identity

Learning Goal 2 Explain the many facets of identity development.

Erikson's Ideas on Identity
The Four Statuses of Identity
Developmental Changes in Identity
Identity and Social Contexts
Identity and Intimacy

3 Emotional Development

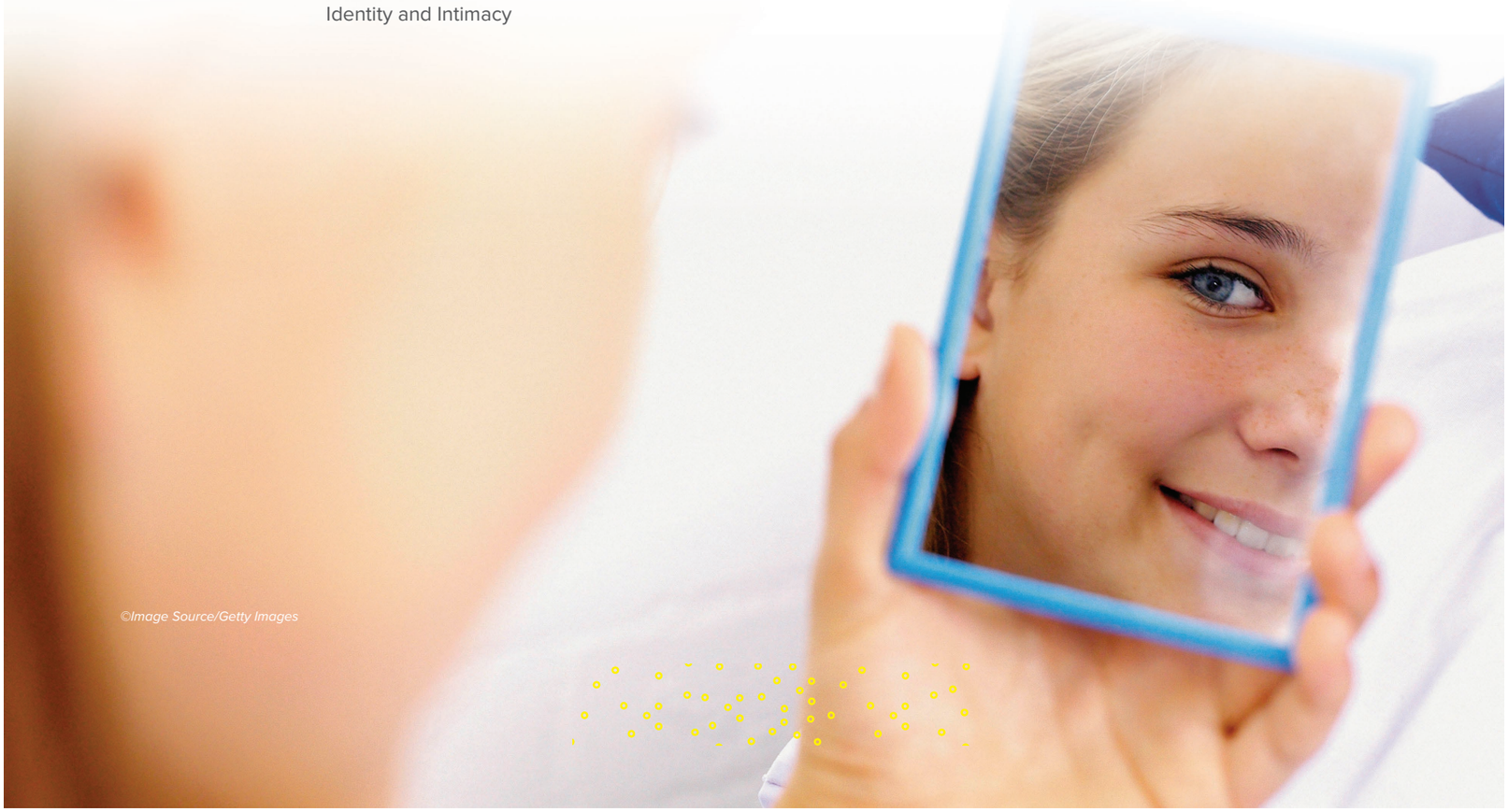
Learning Goal 3 Discuss the emotional development of adolescents.

The Emotions of Adolescence
Hormones, Experience, and Emotions
Emotion Regulation
Emotional Competence
Social-Emotional Education Programs

4 Personality Development

Learning Goal 4 Characterize the personality development of adolescents.

Personality
Temperament



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How do adolescents describe themselves? How would you have described yourself when you were 15 years old? What features of yourself would you have emphasized? Compared to when they were children, adolescents become much more self-reflective, asking themselves questions like "Who am I?" "What am I good at?" "What am I bad at?" and "What will my future be like?"

As they explore who they are, what they are all about, and what they might turn out to be, following are some adolescents' self-reflections:

> "I'm not always sure who I am. One day I might say that I'm attractive, friendly, successful, and get along good with my friends, then another day I might say I'm ugly, shy, not doing well in life, and am having problems with my friends."
>
> "A lot of people don't know what I'm really like, what my true self is. And I'm not always the same with different people. I might be shy on a date but outgoing with my friends. My parents really don't know me very well. My best friend and my sister know me a lot better than they do."
>
> "I'm very self-conscious and get embarrassed easily. I'm afraid if I say the wrong thing, people won't like me and will make fun of me."
>
> "I know I need to get good grades and want to get into a good college, but studying enough to do that keeps me from having a good time with my friends. It all seems so complicated, especially how to use my time."
>
> "I've been spending too much time on Facebook lately. Last week, somebody said something that wasn't so nice on my Facebook page, so I keep looking at it in case I need to delete what someone says about me."
>
> "I have started thinking more about what I want to be when I grow up, but I still really don't know for sure. I would like to do something that helps others, like a doctor or a nurse. And I love animals, so being a veterinarian might be in my future."

preview

These teenagers' self-portraits illustrate the increased self-reflection, identity exploration, and emotional changes that are among the hallmarks of adolescent development. Far more than children, adolescents seek to know who they are, what they are all about, and where they are going in life. In the first sections of this chapter, you will read about the self and identity, which are often considered to be central aspects of personality development in adolescence. Next, you will study emotional development in adolescence. Finally, you will explore the personality traits and temperaments of adolescents.

1 The Self

LG1 Describe the development of the self in adolescence.

- Self-Understanding and Understanding Others
- Self-Esteem and Self-Concept
- Self-Regulation

The **self** consists of all the characteristics of a person. Theorists and researchers who focus on the self usually argue that the self is the central aspect of the individual's personality and that the self lends an integrative dimension to our understanding of different personality

self All of the characteristics of a person.

Know thyself, for once we know ourselves, we may learn how to care for ourselves, but otherwise we never shall.

—SOCRATES
Greek Philosopher, 5th Century B.C.

characteristics (Ferris, Johnson, & Sedikides, 2018; Harter, 2013; Tsekeris, 2017; Twenge & Campbell, 2017; van der Cruijsen & others, 2018; Vater, Moritz, & Roepke, 2018). Several aspects of the self have been studied more than others. These include self-understanding and understanding others, self-esteem and self-concept, and self-regulation.

More so than children, adolescents carry with them a sense of who they are and what makes them different from everyone else. Consider one adolescent boy's self-description: "I am male, bright, an athlete, a political liberal, an extravert, and a compassionate individual." He takes comfort in his uniqueness: "No one else is quite like me. I am 5 feet 11 inches tall and weigh 160 pounds. I live in a suburb and plan to attend the state university. I want to be a sports journalist. I am an expert at building canoes. When I am not going to school and studying, I write short stories about sports figures, which I hope to publish someday." Real or imagined, an adolescent's developing sense of self and uniqueness is a motivating force in life. Our exploration of the self begins with information about adolescents' self-understanding and understanding others, then turns to their self-esteem and self-concept.

SELF-UNDERSTANDING AND UNDERSTANDING OTHERS

Although individuals become more introspective in adolescence and even more so in emerging adulthood, this self-understanding is not completely internal; rather, self-understanding is a social cognitive construction (Harter, 2006, 2012, 2013, 2016). That is, adolescents' and emerging adults' developing cognitive capacities interact with their sociocultural experiences to influence their self-understanding. These are among the questions you will explore in this section: What is self-understanding? What are some important dimensions of adolescents' and emerging adults' self-understanding? What developmental changes characterize understanding others?

What Is Self-Understanding?

Self-understanding is the individual's cognitive representation of the self—the substance and content of self-conceptions. For example, a 12-year-old boy understands that he is a student, a football player, a family member, and a video game lover. A 14-year-old girl understands that she is a soccer player, a student council member, a movie lover, and a rock music fan. An adolescent's self-understanding is based, in part, on the various roles and membership categories that define who adolescents are (Harter, 2006, 2012, 2013, 2016). Although self-understanding provides the rational underpinnings, it is not the whole of personal identity.

developmental **connection**
Cognitive Theory
In Piaget's fourth stage of cognitive development, thought becomes more abstract, idealistic, and logical. Connect to "The Brain and Cognitive Development."

Self-Understanding in Adolescence

The development of self-understanding in adolescence is complex and involves a number of aspects of the self (Harter, 2006, 2012, 2013, 2016). Let's examine how the adolescent's self-understanding differs from the child's, then describe how self-understanding changes during emerging adulthood.

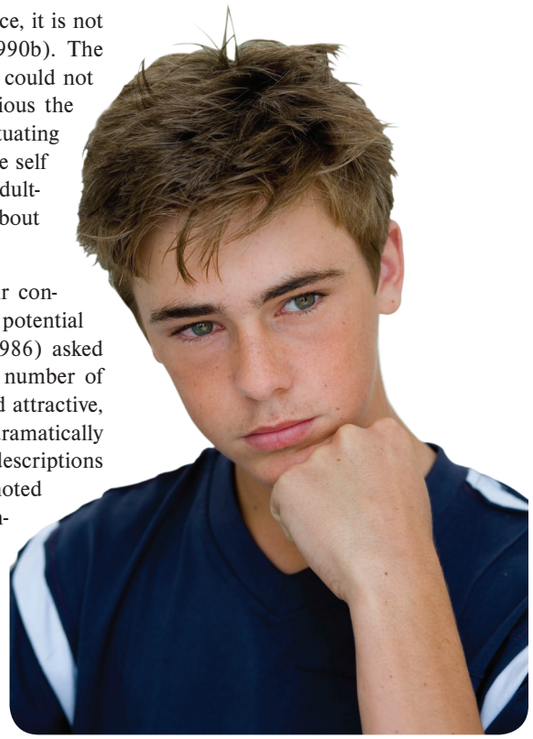
Abstraction and Idealism Remember from our discussion of Piaget's theory of cognitive development that many adolescents begin to think in more abstract and idealistic ways. When asked to describe themselves, adolescents are more likely than children to use abstract and idealistic terms. Consider 14-year-old Laurie's abstract description of herself: "I am a human being. I am indecisive. I don't know who I am." Also consider her idealistic description of herself: "I am a naturally sensitive person who really cares about people's feelings. I think I'm pretty good-looking." Not all adolescents describe themselves in idealistic ways, but most adolescents distinguish between the real self and the ideal self.

Differentiation Over time, an adolescent's self-understanding becomes increasingly *differentiated* (Harter, 2006, 2012, 2013, 2016). Adolescents are more likely than children to note contextual or situational variations when describing themselves (Harter, Waters, & Whitesell, 1996). For example, a 15-year-old girl might describe herself by using one set of characteristics in connection with her family and another set of characteristics in connection with her peers and friends. Yet another set of characteristics might appear in her self-description of her romantic relationship. In sum, adolescents are more likely than children to understand that they possess several different selves, each one to some degree reflecting a specific role or context.

self-understanding The individual's cognitive representation of the self; the substance and content of self-conceptions.

The Fluctuating Self Given the contradictory nature of the self in adolescence, it is not surprising that the self fluctuates across situations and across time (Harter, 1990b). The 15-year-old girl who was quoted at the beginning of this chapter remarked that she could not understand how she could switch from being cheerful one moment to being anxious the next, and then sarcastic a short time later. One researcher has referred to the fluctuating self of the adolescent as "the barometric self" (Rosenberg, 1979). In most cases, the self continues to be characterized by instability until late adolescence or even early adulthood, when a more unified theory of self is constructed. You will learn more about fluctuations in adolescents' emotions later in the chapter.

Contradictions Within the Self As adolescents begin to differentiate their concept of the self into multiple roles in different relationship contexts, they sense potential contradictions between their differentiated selves. In one study, Susan Harter (1986) asked seventh-, ninth-, and eleventh-graders to describe themselves. She found that the number of contradictory self-descriptions they mentioned (moody and understanding, ugly and attractive, bored and inquisitive, caring and uncaring, introverted and fun-loving) increased dramatically between the seventh and ninth grades. Though the number of contradictory self-descriptions students mentioned declined in the eleventh grade, they still outnumbered those noted in the seventh grade. Adolescents develop the cognitive ability to detect these inconsistencies as they strive to construct a general theory of the self (Harter & Monsour, 1992).



What are some characteristics of self-understanding in adolescence?
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Real Versus Ideal, True Versus False Selves Adolescents' emerging ability to construct ideal selves can be perplexing to them. Although the capacity to recognize a discrepancy between the *real* and *ideal* selves represents a cognitive advance, the humanistic theorist Carl Rogers (1950) argued that a strong discrepancy between the real and ideal selves is a sign of maladjustment. Too great a discrepancy between one's actual self and one's ideal self—the person one wants to be—can produce a sense of failure and self-criticism and can even trigger depression.

Although some theorists consider a strong discrepancy between the ideal and real selves maladaptive, others argue that it need not always be so, especially in adolescence. In one view, an important aspect of the ideal or imagined self is the **possible self:** what individuals might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Thus, adolescents' possible selves include both what they hope to be as well as what they fear they could become (Molina, Schmidt, & Raimundi, 2017; Wainwright, Nee, & Vrij, 2018). In this view, the presence of both hoped-for and feared ideal selves is psychologically healthy, lending balance to an adolescent's perspective and motivation. That is, the attributes of the future positive self—getting into a good college, being admired, having a successful career—can direct an adolescent's positive actions, whereas the attributes of the future negative self—being unemployed, feeling lonely, not getting into a good college—can identify behaviors to be avoided. One study of Hong Kong secondary school students found that the main content of hoped-for possible selves focused on school and career (Zhu & others, 2014). In this study, girls had more strategies to attain their positive selves than did boys.

What characterizes adolescents' possible selves?
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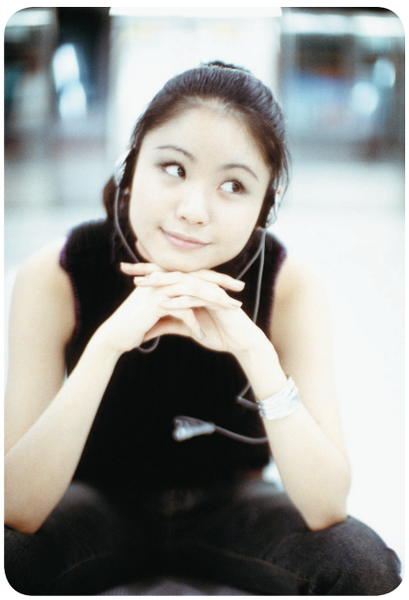
Can adolescents distinguish between their *true* and *false* selves? In one research study, they could (Harter & Lee, 1989). Adolescents are most likely to show their false selves with classmates and in romantic or dating situations; they are least likely to show their false selves with close friends. Adolescents may display a false self to impress others or to try out new behaviors or roles. They may feel that others do not understand their true selves or that others force them to behave in false ways. Some adolescents report that they do not like their false-self behavior, but others say that it does not bother them. One study found that experienced authenticity of the self is highest among adolescents who say they receive support from their parents (Harter, Stocker, & Robinson, 1996).

Social Comparison Young adolescents are more likely than children to compare themselves with others and to understand that others are making comparisons about them (Sebastian, Burnett, & Blakemore, 2010). An individual's beliefs about how he or she is viewed

possible self What individuals might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming.



How does self-consciousness change as individuals go through adolescence?
(left): ©Regine Mahaux/Getty Images; (right): ©Randy Faris/Corbis/Getty Images

by others are referred to as the *looking glass* self. However, most adolescents are unwilling to admit that they engage in social comparison because they view social comparison as socially undesirable. That is, they think that acknowledging their social comparison motives will endanger their popularity. Relying on social comparison information can be confusing to adolescents because of the large number of reference groups available to them. Should adolescents compare themselves to classmates in general? To friends of their own gender? To popular adolescents, good-looking adolescents, athletic adolescents? Considering all of these social comparison groups simultaneously can be perplexing for adolescents.

Self-Consciousness Adolescents are more likely than children to be *self-conscious* about, and preoccupied with, their self-understanding (Harter, 2006). Although adolescents become more introspective, they do not always develop their self-understanding in social isolation. Adolescents turn to their friends for support and self-clarification, seeking out their friends' opinions in shaping their emerging self-definitions. As one researcher on self-development commented, adolescents' friends are often the main source of reflected self-appraisals, the social mirror into which adolescents anxiously stare (Rosenberg, 1979).

Self-Protection In adolescence, the sense of confusion and conflict that is stimulated by efforts to understand oneself is accompanied by a need to *protect the self*. In an attempt to protect the self, adolescents are prone to deny their negative characteristics. For example, in Harter's investigation of self-understanding, adolescents were more likely than not to see positive self-descriptions such as *attractive, fun-loving, sensitive, affectionate*, and *inquisitive* as central, important aspects of the self, and to see negative self-descriptions such as *ugly, mediocre, depressed, selfish,* and *nervous* as peripheral, less important aspects of the self (Harter, 1986). This tendency is consistent with adolescents' tendency to describe themselves in idealistic ways.

The Unconscious Self In adolescence, self-understanding involves greater recognition that the self includes unconscious as well as conscious components. This recognition is not likely to occur until late adolescence, however. That is, older adolescents are more likely than younger adolescents to believe that certain aspects of their mental experience are beyond their awareness or control.

Not Quite Yet a Coherent, Integrated Self Because of the proliferation of selves and unrealistic self-portraits during adolescence, the task of integrating these varying self-conceptions becomes problematic (Harter, 2006, 2012, 2016). Only later, usually in emerging adulthood, do individuals successfully integrate the many aspects of the self.

Self-Understanding in Emerging Adulthood and Early Adulthood In emerging adulthood, self-understanding becomes more integrative, with the disparate parts of the self pieced together more systematically. Emerging adults may detect inconsistencies in their earlier self-descriptions as they attempt to construct a general theory of self, an integrated sense of identity.

Gisela Labouvie-Vief (2006) concludes that considerable restructuring of the self can take place in emerging adulthood. She emphasizes that key aspects of self-development in emerging adulthood involve an increase in self-reflection and a decision about a specific worldview.

However, Labouvie-Vief (2006) argues that although emerging adults engage in more complex and critical thinking than they did when they were adolescents, many still have difficulty integrating their complex view of the world. She says this difficulty occurs because emerging adults are still easily influenced by their emotions, which can distort their thinking and cause them to be too self-serving and self-protective. In her research, it is not until 30 to 39 years of age that adults effectively develop a coherent, integrated worldview.

How does self-understanding change in emerging adulthood?

Self-Awareness An aspect of self-understanding that becomes especially important in emerging and early adulthood is *self-awareness*—that is, the extent to which an emerging adult is aware of his or her psychological makeup, including strengths and weaknesses. Many individuals do not have very good awareness of their psychological makeup and skills, as well as the causes of their weaknesses (Hull, 2012). For example, how aware is the person that she or he is a good or bad listener, uses the best strategies to solve personal problems, and is assertive rather than aggressive or passive in resolving conflicts? Awareness of strengths and weaknesses in these and many other aspects of life is an important dimension of self-understanding throughout the adult years, and emerging adulthood is a time when individuals can benefit considerably from addressing some of their weaknesses.

developmental **connection**
Cognitive Theory
Understanding cognitive changes in emerging adulthood and early adulthood requires consideration of how emotional maturity might affect cognitive development. Connect to "The Brain and Cognitive Development."

Possible Selves Another important aspect of self-understanding in emerging adulthood involves *possible selves* (Aardema & others, 2018; Anders, Olmstead, & Johnson, 2017; Markus & Kitayama, 2012; Zhu & others, 2014). Possible selves are what individuals might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming (Molina, Schmidt, & Raimundi, 2017). Emerging adults mention many possible selves that they would like to become and might become. Some of these are unrealistic, such as being happy all of the time and being very rich. As individuals get older, they often describe fewer possible selves and portray them in more concrete and realistic ways. By middle age, individuals frequently describe their possible selves in terms of areas of their life in which they already have performed well, such as "being good at my work" or "having a good marriage" (Cross & Markus, 1991).

Self-Understanding and Social Contexts You have learned that the adolescent's self-understanding can vary across relationships and social roles. Researchers have found that adolescents' portraits of themselves can differ depending on whether they are describing themselves when they are with their mother, father, close friend, romantic partner, or peer. They also can differ depending on whether they describe themselves in the role of student, athlete, or employee. Similarly, adolescents might create different selves depending on their ethnic and cultural background and experiences (Chandler & Dunlop, 2015).

The multiple selves of ethnically diverse youth reflect their experiences in navigating their multiple worlds of family, peers, school, and community (Cooper, 2011). As U.S. youth from different ethnic backgrounds move from one culture to another, they can encounter barriers related to language, racism, gender, immigration, and poverty. In each of their different worlds, however, they also can find resources—in institutions, in other people, and in themselves. Youth who have difficulty moving between worlds can experience alienation from their school, family, or peers. This in turn can lead to other problems. However, youth who can navigate effectively between different worlds can develop bicultural or multicultural selves and become "culture brokers" for others.

Of course, becoming a competent adolescent involves not only understanding oneself but also understanding others (Carpendale & Lewis, 2015; Lee & others, 2017). Among the aspects

The contemporary perspective on the self emphasizes the construction of multiple self-representations across different relational contexts.

—SUSAN HARTER
Contemporary Developmental Psychologist, University of Denver

What are some important aspects of social understanding in adolescence?

of understanding others that are important in adolescent development are perceiving others' traits and understanding multiple perspectives.

Perceiving Others' Traits One way to study how adolescents perceive others' traits is to ask them to assess the extent to which others' self-reports are accurate. In one comparison of 6- and 10-year-olds, the 10-year-olds were much more skeptical about others' self-reports of their intelligence and social skills than the 6-year-olds were (Heyman & Legare, 2005). In this study, the 10-year-olds understood that other people at times may distort the truth about their own traits to make a better impression on others.

As adolescence proceeds, teenagers develop a more sophisticated understanding of others. They come to understand that other people are complex and have public and private faces (Harter, 2006, 2012, 2013).

Perspective Taking **Perspective taking** is the ability to assume another person's perspective and understand his or her thoughts and feelings. Robert Selman (1980) proposed a developmental theory of changes in perspective taking that occur between 3 years and 15 years of age. These developmental changes begin with the egocentric viewpoint in early childhood and end with in-depth perspective taking in adolescence.

Only recently has research on perspective taking in adolescence taken hold (Conson & others, 2018; Rasmussen & others, 2018). Following are the results of several research investigations on this topic. In sixth through eighth grades, girls engaged in more social perspective taking than did boys (Smith, 2009; Smith & Rose, 2011) but they also experienced more empathic distress by taking on their friend's distress as their own than did boys. A lower level of perspective taking was linked to increased relational aggression (intentionally harming someone through strategies such as spreading vicious rumors) one year later in middle school students (Batanova & Loukas, 2011). Adolescents who do not have good perspective taking skills are more likely to have difficulty in peer relations and engage in more aggressive behavior (Nilsen & Bacso, 2017). In a recent study, incarcerated adolescents were much less likely to engage in perspective taking than adolescents living in the community (Morosan & others, 2017).

developmental **connection**
Social Cognition
Adolescent egocentrism increases in early adolescence, especially the imaginary audience dimension. Connect to "The Brain and Cognitive Development."

Social Cognitive Monitoring An important aspect of metacognition is cognitive monitoring, which can also be very helpful in social situations. As part of their increased awareness of themselves and others, adolescents monitor their social world more extensively than they did when they were children. Adolescents engage in a number of social cognitive monitoring activities on virtually a daily basis. An adolescent might think, "I would like to get to know this guy better but he is not very open. Maybe I can talk to some other students about what he is like." Another adolescent might check incoming information about a club or a clique to determine if it is consistent with her impressions of the club or clique. Yet another adolescent might question someone or paraphrase what the person has just said about her feelings to make sure that he has accurately understood them. Adolescents' ability to monitor their social cognition may be an important aspect of their social maturity (Flavell, 1979).

At this point, we have discussed many aspects of self-understanding and social understanding. Recall, however, that the self involves not only self-understanding but also self-esteem and self-concept. That is, not only do adolescents try to define and describe attributes of the self (self-understanding), but they also evaluate those attributes (self-concept and self-esteem).

SELF-ESTEEM AND SELF-CONCEPT

What are self-esteem and self-concept? How are they measured? Are some domains more salient to the adolescent's self-esteem than others? How do relationships with parents and peers influence adolescents' self-esteem? What are the consequences of low self-esteem in adolescents and emerging adults, and how can their self-esteem be raised?

perspective taking The ability to assume another person's perspective and understand his or her thoughts and feelings.

self-esteem The global evaluative dimension of the self; also referred to as self-worth or self-image.

What Are Self-Esteem and Self-Concept?

In the field of developmental psychology, leading expert Susan Harter (2006, 2012, 2016) distinguishes between self-esteem and self-concept. In her view, **self-esteem**, also referred to as *self-worth* or *self-image*, is the global evaluative dimension of the self. For example, an adolescent or emerging adult might perceive that she is

not merely a person but a good person. Of course, not all adolescents and emerging adults have an overall positive image of themselves. An adolescent with low self-esteem may describe himself as a bad person.

In Harter's view, **self-concept** refers to domain-specific evaluations of the self. Adolescents and emerging adults make self-evaluations in many domains—academic, athletic, physical appearance, and so on. For example, an adolescent may have a negative academic self-concept because he is getting poor grades but have a positive athletic self-concept because he is a star swimmer. In sum, self-esteem refers to global self-evaluations, self-concept to domain-specific evaluations.

Investigators have not always made a clear distinction between self-esteem and self-concept, sometimes using the terms interchangeably or not defining them precisely (Miller & Cho, 2018). As you read the remaining discussion of self-esteem and self-concept, recalling the distinction between self-esteem as global self-evaluation and self-concept as domain-specific self-evaluation can help you to keep the terms straight.

Measuring Self-Esteem and Self-Concept Measuring self-esteem and self-concept hasn't always been easy, especially in assessing adolescents. For many years, such measures were designed primarily for children or for adults, with little attention paid to adolescents. Then Susan Harter (1989) developed a separate measure for adolescents: the Self-Perception Profile for Adolescents. It assesses eight domains—scholastic competence, athletic competence, social acceptance, physical appearance, behavioral conduct, close friendship, romantic appeal, and job competence—plus global self-worth. The adolescent measure has three skill domains not present in the measure she developed for children: job competence, romantic appeal, and close friendship.

Some assessment experts argue that a combination of several methods should be used in measuring self-esteem. In addition to self-reporting, rating of an adolescent's self-esteem by others and observations of the adolescent's behavior in various settings could provide a more complete and accurate self-esteem picture. Peers, teachers, parents, and even others who do not know the adolescent could be asked to rate the adolescent's self-esteem.

Positive indicators

1. Gives others directives or commands
2. Uses voice quality appropriate for situation
3. Expresses opinions
4. Sits with others during social activities
5. Works cooperatively in a group
6. Faces others when speaking or being spoken to
7. Maintains eye contact during conversation
8. Initiates friendly contact with others
9. Maintains comfortable space between self and others
10. Has little hesitation in speech, speaks fluently

Negative indicators

1. Puts down others by teasing, name-calling, or gossiping
2. Uses gestures that are dramatic or out of context
3. Engages in inappropriate touching or avoids physical contact
4. Gives excuses for failures
5. Brags excessively about achievements, skills, appearance
6. Verbally puts self down; self-deprecation
7. Speaks too loudly, abruptly, or in a dogmatic tone

FIGURE **1**
BEHAVIORAL INDICATORS OF SELF–ESTEEM

Adolescents' facial expressions and the extent to which they congratulate or condemn themselves are also good indicators of how they view themselves. For example, adolescents who rarely smile or rarely act happy are revealing something about their self-esteem.

One investigation that used behavioral observations in assessing self-esteem shows some of the positive as well as the negative behaviors that can provide clues to the adolescent's self-esteem (see Figure 1) (Savin-Williams & Demo, 1983). By using a variety of methods (such as self-report and behavioral observations) and obtaining information from various sources (such as the adolescent, parents, friends, and teachers), investigators are likely to construct a more accurate picture of the adolescent's self-esteem than they could get by relying on only one assessment method.

Self-Esteem: Perception and Reality Self-esteem reflects perceptions that do not always match reality (Krizan & Herlache, 2018; Oltmanns, Crego, & Widiger, 2018). An adolescent's or emerging adult's self-esteem might indicate a perception about whether he or she is intelligent and attractive, for example, but that perception may not be accurate. Thus, high self-esteem may refer to accurate, justified perceptions of one's worth as a person and one's successes and accomplishments, but it can also indicate an arrogant, grandiose, unwarranted sense of superiority over others. In the same manner, low self-esteem may suggest either an accurate perception of one's shortcomings or a distorted, even pathological sense of insecurity and inferiority.

Narcissism refers to a self-centered and self-concerned approach toward others. Typically, narcissists are unaware of their actual self and how others perceive them. This lack of awareness contributes to their adjustment problems (Lambe & others, 2018; Maples-Keller & Miller, 2018; Rogoza & others, 2018). Narcissists are excessively self-centered and self-congratulatory, viewing their own needs and desires as paramount. As a result, narcissists rarely show any empathy toward

self-concept Domain-specific evaluations of the self.

narcissism A self-centered and self-concerned approach toward others.

What characterizes narcissistic individuals?
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others. In fact, narcissists often devalue people around them to protect their own precarious self-esteem, yet they often respond with rage and shame when others do not admire them or treat them in accordance with their grandiose fantasies about themselves. Narcissists are at their most grandiose when their self-esteem is threatened. Narcissists may fly into a frenzy if they have given an unsatisfactory performance.

One study revealed that narcissistic adolescents were more aggressive than other adolescents but only when they were shamed (Thomaes & others, 2008). Low self-esteem was not linked to aggression, but narcissism combined with high self-esteem was related to exceptionally high aggression. And a longitudinal study found that narcissistic adolescents and emerging adults were more impulsive, histrionic (behaving dramatically), active, and self-focused as young children than were others (Carlson & Gjerde, 2010). In this study, narcissism increased from 14 to 18 years of age, then declined slightly from 18 to 23.

So far, narcissism has been portrayed as a negative aspect of adolescent and emerging adult development. However, Daniel Lapsley and Matthew Aalsma (2006) found that college students' adjustment varied according to the type of narcissism they exhibited. In their research, moderate narcissists showed healthy adjustment, whereas covert and overt narcissists were characterized by poor adjustment. Covert narcissists were described as reflecting "narcissistic grandiosity and entitlement lurking behind a facade of personal inadequacy, inferiority, and vulnerability" (p. 68). Overt narcissists openly displayed their grandiosity and exploitativeness at a high level.

Are today's adolescents and emerging adults more self-centered and narcissistic than their counterparts in earlier generations? Research by Jean Twenge and her colleagues (2008a, b) indicated that compared with baby boomers who were surveyed in 1975, twelfth-graders surveyed in 2006 were more self-satisfied overall and far more confident that they would be very good employees, mates, and parents. Today's adolescents are sometimes labeled "Generation Me." However, other large-scale analyses have revealed no increase in high school and college students' narcissism from 1976 through 2006 (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010; Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2008a, b). In sum, the extent to which recent generations of adolescents have higher self-esteem and are more narcissistic than earlier generations is controversial (Arnett, 2010; Donnellan & Trzesniewski, 2010; Eckersley, 2010; Rieger & others, 2016; Roberts, Edmonds, & Grijalva, 2010; Twenge & Campbell, 2010; Twenge, Carter, & Campbell, 2017).

Does Self-Esteem Change During Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood?

Researchers have found that self-esteem often decreases when children make the transition from elementary school to middle or junior high school (Twenge & Campbell, 2001). Indeed, during and just after many life transitions, individuals' self-esteem often decreases.

One study found that preexisting gender differences in self-esteem (higher in males) narrowed between the ninth and twelfth grades (Falci, 2012). In this study, adolescents from higher-SES backgrounds had higher self-esteem than did their lower-SES counterparts.

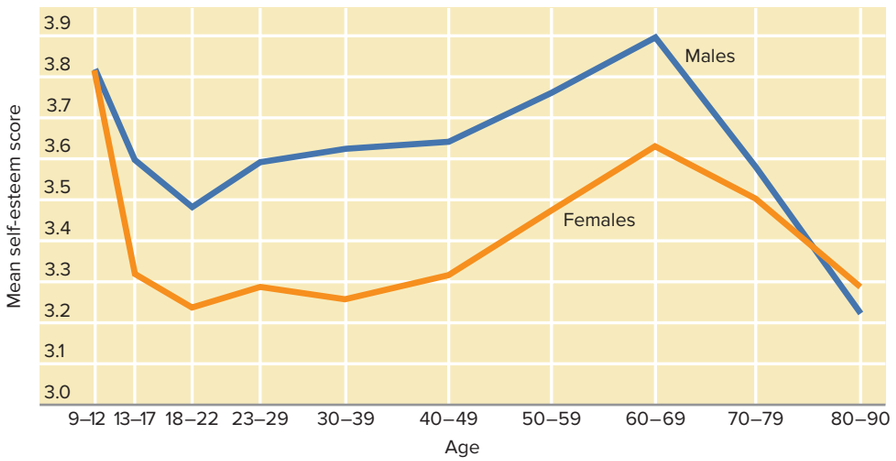
Self-esteem fluctuates across the life span (Miller & Cho, 2018; Trzesniewski, Donnellan, & Robins, 2013; von Soest & others, 2018). One cross-sectional study assessed the self-esteem of a very large, diverse sample of 326,641 individuals from 9 to 90 years of age (Robins & others, 2002). About two-thirds of the participants were from the United States. The individuals were asked to respond to the statement, "I have high self-esteem" on a 5-point scale in which 5 stood for "strongly agree" and 1 stood for "strongly disagree." Self-esteem decreased in adolescence, increased in the twenties, leveled off in the thirties, rose in the forties through the mid-sixties, and then dropped in the seventies and eighties (see Figure 2). At most ages, males reported higher self-esteem than females did.

Another study also found that the gender gap (lower for females) in self-esteem

FIGURE 2

SELF-ESTEEM ACROSS THE LIFE SPAN. One large-scale study asked more than 300,000 individuals to rate the extent to which they have high self-esteem on a 5-point scale, with 5 being "strongly agree" and 1 being "strongly disagree." Self-esteem dropped in adolescence and late adulthood. Self-esteem of females was lower than self-esteem of males through most of the life span.

Source: Robins, R. W., Trzesniewski, K. H., Tracey, J. L., Potter, J., & Gosling, S. D. "Age differences in self-esteem from age 9 to 90." *Psychology and Aging*, vol. 17, 2002, 423–434.



decreased as individuals went through emerging adulthood from 18 to 25 years of age (Galambos, Barker, & Krahn, 2006). In this study, social support and marriage were linked to an increase in self-esteem, whereas unemployment was related to a decrease in self-esteem.

Some researchers argue that although there may be a decrease in self-esteem during adolescence, the drop is actually very slight and not nearly as pronounced as it is presented in the media (Harter, 2013; Hyde, 2005; Hyde & Else-Quest, 2013; Kling & others, 1999). Also note in Figure 2 that, despite the drop in self-esteem among adolescent girls, their average score (3.3) was still slightly higher than the neutral point on the scale (3.0).

One explanation for the decline in self-esteem among females during early adolescence focuses on girls' more negative body images during pubertal change compared with boys (Harter, 2006). Another explanation involves the greater interest young adolescent girls take in social relationships and society's failure to reward that interest.

A current concern is that too many of today's college students grew up receiving empty praise and as a consequence have inflated self-esteem (Graham, 2005; Stipek, 2005). Too often they were given praise for performance that was mediocre or even poor. Now that they are in college, they may have difficulty handling competition and criticism. The title of a book, *Dumbing Down Our Kids: Why American Children Feel Good about Themselves but Can't Read, Write, or Add* (Sykes, 1995), vividly captures the theme that many U.S. students' academic problems may stem at least in part from unmerited praise that was provided in an effort to prop up their self-esteem. A similar theme—the promise of high self-esteem for students in education, especially those who are impoverished or marginalized—characterized a more recent book, *Challenging the Cult of Self-Esteem in Education* (Bergeron, 2018). In a series of studies, researchers found that inflated praise, although well intended, may cause students with low self-esteem to avoid important learning experiences such as tackling challenging tasks (Brummelman & others, 2014).

developmental **connection**

Gender

Gender differences characterize adolescents' body images, with adolescent girls having a more negative body image than boys do, especially in early adolescence. Connect to "Puberty, Health, and Biological Foundations."

Is Self-Esteem Linked to Academic Success or Initiative? School performance and self-esteem are only moderately correlated, and these correlations do not suggest that high self-esteem produces better school performance (Baumeister & others, 2003). Efforts to increase students' self-esteem have not always led to improved school performance (Davies & Brember, 1999). Adolescents with high self-esteem have greater initiative, but this can produce positive or negative outcomes (Baumeister & others, 2003). Adolescents with high self-esteem are prone to take both prosocial and antisocial actions.

Are Some Domains More Closely Linked to Self-Esteem Than Others? Many adolescents are preoccupied with their body image (Markey, 2010). Physical appearance is an especially powerful contributor to self-esteem in adolescence (Harter, 2006, 2012). In Harter's (1999) research, for example, global self-esteem was correlated most strongly with physical appearance, a link that has been found in both the United States and other countries (see Figure 3). In another study, adolescents' concept of their physical attractiveness was the strongest predictor of their overall self-esteem (Lord & Eccles, 1994). This strong association between perceived appearance and general self-worth is not confined to adolescence but holds across most of the life span, from early childhood through middle age (Harter, 1999).

Domain	Harter's U.S. samples	Other countries
Physical Appearance	.65	.62
Scholastic Competence	.48	.41
Social Acceptance	.46	.40
Behavioral Conduct	.45	.45
Athletic Competence	.33	.30

FIGURE **3**

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN GLOBAL SELF-ESTEEM AND DOMAINS OF COMPETENCE. *Note:* The correlations shown are the average correlations computed across a number of studies. The other countries in this evaluation were England, Ireland, Australia, Canada, Germany, Italy, Greece, the Netherlands, and Japan. Recall that correlation coefficients can range from –1.00 to +1.00. The correlations between physical appearance and global self-esteem in the United States and in other countries (.65 and .62, respectively) are moderately high.

Social Contexts and Self-Esteem Social contexts such as the family, peers, and schools contribute to the development of an adolescent's self-esteem (Lockhart & others, 2017; Miller & Cho, 2018). One study found that as family cohesiveness increased, adolescents' self-esteem increased over time (Baldwin & Hoffman, 2002). In this study, family cohesion was based on the amount of time the family spent together, the quality of their communication, and the extent to which the adolescent was involved in family decision making. In another investigation, the following parenting attributes were associated with boys' high self-esteem: expression of affection; concern about the boys' problems; harmony in the home; participation in joint family activities; availability to give competent, organized help when the boys needed it; setting clear and fair rules; abiding by the rules; and allowing the boys freedom within well-defined limits (Coopersmith, 1967). And in a longitudinal study, the quality of children's home environment (which involved assessment of parenting quality, cognitive stimulation, and the physical

home environment) was linked to their self-esteem in early adulthood (Orth, 2017). This study illustrates the importance of one of the main issues in adolescent development described in the "Introduction" chapter: the relative importance of early versus later experiences.

Peer judgments gain increasing importance in adolescence (Villanti, Boulay, & Juon, 2011). The link between peer approval and self-worth increases during adolescence (Harter, 1990b). The transition from elementary school to middle or junior high school is associated with a drop in self-esteem (Harter, 2012). Self-esteem is higher in the last year of elementary school than in middle or junior high school, especially in the first year after the transition (Simmons & Blyth, 1987).

developmental **connection**
School
The transition to middle or junior high school is stressful for many individuals because it coincides with a number of physical, cognitive, and socioemotional changes. Connect to "Schools."

Consequences of Low Self-Esteem For most adolescents and emerging adults, the emotional discomfort of low self-esteem is only temporary, but for some, low self-esteem can develop into other problems. Low self-esteem has been implicated in overweight and obesity, anxiety, depression, suicide, and delinquency (Hill, 2016; Paxton & Damiano, 2017; Rieger & others, 2016; Stadelmann & others, 2017). One study revealed that youth with low self-esteem had lower life satisfaction at 30 years of age (Birkeland & others, 2012). Another study found that low and decreasing self-esteem in adolescence was linked to adult depression two decades later (Steiger & others, 2014). And a longitudinal study indicated that low self-esteem in early adolescence was linked to lower levels of mental and physical health, worse economic prospects, and a higher level of criminal behavior at 26 years of age (Trzesniewski & others, 2006).

Also keep in mind that the seriousness of the problem depends not only on the nature of the adolescent's or emerging adult's low self-esteem but on other conditions as well. When low self-esteem is compounded by difficult school transitions, a troubled family life, or other stressful events, an individual's problems can intensify.

An important point needs to be made about much of the research on self-esteem: It is correlational rather than experimental. Remember that correlation does not equal causation. Thus, if a correlational study finds an association between self-esteem and depression, it could be equally likely that depression causes low self-esteem or that low self-esteem causes depression. A longitudinal study explored whether self-esteem is a cause or consequence of social support in youth (Marshall & others, 2014). In this study, self-esteem predicted subsequent changes in social support, but social support did not predict subsequent changes in self-esteem.

Given the potential consequences of low self-esteem, how can the self-esteem of adolescents and emerging adults be increased? To explore possible answers to this question, see the *Connecting with Health and Well-Being* interlude.

SELF-REGULATION

Self-regulation involves the ability to control one's behavior without having to rely on others' help. Self-regulation includes the self-generation and cognitive monitoring of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in order to reach a goal (Duncan, McClelland, & Acock, 2017; Galinsky & others, 2018). Throughout most of the life span, individuals who engage in self-regulation are higher achievers, enjoy better health, and are more satisfied with their lives than their counterparts who let external factors dominate their lives (Sinatra & Taasoobshirazi, 2017; Usher & Schunk, 2018). For example, researchers have found that, compared with low-achieving students, high-achieving students engage in greater self-regulation. They do this by setting more specific learning goals, using more strategies to learn and adapt, self-monitoring more, and more systematically evaluating their progress toward a goal (McClelland & others, 2017; Schunk & Greene, 2018).

developmental **connection**
Achievement
Self-regulation and delay of gratification are key processes in the development of achievement and academic success in adolescence. Connect to "The Brain and Cognitive Development" and "Achievement, Work, and Careers."

A key component of self-regulation is engaging in *effortful control*, which involves inhibiting impulses and not engaging in destructive behavior, focusing and maintaining attention despite distractions, and initiating and completing tasks that have long-term value, even if they may seem unpleasant (Eisenberg, 2017; Esposito & others, 2017; Lansford, 2018). In a recent study, effortful control at 2 to 3 years of age predicted higher academic achievement at 14 to 15 years of age (Dindo & others, 2017). Another study found that effortful control at 17 years of age predicted academic persistence and educational attainment at 23 to 25 years of age (Veronneau & others, 2014). In this study, effortful control was just as strong a

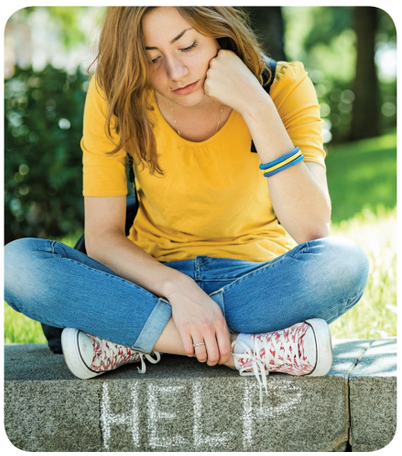
self-regulation The ability to control one's behavior without having to rely on others for help.

connecting with health and well-being

How Can Adolescents' Self-Esteem Be Increased?

Four ways to improve adolescents' and emerging adults' self-esteem are to (1) identify the causes of low self-esteem and the domains of competence important to the self; (2) provide emotional support and social approval; (3) foster achievement; and (4) help adolescents to cope with challenges.

Identifying an adolescent's or emerging adult's sources of self-esteem—that is, the domains that are important to the self—is critical to improving self-esteem. Self-esteem theorist and researcher Susan Harter (1990b) points out that the self-esteem enhancement programs of the 1960s, in which self-esteem itself was the target and individuals were encouraged to simply feel good about themselves, were ineffective. Rather, Harter (1998) concludes that intervention must occur at the level of the causes of self-esteem if self-esteem is to improve significantly. Adolescents and emerging adults have the highest self-esteem when they perform competently in domains important to the self. Therefore, adolescents and emerging adults should be encouraged to identify and value their domains of competence. For example, some adolescents and emerging adults might have artistic talent, others might have strong academic skills, and yet others might excel in sports.



What are some strategies for increasing self-esteem?
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Emotional support and social approval in the form of confirmation from others can also powerfully influence self-esteem (Harter, 1990a, b). Some youth with low self-esteem come from conflictual families or conditions in which they experienced abuse or neglect—situations in which support is unavailable. In some cases, alternative sources of support can be implemented, either informally through the encouragement of a teacher, a coach, or another significant adult, or more formally through programs such as Big Brothers and Big Sisters. Although peer approval becomes increasingly important during adolescence, both adult and peer support are important influences on the adolescent's self-esteem. In one study, both parental and peer support were related to the adolescent's general self-worth (Robinson, 1995).

Achievement can also improve adolescents' and emerging adults' self-esteem (Chen, Sun, & Wang, 2018; Ferradás Canedo & others, 2018; Mruk & O'Brien, 2013). For example, the straightforward teaching of real skills to adolescents and emerging adults often results in increased achievement and thus in enhanced self-esteem. Adolescents and emerging adults develop higher self-esteem when they know what tasks are important for achieving goals and they have experienced success in performing them or similar behaviors. This emphasis on the importance of achievement in improving self-esteem has much in common with Albert Bandura's (2010) social cognitive concept of self-efficacy, which refers to individuals' beliefs that they can master a situation and produce positive outcomes.

Self-esteem often increases when adolescents face a problem and try to cope with it rather than avoid it (Dyson & Renk, 2006). Facing problems realistically, honestly, and nondefensively produces favorable self-evaluative thoughts, which lead to the self-generated approval that raises self-esteem.

Can individuals have too much self-esteem? How can research address this question?

predictor of educational attainment as were parents' education and past grade point average. Also, a recent study of Mexican American adolescents revealed that effortful control was linked to coping with stress more effectively (Taylor, Widaman, & Robins, 2018). Further, a recent study revealed a reciprocal relationship between school engagement and self-regulation in adolescence (Stefansson & others, 2018).

Some researchers emphasize the early development of self-regulation in childhood and adolescence as a key contributor to adult health and even longevity (Drake, Belsky, & Fearon, 2014; Wigfield & others, 2015). For example, Nancy Eisenberg and her colleagues (2014) concluded that research indicates self-regulation fosters conscientiousness later in life, both directly and through its link to academic motivation/success and internalized compliance with norms.

What characterizes self-regulation in adolescence?
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Review *Connect* Reflect

LG1 Describe the development of the self in adolescence.

Review

- What is self-understanding? What are the key dimensions of self-understanding in adolescence? What are some important aspects of understanding others in adolescence?
- What are self-esteem and self-concept? How can they be measured? Are some domains more salient than others to adolescents' self-esteem? How are social contexts linked with adolescents' self-esteem? What are the consequences of low self-esteem? How can adolescents' self-esteem be increased?
- What characterizes self-regulation in adolescence?

Connect

- Contrast self-esteem, self-concept, and narcissism.

Reflect *Your Own Personal Journey of Life*

- Think about what your future selves might be. What do you envision will make you the happiest about the future selves you aspire to become? What prospective selves hold negative possibilities?

2 Identity

LG2 Explain the many facets of identity development.

Erikson's Ideas on Identity | The Four Statuses of Identity | Developmental Changes in Identity | Identity and Social Contexts | Identity and Intimacy

"Who are you?" said the Caterpillar. Alice replied, rather shyly, "I—I hardly know, Sir, just at present—at least I know who I was when I got up this morning, but I must have changed several times since then."

—Lewis Carroll
English Writer, 19th Century

Erik Erikson.

Identity is who a person believes she or he is, representing a synthesis and integration of self-understanding. By far the most comprehensive and provocative theory of identity development is that of Erik Erikson. In fact, some experts on adolescence consider Erikson's ideas to be the single most influential theory of adolescent development. Let's look further at his theory, beginning with an analysis of his ideas on identity.

ERIKSON'S IDEAS ON IDENTITY

Who am I? What am I all about? What am I going to do with my life? What is different about me? How can I make it on my own? These questions, not usually considered in childhood, surface as a common, virtually universal concern during adolescence. Adolescents clamor for solutions to questions of identity. Erik Erikson (1950, 1968) was the first to realize how central such questions are to understanding adolescent development. Today's emphasis on identity as a key concept in adolescent development results directly from Erikson's masterful thinking and analysis.

Identity Versus Identity Confusion In Erikson's theory, **identity versus identity confusion** is the fifth developmental stage (or crisis) in the human life span and it occurs during the adolescent years. At this time, adolescents are faced with deciding who they are, what they are all about, and where they are going in life. They confront many new roles, from vocational to romantic. As part of their identity exploration, adolescents experience a **psychosocial moratorium**, Erikson's term for the gap between childhood security and adult autonomy. In the course of exploring and searching their culture's identity files, they often experiment with different roles. Youth who cope successfully with these conflicting roles and identities emerge with a new sense of self that is both refreshing and acceptable. But adolescents who do not successfully resolve the identity crisis suffer what Erikson calls *identity confusion*. Either they withdraw, isolating themselves from peers and family, or they immerse themselves in the world of peers and lose their identity in the crowd.

Role Experimentation A core ingredient of Erikson's theory of identity development is role experimentation. As we have seen, Erikson stressed that adolescents face an overwhelming number of choices and at some point during their youth enter a period of psychosocial moratorium. During this moratorium and before they reach a stable sense of self, they try out different roles and behaviors. They might be argumentative one moment, cooperative the next. They might dress neatly one day and sloppily the next day. One week they might like a particular friend, and the next week they might despise the same person. This identity experimentation is a deliberate effort on the part of adolescents to find their place in the world.

As adolescents gradually come to realize that they will soon be responsible for themselves and their lives, they try to determine what those lives are going to be. Many parents and other adults, accustomed to having children go along with what they say, may be bewildered or incensed by the wisecracks, rebelliousness, and rapid mood changes that accompany adolescence. But it is important for these adults to give adolescents the time and opportunity to explore different roles and personalities. In turn, most adolescents eventually discard undesirable roles.

There are literally hundreds of roles for adolescents to try out and probably just as many ways to pursue each role. Erikson argued that by late adolescence, vocational roles become central to identity development, especially in a highly technological society like that of the United States. Youth who have been well trained to enter a workforce that offers the potential of reasonably high self-esteem will experience the least stress during this phase of identity development. Some youth may reject jobs offering good pay and traditionally high social status, choosing instead work that allows them to be more genuinely helpful to others, perhaps in the Peace Corps, a mental health clinic, or an elementary school in a low-income neighborhood. Some youth may prefer unemployment to the prospect of work that they feel they could not perform well or that would make them feel useless. To Erikson, such choices reflect the desire to achieve a meaningful identity by being true to oneself rather than by burying one's identity within the larger society.

When identity has been conceptualized and researched, it typically is explored in a broad sense. However, identity is a self-portrait that is composed of many pieces and domains:

- The career and work path a person wants to follow (vocational/career identity)
- Whether a person is politically conservative, liberal, or middle of the road (political identity)
- A person's spiritual beliefs (religious identity)
- Whether a person is single, married, divorced, or cohabiting (relationship identity)
- The extent to which a person is motivated to achieve and is intellectually oriented (achievement, intellectual identity)
- Whether a person is heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual (sexual identity)
- Which part of the world or country a person is from and how intensely the person identifies with his or her cultural heritage (cultural/ethnic identity)
- The things a person likes to do, including sports, music, and hobbies (interests)
- An individual's personality characteristics—being introverted or extraverted, anxious or calm, friendly or hostile, and so on (personality)
- A person's body image (physical identity)

Currently, too little research attention has been given to these and other domains of identity (Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017).

Some Contemporary Thoughts on Identity Contemporary views of identity development suggest that it is a lengthy process, in many instances more gradual and less cataclysmic than Erikson's term *crisis* implies (Landberg, Dimitrova, & Syed, 2018; Maher, Winston, & Ur, 2017; Meeus, 2017; Reece & others, 2017; Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018; Vosylis, Erentaite, & Crocetti, 2018). Today's theorists note that this extraordinarily complex process neither begins nor ends with adolescence. It begins in infancy with the appearance of attachment, the development of a sense of self, and the emergence of independence. It ends with a life review and integration in old age. What is important about identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood is that this is the first time when physical, cognitive, and socioemotional development advance to the point at which the individual can sort through and synthesize childhood identities and identifications to construct a viable path toward adult maturity (Marcia & Carpendale, 2004). Resolution of the identity issue during adolescence

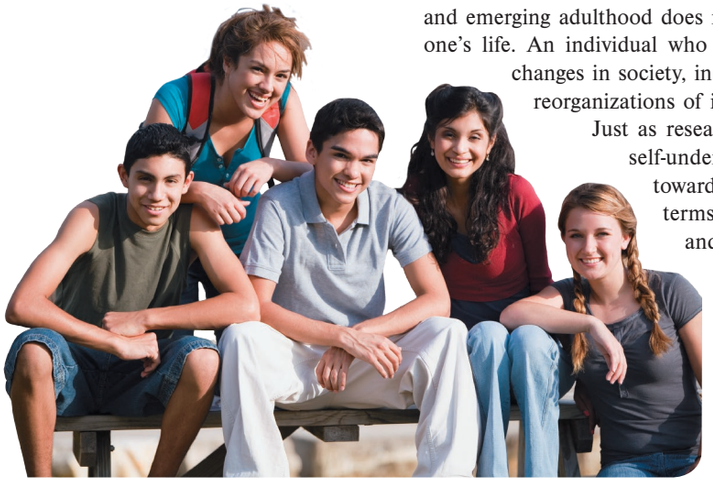
developmental **connection**
Theories
Erikson suggested that individuals go through eight stages in the course of human development. Connect to "Introduction."

One of Erik Erikson's strategies for explaining the nature of identity development was to analyze the lives of famous individuals. One such individual was Mahatma Gandhi (*center*), the spiritual leader of India in the mid-twentieth century, about whom Erikson (1969) wrote in *Gandhi's Truth*.

identity Who a person believes he or she is, representing a synthesis and integration of self-understanding.

identity versus identity confusion Erikson's fifth developmental stage, which occurs during adolescence. At this time, individuals are faced with deciding who they are, what they are all about, and where they are going in life.

psychosocial moratorium Erikson's term for the gap between childhood security and adult autonomy that adolescents experience as part of their identity exploration.



What are some contemporary thoughts about identity formation and development?

and emerging adulthood does not mean that identity will be stable through the remainder of one's life. An individual who develops a healthy identity is flexible and adaptive, open to changes in society, in relationships, and in careers. This openness assures numerous reorganizations of identity throughout the individual's life.

Just as researchers increasingly describe adolescents' and emerging adults' self-understanding in terms of multiple selves, there also is a trend toward characterizing adolescents' and emerging adults' identity in terms of multiple identities, such as ethnicity, spirituality, sexuality, and so on (Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017; Schwartz & others, 2013; Vosylis, Erentaite, & Crocetti, 2018). Although adolescent and emerging adult identities are preceded by childhood identities, central questions such as "Who am I?" come up more frequently during the adolescent and emerging adult years. During adolescence and emerging adulthood, identities are characterized more strongly by the search for balance between the needs for autonomy and for connectedness.

Identity formation seldom happens neatly nor is it usually cataclysmic (Adler & others, 2017; Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017). At the bare minimum, it involves commitment to a vocational direction, an ideological stance, and a sexual orientation. Synthesizing the components of identity can be a long, drawn-out process, with many negations and affirmations of various roles. Identity development takes place in bits and pieces (Duriez & others, 2012). Decisions are not made once and for all but must be made again and again (Schwartz & others, 2013, 2014). Although the decisions might seem trivial at the time—whom to date, whether or not to have sex, whether to break up; whether to take drugs; whether to go to college or get a job, to study or play; whether to be politically active or not—over the years, they begin to form the core of what an individual is all about.

As long as one keeps searching, the answers come.

—Joan Baez
American Folk Singer, 20th Century

A current concern about the development of identity in adolescence and emerging adulthood was voiced in William Damon's (2008) book, *The Path to Purpose*. Damon acknowledges that successful identity development is a long-term process of extended exploration and reflection, and in some instances it can involve postponing decisions for a number of years. However, what concerns Damon is that too many of today's youth aren't moving toward any identity resolution. In Damon's (2008, pp. 5, 7) words,

> Their delay is characterized more by indecision than by motivated reflection, more by confusion than by pursuit of clear goals, more by ambivalence than by determination. Directionless shift is not a constructive moratorium in either a developmental or a societal sense. Without a sense of direction, opportunities are lost, and doubt and self-absorption can set in. Maladaptive habits are established and adaptive ones not built. . . . What is too often missing is . . . the kind of wholehearted dedication to an activity or interest that stems from serious purpose, a purpose that can give meaning and direction to life.

In Damon's (2008, p. 47) view, too many youth are left to their own devices in dealing with some of life's biggest questions: "What is my calling?" "What do I have to contribute to the world?" "What am I here for?" Damon acknowledges that adults can't make youths' decisions for them, but he emphasizes that it is very important for parents, teachers, mentors, and other adults to provide guidance, feedback, and contexts that will increase the likelihood that youth will develop a positive identity. Youth need a cultural climate that inspires rather than demoralizes them and supports their chances of reaching their aspirations.

developmental **connection**
Achievement
In interviews with 12- to 22-year-olds, Damon found that only about 20 percent had a clear vision of where they wanted to go in life, what they wanted to achieve, and why. Connect to "Achievement, Work, and Careers."

THE FOUR STATUSES OF IDENTITY

James Marcia (1980, 1994, 2002) analyzed Erikson's theory of identity development and concluded that it involves four identity statuses, or ways of resolving the identity crisis: identity diffusion, identity foreclosure, identity moratorium, and identity achievement. That is, Marcia uses the extent of an adolescent's crisis and commitment to classify individuals according to these four identity statuses. He defines the term **crisis** as a period of identity development during which the adolescent is choosing among meaningful alternatives. (Most researchers use the term *exploration*.) By **commitment,** he means a personal investment in what an individual is going to do.

crisis A period of identity development during which the adolescent is choosing among meaningful alternatives.

commitment The part of identity development in which adolescents show a personal investment in what they are going to do.

	Identity Status			
Position on Occupation and Ideology	**Identity Diffusion**	**Identity Foreclosure**	**Identity Moratorium**	**Identity Achievement**
Crisis	Absent	Absent	Present	Present
Commitment	Absent	Present	Absent	Present

FIGURE **4**
MARCIA'S FOUR STATUSES OF IDENTITY

Let's examine each of Marcia's four identity statuses:

- **Identity diffusion** is Marcia's term for the state adolescents are in when they have not yet experienced an identity crisis (that is, have not yet explored meaningful alternatives) and have not made any commitments. Not only are adolescents in this status undecided about occupational and ideological choices, but they usually show little interest in such matters.
- **Identity foreclosure** is Marcia's term for the state adolescents are in when they have made a commitment but have not experienced an identity crisis. This status occurs most often when parents hand down commitments to their adolescents, usually in an authoritarian way. Thus, adolescents with this status have not had adequate opportunities to explore different approaches, ideologies, and vocations on their own.
- **Identity moratorium** is Marcia's term for the state of adolescents who are in the midst of an identity crisis, but who have not made a clear commitment to an identity.
- **Identity achievement** is Marcia's term for the status of adolescents who have undergone an identity crisis and made a commitment.

Figure 4 summarizes Marcia's four identity statuses.

Let's explore some specific examples of Marcia's identity statuses. A 13-year-old adolescent has neither begun to explore her identity in a meaningful way nor made an identity commitment; she is *identity diffused*. An 18-year-old boy's parents want him to be a doctor, so he is planning on majoring in premedicine in college and has not adequately explored any other options; he is *identity foreclosed*. Nineteen-year-old Sasha is not quite sure what life path she wants to follow, but she recently went to the counseling center at her college to find out about different careers; she is in an *identity moratorium*. Twenty-one-year-old Marcelo extensively explored a number of different career options in college, eventually got his degree in science education, and is looking forward to his first year of teaching high school; he is *identity achieved*. Although these examples of identity statuses focus on careers, remember that the whole of identity has multiple dimensions.

Earlier in this chapter we described various dimensions of identity and indicated that too little research has been given to these domains (Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017; Vosylis, Erentaite, & Crocetti, 2018). To explore your identity status on a number of identity's dimensions, see Figure 5.

Marcia's approach has been sharply criticized by some researchers who conclude that it distorts and overly simplifies Erikson's concepts of crisis and commitment (Coté, 2015; Klimstra & others, 2017). Erikson emphasized that youth question the perceptions and expectations of their culture and the development of an autonomous position with regard to one's society. In Marcia's approach, these complex questions are reduced to whether a youth has thought about certain issues and considered the alternatives. Similarly, in Marcia's approach, Erikson's idea of commitment loses its meaning of investing oneself in certain lifelong projects and is interpreted simply as having made a firm decision. Other researchers still maintain that Marcia's approach is a valuable contribution to understanding identity (Crocetti & Meeus, 2015; Kroger, 2015; Kunnen & Metz, 2015).

Belgian psychologists Luc Goossens, Koen Luyckx, and their colleagues (Goossens & Luyckx, 2007; Luyckx & others, 2010, 2013, 2014, 2017) have proposed an extension of Marcia's concepts of exploration and commitment. Their revisionist theorizing stresses that effective identity development involves evaluating identity commitments on a continuing basis.

identity diffusion Marcia's term for the state adolescents are in when they have not yet experienced an identity crisis or made any commitments.

identity foreclosure Marcia's term for the state adolescents are in when they have made a commitment but have not experienced an identity crisis.

identity moratorium Marcia's term for the state of adolescents who are in the midst of an identity crisis but who have not made a clear commitment to an identity.

identity achievement Marcia's term for an adolescent who has undergone an identity crisis and made a commitment.

FIGURE 5

EXPLORING YOUR IDENTITY. If you checked diffused or foreclosed for any areas, take some time to think about what you need to do to move into a moratorium identity status in those areas.

Think deeply about your exploration and commitment in the areas listed here. For each area, check whether your identity status is diffused, foreclosed, moratorium, or achieved.

Identity Component	Identity Status			
	Diffused	Foreclosed	Moratorium	Achieved
Vocational (career)				
Political				
Religious				
Relationships				
Achievement				
Sexual				
Gender				
Ethnic/Cultural				
Interests				
Personality				
Physical				

Two processes that have been devised to capture this ongoing identity examination are (1) exploration in depth, especially talking to others about commitments, and (2) an individual's confidence and security in a commitment.

For example, consider a first-year college student who makes a commitment to become a lawyer. Exploring this commitment in depth might include finding out as much as possible about what is involved in being a lawyer, such as educational requirements, the work conducted by lawyers in different areas, what types of college classes might be beneficial for this career, and so on. It might also include talking with several lawyers about their profession. As a result of this in-depth exploration, the college student may become more confident that being a lawyer is the career that best suits her. As she goes through the remainder of her college years, she will continue to evaluate the commitment she has made to becoming a lawyer and may change her commitment as she continues to gather new information and reflect on the life path she wants to take. In one study, planfulness was a consistent predictor of engagement in identity exploration and commitment (Luyckx & Robitschek, 2014).

Thus, the newer *dual cycle identity model* separates out identity development into two different processes: (1) a formation cycle that relies on exploration in breadth and identification with commitment, and (2) a maintenance cycle that involves exploration in depth as well as reconsideration of commitments (Luyckx & others, 2014, 2017).

One way that researchers are examining identity changes in depth is to use a *narrative approach*. This involves asking individuals to tell their life stories and evaluate the extent to which their stories are meaningful and integrated (Adler & others, 2018; Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017; Habermas & Kober, 2015; McAdams & Zapata-Gietl, 2015; McLean & others, 2018; Pasupathi, 2015; Singer & Kasmark, 2015; Sauchelli, 2018; Svensson, Berne, & Syed, 2018). The term *narrative identity* "refers to the stories people construct and tell about themselves to define who they are for themselves and others. Beginning in adolescence and young adulthood, our narrative identities are the stories we live by" (McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, 2006, p. 4).

DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGES IN IDENTITY

During early adolescence, most youth are primarily in the identity statuses of *diffusion, foreclosure*, or *moratorium*. According to Marcia (1987, 1996), at least three aspects of the young adolescent's development are important to identity formation. Young adolescents must be confident that they have parental support, must have an established sense of industry (positive orientation toward work), and must be able to take a self-reflective stance toward the future.

Researchers have developed a consensus that many of the key changes in identity are most likely to take place in emerging adulthood, the period from about 18 to 25 years of age, not in adolescence (Arnett, 2015; Kroger, 2015; Landberg, Dimitrova, & Syed, 2018). For example, Alan Waterman (1985, 1992) has found that from the years preceding high school through the last few years of college, the number of individuals who are identity achieved increases, whereas the number of individuals who are identity diffused decreases. Many young adolescents are identity diffused. College upperclassmen are more likely than high school students or college freshmen to be identity achieved.

How does identity change in emerging adulthood?
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Why might college produce some key changes in identity? Increased complexity in the reasoning skills of college students combined with a wide range of new experiences that highlight contrasts between home and college and between themselves and others stimulate them to reach a higher level of integrating various dimensions of their identity (Phinney, 2008). College contexts serve as a virtual "laboratory" for identity development through such experiences as diverse coursework and exposure to peers from diverse backgrounds. Also, one of emerging adulthood's key themes is not having many social commitments, which gives individuals considerable independence in developing a life path (Arnett, 2014; Arnett & Fischel, 2013).

James Coté (2015) argues that, because of this freedom, developing a positive identity in emerging adulthood requires considerable self-discipline and planning. Without this self-discipline and planning, emerging adults are likely to drift and not follow any particular direction. Coté also stresses that emerging adults who obtain a higher education are more likely to be on a positive identity path. Those who don't obtain a higher education, he says, tend to experience frequent job changes, not because they are searching for an identity but rather because they are just trying to eke out a living in a society that rewards higher education.

A meta-analysis of 124 studies by Jane Kroger and her colleagues (2010) revealed that during adolescence and emerging adulthood, identity moratorium status rose steadily to age 19 and then declined; identity achievement rose across late adolescence and emerging adulthood; and foreclosure and diffusion statuses declined across the high school years but fluctuated during the late teens and emerging adulthood. The studies also found that a large portion of individuals were not identity achieved by the time they reached their twenties. This important finding—that so few older adolescents and emerging adults had reached an identity achieved status—suggests that mastering identity development by the end of adolescence is more elusive for most individuals than Erikson (1968) envisioned.

A research review concluded that identity is more stable in adulthood than in adolescence (Meeus, 2011). However, resolution of identity during adolescence and emerging adulthood does not mean that identity will be stable through the remainder of life (Kroger, 2015; McAdams & Zapata-Gietl, 2015). Many individuals who develop positive identities follow what are called "MAMA" cycles; that is, their identity status changes from ***m***oratorium to ***a***chievement to ***m***oratorium to ***a***chievement (Marcia, 1994). These cycles may be repeated throughout life (Francis, Fraser, & Marcia, 1989). Marcia (2002) points out that the first identity is just that—it is not, and should not be expected to be, the final product.

Researchers have shown that identity consolidation—the process of refining and enhancing the identity choices that are made in emerging adulthood—continues well into early adulthood and possibly the early part of middle adulthood (Kroger, 2015). One study found that women and men continued to show identity development from 27 through 36 years of age, with the main changes in the direction of greater commitment (Pulkkinen & Kokko, 2000). In this study, adults more often moved into achieved and foreclosed identities than into moratorium or diffused identities. Further, from early to middle adulthood, individuals become more certain about their identity. For example, a longitudinal study of Smith College women found that identity certainty increased from the thirties through the fifties (Stewart, Ostrove, & Helson, 2001).

developmental **connection**

Emerging Adulthood

Emerging adults have few social obligations, which allows them considerable autonomy in running their lives (Arnett, 2010, 2014). Connect to "Introduction."

IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

Social contexts influence an adolescent's identity development (Cheon & others, 2018; Galliher, McLean, & Syed, 2017; Kiang & Witkow, 2018; McLean & others, 2017; Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018; Umana-Taylor & others, 2018). Questions we will explore in this regard are:

developmental **connection**
Attachment
Even while adolescents seek autonomy, attachment to parents is important; secure attachment in adolescence is linked to a number of positive outcomes. Connect to "Families."

Do family relationships influence identity development? What roles do peers, romantic relationships, and the digital world play in identity formation? How are culture and ethnicity linked to identity development? Is the identity development of females and males different?

Family Influences on Identity Parents are important figures in the adolescent's development of identity (Cooper, 2011; Crocetti & others, 2017). For example, one study found that poor communication between mothers and adolescents, as well as persistent conflicts with friends, was linked to less positive identity development (Reis & Youniss, 2004). Catherine Cooper and her colleagues (Cooper, 2011; Cooper, Behrens, & Trinh, 2009; Cooper & Grotevant, 1989) have found that a family atmosphere that promotes both individuality and connectedness is important in the adolescent's identity development:

- **Individuality** consists of two dimensions: self-assertion, which is the ability to have and communicate a point of view; and separateness, which is the use of communication patterns to express how one is different from others.
- **Connectedness** also consists of two dimensions: mutuality, which involves sensitivity to and respect for others' views; and permeability, which involves openness to others' views.

Increasing research interest also has focused on the role that attachment to parents might play in identity development. In a meta-analysis, securely attached adolescents were far more likely to be identity achieved than were insecurely attached adolescents (Arseth & others, 2009).

How might parents influence the adolescent's identity development?
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Identity and Peer/Romantic Relationships Researchers have found that the capacity to explore one's identity during adolescence and emerging adulthood is linked to the quality of peer, friendship, and romantic relationships (Galliher & Kerpelman, 2012; Quimby & others, 2018; Rivas-Drake & Umana-Taylor, 2018). For example, one study found that an open, active exploration of identity when adolescents are comfortable with close friends contributes to the positive quality of the friendship (Doumen & others, 2012). In another study, friends were often a safe context for exploring identity-related experiences, providing a testing ground for how self-disclosing comments are viewed by others (McLean & Jennings, 2012). Recent longitudinal studies also documented that the ethnic identity of adolescents is influenced by positive and diverse friendships (Rivas-Drake & others, 2017; Santos, Komienko, & Rivas-Drake, 2017).

What role might romantic relationships play in identity development?
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In terms of links between identity and romantic relationships in adolescence and emerging adulthood, individuals in a romantic relationship are both in the process of constructing their own identities and each person provides the other with a context for identity exploration (Pittman & others, 2011). The extent of their secure attachment to each other can influence how each partner constructs his or her own identity.

Identity Development and the Digital Environment For today's adolescents and emerging adults, contexts involving the digital world, especially social media platforms such as Instagram, Snapchat, and Facebook, have introduced new ways for youth to express and explore their identity (Davis & Weinstein, 2017). Adolescents and emerging adults often cast themselves in as positive a light as they can on their digital devices—posting their most attractive photos and describing themselves in idealistic ways, continually editing and reworking their online self-portraits to enhance them. Adolescents' and emerging adults' online world provides extensive opportunities for both expressing their identity and getting feedback about it. Of course, such feedback is not always positive, just as in their offline world. We will have much more to say about the roles of social media in adolescence and emerging adulthood in "Culture."

Cultural and Ethnic Identity Most research on identity development has historically been based on data obtained from adolescents and emerging adults in the United States and Canada, especially those who are non-Latino Whites (Gyberg & others, 2018; Landberg,

individuality An important element in adolescent identity development. It consists of two dimensions: self-assertion, the ability to have and communicate a point of view; and separateness, the use of communication patterns to express how one is different from others.

connectedness An important element in adolescent identity development. It consists of two dimensions: mutuality, which is sensitivity to and respect for others' views; and permeability, which is openness to others' views.

What are some cross-cultural variations in identity in countries such as China and Italy?
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Dimitrova, & Syed, 2018; Polenova & others, 2018; Schwartz & others, 2012; Yoon & others, 2017). Many of these individuals have grown up in cultural contexts that value individual autonomy. However, in many countries around the world, adolescents and emerging adults have grown up influenced by a collectivist emphasis on fitting in with the group and connecting with others (Polenova & others, 2018). The collectivist emphasis is especially prevalent in East Asian countries such as China. Researchers have found that self-oriented identity exploration may not be the main process through which identity achievement is attained in East Asian countries (Schwartz & others, 2012). Rather, East Asian adolescents and emerging adults may develop their identity through identification with and imitation of others in their cultural group (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). The interdependence in East Asian cultures includes an emphasis on adolescents and emerging adults accepting and embracing social and family roles (Berman & others, 2011). Thus, some patterns of identity development, such as the foreclosed status, may be more adaptive in East Asian countries than in North American countries (Chen & Berman, 2012).

Identity development may take longer in some countries than in others (Schwartz & others, 2012). For example, research indicates that Italian youth may postpone significant identity exploration beyond adolescence and emerging adulthood, not settling on an identity until their mid- to late-twenties (Crocetti, Rabaglietti, & Sica, 2012). This delayed identity development is strongly influenced by many Italian youth living at home with their parents until 30 years of age and older.

Seth Schwartz and his colleagues (2012) have pointed out that while everyone identifies with a particular "culture," many individuals in cultural majority groups take their cultural identity for granted. Thus, many adolescents and emerging adults in the cultural majority of non-Latino Whites in the United States likely don't spend much time thinking of themselves as "White American." However, for many adolescents and emerging adults who have grown up as a member of an ethnic minority group in the United States or emigrated from another country, cultural dimensions likely are an important aspect of their identity. Researchers have found that at both the high school and college level, Latino students were more likely than non-Latino White students to indicate that their cultural identity was an important dimension of their overall self-concept (Urdan, 2012).

Throughout the world, ethnic minority groups have struggled to maintain their ethnic identities while blending in with the dominant culture (Erikson, 1968). **Ethnic identity** is an enduring aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group, along with the attitudes and feelings related to that membership (Adams & others, 2018; Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2017; Meeus, 2017; Polenova & others, 2018; Umana-Taylor & Douglass, 2017; White & others, 2018; Yoon & others, 2017). Thus, for adolescents from ethnic minority groups, the process of identity formation has an added dimension: the choice between two or more sources of identification—their own ethnic group and the mainstream, or dominant, culture (Abu-Rayya & others, 2018; Benet-Martinez & Hong, 2014). Many adolescents resolve this choice by developing a **bicultural identity.** That is, they identify in some ways with their

developmental **connection**
Culture and Ethnicity
Historical, economic, and social experiences produce differences between various ethnic groups and the majority non-Latino White group in the United States. Connect to "Culture."

ethnic identity An enduring, basic aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group and the attitudes and feelings related to that membership.

bicultural identity Identity formation that occurs when adolescents identify in some ways with their ethnic group and in other ways with the majority culture.

One adolescent girl, 16-year-old Michelle Chinn, made these comments about ethnic identity development: "My parents do not understand that teenagers need to find out who they are, which means a lot of experimenting, a lot of mood swings, a lot of emotions and awkwardness. Like any teenager, I am facing an identity crisis. I am still trying to figure out whether I am a Chinese American or an American with Asian eyes." *What are some other aspects of developing an ethnic identity in adolescence?*

Many ethnic minority youth must bridge "multiple worlds" in constructing their identities.

–Catherine Cooper

Contemporary Developmental Psychologist, University of California–Santa Cruz

How do social contexts influence adolescents' ethnic identity?

ethnic group and in other ways with the majority culture (Cooper, Gonzales, & Wilson, 2015). A study of Mexican American and Asian American college students found that they identified both with the American mainstream culture and with their culture of origin (Devos, 2006).

With their advancing cognitive skills of abstract thinking and self-reflection, adolescents (especially older adolescents) increasingly consider the meaning of their ethnicity and also have more ethnic-related experiences (Syed & McLean, 2016). Because adolescents are more mobile and independent from their parents, they are more likely to experience ethnic stereotyping and discrimination as they interact with diverse individuals in school contexts and other public settings (Potochnick, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2012). Many ethnic minority groups experience stereotyping and discrimination, including African American, Latino, and Asian American adolescents (Hughes, Way, & Rivas-Drake, 2011). Further, African American and Latino adolescents living in impoverished conditions may not go to college even if they have the academic skills to succeed in college, which may preclude identity pursuits that are stimulated by a college education and experiences (Oyserman & Destin, 2010). In some cases, some ethnic minority adolescents may need to go to work to help their parents meet their family's expenses, which also may make their pursuit of a college education more difficult (Schwartz & others, 2012).

Time is another aspect of the context that influences ethnic identity. The indicators of identity often differ for each succeeding generation of immigrants (Phinney, 2006; Phinney & Baldelomar, 2011; Phinney & Vedder, 2013). The degree to which first-generation immigrants begin to feel "American" appears to be related to whether or not they learn English, develop social networks beyond their ethnic group, and become culturally competent in their new country. For second-generation immigrants, ethnic identity is likely to be linked to retention of their ethnic language and social networks. In the third and later generations, the issues become more complex. Broad social factors may affect the extent to which members of this generation retain their ethnic identities. For example, media images may either discourage or encourage members of an ethnic group to identify with their group or retain parts of its culture. Discrimination may force people to see themselves as cut off from the majority group and encourage them to seek the support of their own ethnic culture (Marks & others, 2015).

Recent research indicates that adolescents' pride in their ethnic identity group has positive outcomes (Anglin & others, 2018; Douglass & Umana-Taylor, 2017; Umana-Taylor & Douglass, 2017; Umana-Taylor & others, 2018). For example, in a recent study, strong ethnic group affiliation and connection served a protective function in reducing risk for psychiatric problems (Anglin & others, 2018). In another study, Asian American adolescents' ethnic identity was associated with high self-esteem, positive relationships, academic motivation, and lower levels of depression over time (Kiang, Witkow, & Champagne, 2013).

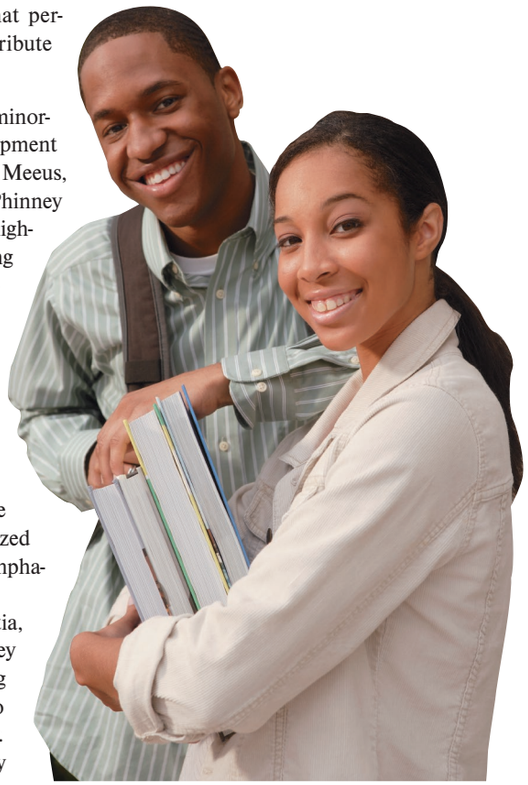
The Contexts of Ethnic Identity Development The contexts in which ethnic minority youth live influence their identity development (Cheon & others, 2018; McLean & others, 2017; Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018; Umana-Taylor & others, 2018; Yoon & others, 2017). In the United States, many ethnic minority youth live in low-SES urban settings where there is little support for developing a positive identity. Many of these youth live in pockets of poverty; are exposed to drugs, gangs, and criminal activities; and interact with youth and adults who have dropped out of school or are unemployed. In such settings, supportive organizations and programs for youth can make an important contribution to their identity development.

Might there be aspects of the social contexts in which adolescents live that increase the likelihood they will develop a positive ethnic identity? One study analyzed 60 youth organizations that served 24,000 adolescents over a period of five years and found that these organizations were especially good at building a sense of ethnic pride in inner-city youth (Heath & McLaughlin, 1993). Many inner-city youth have too much time on their hands, too little to do, and too few places to go. Organizations that nurture youth and respond positively to their

needs and interests can enhance their identity development. And organizations that perceive youth as capable, worthy, and eager to have a healthy and productive life contribute in positive ways to the identity development of ethnic minority youth.

Ethnic Identity in Emerging Adulthood For many individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds, emerging adulthood is a important juncture in their identity development (Adams & others, 2018; Espinosa & others, 2018; Landberg, Dimitrova, & Syed, 2018; Meeus, 2017; Syed, Juang, & Svensson, 2018; Vosylis, Erentaite, & Crocetti, 2018). Jean Phinney (2006) described how ethnic identity may change in emerging adulthood, especially highlighting how certain experiences may shorten or lengthen the duration of emerging adulthood among ethnic minority individuals. For ethnic minority individuals who have to take on family responsibilities and do not go to college, identity commitments may occur earlier. By contrast, especially for ethnic minority individuals who go to college, identity formation may take longer because of the complexity of exploring and understanding a bicultural identity. The cognitive challenges of higher education likely stimulate ethnic minority individuals to reflect on their identity and examine changes in the way they want to identify themselves. This increased reflection may focus on integrating parts of one's ethnic minority culture and the mainstream non-Latino White culture. For example, some emerging adults have to come to grips with resolving a conflict between family loyalty and interdependence emphasized in their ethnic minority culture and the values of independence and self-assertion emphasized by the mainstream non-Latino White culture (Arnett, 2014).

Moin Syed and Margarita Azmitia (Azmitia, 2015; Syed, 2013; Syed & Azmitia, 2008, 2009) have examined ethnic identity in emerging adulthood. In one study, they found that ethnic identity exploration and commitment increased from the beginning to the end of college (Syed & Azmitia, 2009). Exploration especially began to increase in the second year of college and continued to increase into the senior year. In another study, Syed and Azmitia (2008) found that the narrative stories told by emerging adults who held identity-moratorium and identity-achieved status involved more personally meaningful experiences that linked to their sense of identity and self-integration. Identity-achieved emerging adults told about more experiences involving prejudice and cultural connections than did their counterparts in an unexamined identity status.



What characterizes ethnic identity development in emerging adulthood?

Gender and Identity Girls and women are more likely to report having a more advanced level of identity formation (moratorium or achievement statuses) than are boys and men (Galliher & Kerpelman, 2012). Further, girls and women are more likely to have more elaborate self-representations in their identity narratives (Fivush & others, 2003; Fivush & Zaman, 2015). And one study revealed that female adolescents were more likely to engage in identity exploration related to dating (Pittman & others, 2012).

Erikson's (1968) classic presentation of identity development reflected the traditional division of labor between the sexes that was common at the time. Erikson wrote that males were mainly oriented toward career and ideological commitments, whereas females were mainly oriented toward marriage and childbearing. In the 1960s and 1970s, researchers found support for this assertion of gender differences in identity. For example, they found that vocational concerns were more central to male identity, whereas affiliative concerns were more central to female identity (LaVoie, 1976). In the last several decades, however, as females have developed stronger vocational interests, these gender differences have begun to disappear (Hyde & Else-Quest, 2013; Sharp & others, 2007).

What are some gender differences in identity development?

IDENTITY AND INTIMACY

Erikson (1968) argued that intimacy should develop after individuals are well on their way to establishing a stable and successful identity. **Intimacy versus isolation** is Erikson's sixth developmental stage, which individuals experience during early adulthood. At this time, individuals face the task of forming intimate relationships with others. Erikson describes intimacy as finding oneself, yet merging oneself with another. If young adults form healthy friendships and

intimacy versus isolation Erikson's sixth developmental stage, which individuals experience during early adulthood. At this time, individuals face the developmental task of forming intimate relationships with others.

developmental **connection**
Gender
Debate continues about gender similarities and differences in adolescents and possible reasons for the differences. Connect to "Gender."

an intimate relationship with another individual, intimacy will be achieved; if not, isolation will result.

Research has consistently shown that developing identity achievement is an important precursor to positive intimate relationships. One study supported Erikson's theory that a positive identity development in adolescence predicts better intimacy in romantic relationships during emerging adulthood (Beyers & Seiffge-Krenke, 2011). Another study also found that a higher level of intimacy was linked to a stronger identity for both male and female college students, although the intimacy scores of the college females were higher than for the males (Montgomery, 2005).

Review *Connect* Reflect

LG2 Explain the many facets of identity development.

Review

- What is Erikson's view of identity development?
- What are the four statuses of identity development?
- What developmental changes characterize identity?
- How do social contexts influence identity development?
- What is Erikson's view on identity and intimacy?

Connect

- Compare the influences of family and of ethnicity/culture on identity development.

Reflect *Your Own Personal Journey of Life*

- How would you describe your identity in adolescence? How has your identity changed since adolescence?

3 Emotional Development

LG3 Discuss the emotional development of adolescents.

The Emotions of Adolescence | Hormones, Experience, and Emotions | Emotion Regulation | Emotional Competence | Social-Emotional Educational Programs

Defining emotion is difficult because it is not easy to tell when an adolescent is in an emotional state. For our purposes, we will define **emotion** as feeling, or affect, that occurs when a person is in a state or an interaction that is important to the individual, especially to his or her well-being. Emotion is characterized by behavior that reflects (expresses) the pleasantness or unpleasantness of the state the individual is in, or the transactions he or she is experiencing.

How are emotions linked to the two main concepts we have discussed so far in this chapter—the self and identity? Emotion is closely connected to self-esteem. Negative emotions, such as sadness, are associated with low self-esteem, whereas positive emotions, such as joy, are linked to high self-esteem. The emotional experiences involved in events such as emerging sexual experiences, dating and romantic encounters, and driving a car contribute to the adolescent's developing identity (Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003).

THE EMOTIONS OF ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence has long been described as a time of emotional turmoil (Hall, 1904). In its extreme form, this view is too stereotypical because adolescents are not constantly in a state of "storm and stress." Nonetheless, early adolescence is a time when emotional highs and lows occur more frequently (Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003; Hollenstein & Lanteigne, 2018; Zimmerman & Iwanski, 2018). Young adolescents can be on top of the world one moment and down in the dumps the next. In many instances, the intensity of their emotions seems out of proportion to the events that elicit them. Young adolescents may sulk a lot, not knowing how to express their feelings adequately. With little or no provocation, they may blow up at their parents or siblings, projecting their unpleasant feelings onto another person.

emotion Feeling, or affect, that occurs when a person is in a state or an interaction that is important to the individual, especially to his or her well-being.

In research conducted with families, adolescents reported more extreme emotions and more fleeting emotions than did their parents (Larson & Richards, 1994). For example, adolescents were five times more likely than their parents to report being "very happy" and three

times more likely to report being "very sad." These findings lend support to the perception that adolescents are moody and changeable (Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003). Researchers have also found that from the fifth through the ninth grades, both boys and girls experience a 50 percent decrease in the state of being "very happy" (Larson & Lampman-Petraitis, 1989). In this study, adolescents were more likely than preadolescents to report mildly negative mood states.

It is important for adults to recognize that moodiness is a *normal* aspect of early adolescence and that most adolescents eventually emerge from these moody times and become competent adults. Nonetheless, for some adolescents, intensely negative emotions can reflect serious problems. For example, rates of depressed moods become more frequent in girls during adolescence (Mash & Wolfe, 2019; Parritz, 2018). We will have much more to say about adolescent depression later in this edition.

Gender expectations for expressing emotions can differ across cultures (Lewis & others, 2017). In one study, emerging adult U.S. males expressed less positive and negative emotions than their female counterparts did (Brody, 1997). In this study, there was no difference in the emotional expression of Asian American or Asian male and female emerging adults, except that Asian males expressed more shame than Asian females. In the United States, males are more likely to suppress emotions than are females (Flynn, Hollenstein, & Mackey, 2010).

What characterizes adolescents' emotions?
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HORMONES, EXPERIENCE, AND EMOTIONS

Significant hormonal changes occur during puberty, and the emotional fluctuations of early adolescence may be related to variability in hormone levels during this period. As adolescents move into adulthood, their moods become less extreme, perhaps because of their adaptation to hormone levels over time or to maturation of the prefrontal cortex (Cohen & Casey, 2017; Dahl & others, 2018; Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003; Rovner & others, 2018; Toro, Aylwin, & Lomniczi, 2018; Zanolie & Crone, 2018).

Pubertal change is associated with an increase in negative emotions (Dorn & others, 2006; Zimmerman & Iwanski, 2018). However, hormonal influences are small and are usually associated with other factors, such as stress, eating patterns, sexual activity, and social relationships (Susman & Dorn, 2013). Indeed, environmental experiences may contribute more to the emotions of adolescence than do hormonal changes. In one study, social factors accounted for two to four times as much variance as hormonal factors in young adolescent girls' depression and anger (Brooks-Gunn & Warren, 1989).

Among the stressful experiences that might contribute to changes in emotion during adolescence are the transition to middle or junior high school and the onset of sexual experiences and romantic relationships (Furman, 2018; Furman & Rose, 2015). In one study, real and fantasized sexual/romantic relationships were responsible for more than one-third of ninth- to twelfth-graders' strong emotions (Wilson-Shockley, 1995).

In sum, both hormonal changes and environmental experiences are involved in the changing emotions of adolescence. So is the young person's ability to manage emotions, as we explore next.

EMOTION REGULATION

The ability to effectively manage and control one's emotions is a key dimension of positive outcomes in adolescent development (Allen & Nelson, 2018; Modecki, Zimmer-Gembeck, & Guerra, 2017). Emotion regulation consists of effectively managing arousal in order to adapt and reach a goal. Arousal involves a state of alertness or activation, which can reach levels that are too high for effective functioning in adolescence. Anger, for example, often requires regulation.

Emotion regulation is involved in many aspects of adolescents' development, and there are wide variations in adolescents' ability to modulate their emotions (Calkins & Perry, 2016; Goldschmidt & others, 2017; Hollenstein & Lanteigne, 2018). Indeed, a prominent feature of adolescents with problems is that they often have difficulty managing their emotions.

What characterizes emotion regulation in adolescence?
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What are some characteristics of emotional competence in adolescence and emerging adulthood?
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e emotion regulation is linked with a lower level of executive function, y succeeding in school, a lower level of moral development (weak con- e and lack of internalization of rules, for example), failure to adequately pe with stress, and difficulty in peer relations (Blair, 2016, 2017; Blair, Raver, & Finegood, 2016; Laursen & Adams, 2018). Many researchers consider the growth of emotion regulation in children as a fundamental component of the development of social competence (Calkins & Perry, 2016; Cole, 2016; Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Valiente, 2016; Hollenstein & Lanteigne, 2018; Perry & Calkins, 2018).

With increasing age, adolescents are more likely to improve their use of cognitive strategies for regulating emotion, to modulate their emotional arousal, to become more adept at managing situations to minimize negative emotion, and to choose effective ways to cope with stress. Of course, though, as mentioned above, there are wide variations in individuals' ability to modulate their emotions.

EMOTIONAL COMPETENCE

In adolescence, individuals are more likely to become aware of their emotional cycles, such as feeling guilty about being angry. This new awareness may improve their ability to cope with their emotions. Adolescents also become more skillful at presenting their emotions to others. For example, they become aware of the importance of covering up their anger in social relationships. And they are more likely to understand the importance of being able to communicate their emotions constructively to improve the quality of a relationship (Saarni & others, 2006).

Although the increased cognitive abilities and awareness of adolescents prepare them to cope more effectively with stress and emotional fluctuations, as we indicated earlier in our discussion of emotion regulation, many adolescents do not effectively manage their emotions. As a result, they may become prone to depression, anger, and poor emotion regulation, which in turn can trigger problems such as academic difficulties, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, or eating disorders. For example, one study illustrated the importance of emotion regulation and mood in academic success (Gumora & Arsenio, 2002). In this study, young adolescents who said they experienced more negative emotion about academic routines had lower grade-point averages.

The emotional competencies that are important for adolescents to develop include the following (Saarni, 1999):

Emotional Competence	Example
• Being aware that the expression of emotions plays a major role in relationships.	• Knowing that expressing anger toward a friend on a regular basis can harm the friendship.
• Adaptively coping with negative emotions by using self-regulatory strategies that reduce the intensity and duration of such emotional states.	• Reducing anger by walking away from a negative situation and engaging in an activity that takes one's mind off it.
• Understanding that inner emotional states do not have to correspond to outer expressions. (As adolescents become more mature, they begin to understand how their emotionally expressive behavior may impact others and to take that understanding into account in the way they present themselves.)	• Recognizing that one can feel anger yet manage one's emotional expression so that it appears neutral.
• Being aware of one's emotional states without becoming overwhelmed by them.	• Differentiating between sadness and anxiety, and focusing on coping rather that being overwhelmed by these feelings.
• Being able to discern others' emotions.	• Perceiving that another person is sad rather than afraid.

developmental connection

Problems

In many circumstances, a problem-focused coping strategy is better than an emotion-focused strategy. Connect to "Problems in Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood."

developmental connection

Intelligence

Emotional intelligence includes managing one's emotions effectively. Connect to "The Brain and Cognitive Development."

SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Adolescents' education has mainly focused on their academic and cognitive development. However, as we discuss in the Schools chapter, it is important to educate adolescents more broadly by focusing not only on academic and cognitive development but also on physical and socioeomotional development.

An increasing number of programs have been developed to improve many aspects of children's socioemotional development. Two such programs are the Second Step program created by the Committee for Children (2018) and the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) (2018):

- *Second Step* focuses on these aspects of social-emotional learning from pre-K through the eighth grade: (1) self-regulation and executive function skills that improve their attention and help them control their behavior; (2) making friends and solving social and emotional problems; and (3) communication skills, coping with stress, and decision making to help them avoid engaging in problem behaviors.
- *CASEL* targets five core social and emotional learning domains in elementary, middle, and high schools: (1) self-awareness (recognizing one's emotions and how they affect behavior, for example); (2) self-management (self-control, coping with stress, and impulse control, for example); (3) social awareness (perspective taking and empathy, for example); (4) relationship skills (developing positive relationships and communicating effectively with individuals from diverse backgrounds, for example); and (5) responsible decision making (engaging in ethical behavior, and understanding the consequences of one's actions, for example).

Students participating in the Second Step program. *What characterizes this program?*

Review *Connect* Reflect

LG3 Discuss the emotional development of adolescents.

Review

- How would you characterize adolescents' emotions?
- How extensively are adolescents' emotions linked to their hormones and experiences?
- What characterizes emotion regulation in adolescence?
- What does it take to be emotionally competent in adolescence?
- What are social-emotional education programs like, and what are the two main programs in this area?

Connect

- Connect the development of emotional competence to the development of self-esteem, as described in the preceding section of this chapter.

Reflect *Your Own Personal Journey of Life*

- How would you describe your emotions in early adolescence? Did you experience more extremes of emotion when you were in middle or junior high school than you do today? Have you learned how to control your emotions better now than you did in early adolescence? Explain.

4 Personality Development

LG4 Characterize the personality development of adolescents.

Personality

Temperament

So far in this chapter, we have discussed the development of the self, identity, and emotion in adolescence and emerging adulthood. In this section, we explore the nature of personality and temperament in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

PERSONALITY

How can personality be defined? **Personality** refers to the enduring personal characteristics of individuals. How is personality linked to the self, identity, and emotion? Personality is usually viewed as encompassing the self and identity. The description of an individual's personality traits sometimes involves emotions. For example, an adolescent may be described in terms of emotional stability/instability and positive/negative affectivity. How are such traits manifested in adolescence? Which traits are most important?

Big Five Factors of Personality One trait theory that has received considerable attention involves the **Big Five factors of personality**—the view that personality is made up of ***o***penness to experience, ***c***onscientiousness, ***e***xtraversion, ***a***greeableness, and ***n***euroticism (see Figure 6). (Notice that if you create an acronym from these trait names, you will get the word *OCEAN*.) A number of research studies point toward these five factors as important dimensions of personality (Costa & McCrae, 1998, 2013; Hampson & Edmonds, 2018; McCrae, Gaines, & Wellington, 2013; Roberts & Damian, 2018; Wrzus & Roberts, 2017).

Evidence for the importance of the Big Five factors indicates that they are related to such important aspects of a person's life as health; intelligence and cognitive functioning; achievement and work; and relationships (Roberts & Damien, 2018; Roberts & Hill, 2018). The following research supports these links:

- *Openness to experience.* Individuals high on openness to experience are more likely to engage in identity exploration (Luyckx & others, 2014); to be tolerant (McCrae & Sutin, 2009); to have superior cognitive functioning, achievement, and IQ across the life span (Briley, Domiteaux, & Tucker-Drob, 2014; Sharp & others, 2010); to have better health and well-being (Strickhouser, Zell, & Krizan, 2017); to eat fruits and vegetables (Conner & others, 2017); and to cope more effectively with stress (Leger & others, 2016).
- *Conscientiousness.* The major finding in the study of the Big Five factors in adolescence is the emergence of conscientiousness as a key predictor of adjustment and competence (Roberts & others, 2009). Individuals high in conscientious often do well in a variety of life domains. For example, they achieve higher grade point averages in college (McAbee & Oswald, 2013; Roberts & Damian, 2018); be more academically successful in medical school (Sobowale & others, 2018); have better study habits (Klimstra & others, 2012); are more likely to set and accomplish goals (McCabe & Fleeson, 2016); have better peer and friend relationships (Jenson-Campbell & Malcolm, 2007); have a lower risk for alcohol problems (Raketic & others, 2017); have better health and less stress (Gartland & others, 2014; Strickhouser, Zell, & Krizan, 2017); display superior problem-focused coping skills (Sesker & others, 2016); live longer from childhood through late adulthood (Graham & others, 2017; Martin, Friedman, & Schwartz, 2007); and be less susceptible to Internet addiction (Zhou & others, 2017).
- *Extraversion.* Individuals high in *extraversion* are more likely to live longer (Graham & others, 2017); be satisfied in their relationships (Toy, Nai, & Lee, 2016);

personality The enduring personal characteristics of individuals.

Big Five factors of personality Five core traits of personality: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (emotional stability).

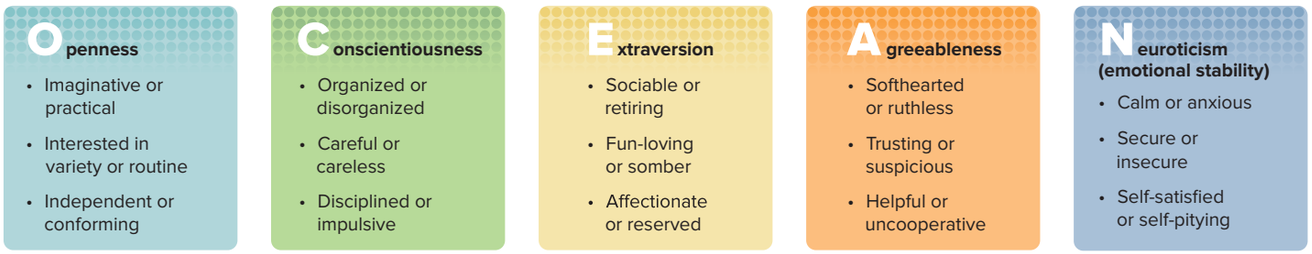
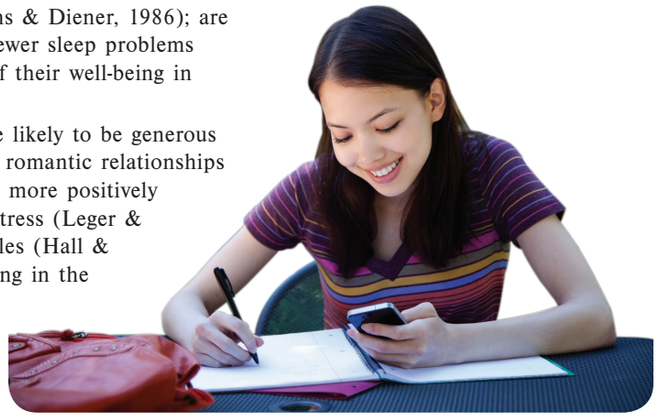


FIGURE **6**

THE BIG FIVE FACTORS OF PERSONALITY. Each of the broad super traits encompasses more narrow traits and characteristics. Use the acronym OCEAN to remember the Big Five personality factors (openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, neuroticism).

more likely than others to engage in social activities (Emmons & Diener, 1986); are able to cope more effectively with stress (Soto, 2015); have fewer sleep problems (Hintsanen & others, 2014); and have a more positive view of their well-being in the future (Soto, 2015).

- *Agreeableness*. People who are high in agreeableness are more likely to be generous and altruistic (Caprara & others, 2010); have more satisfying romantic relationships (Donnellan, Larsen-Rife, & Conger, 2005); view other people more positively (Wood, Harms, & Vazire, 2010); cope more effectively with stress (Leger & others, 2016); lie less about themselves in online dating profiles (Hall & others, 2010); and have a more positive view of their well-being in the future (Soto, 2015).
- *Neuroticism.* People high in neuroticism are more likely to die at a younger age (Graham & others, 2017); have worse health and report having more health complaints (Strickhouser, Zell, & Krizan, 2017); feel negative emotion than positive emotion in daily life and to experience more lingering negative states (Widiger, 2009); become drug dependent (Valero & others, 2014); and have a lower sense of well-being 40 years later (Gale & others, 2013).



An adolescent with a high level of conscientiousness organizes her daily schedule and plans how to use her time effectively. *What are some characteristics of conscientiousness? How is it linked to adolescents' competence?*

One study of more than 2,000 college students found that being emotionally stable and extraverted were related to identity achievement (Lounsbury & others, 2007).

How do the Big Five factors change during adolescence? A large-scale cross-sectional study found that several of the Big Five factors show negative trends in early adolescence (Soto & others, 2011). In this study, young adolescents showed a decrease in conscientiousness, extraversion, and agreeableness. However, conscientiousness and agreeableness increased in late adolescence and the beginning of emerging adulthood.

Debate continues about whether the Big Five theory is the best way to conceptualize the personality traits of people (Veselka, Schermer, & Vernon, 2011). One analysis proposed a model of six traits—the Big Five plus an honesty-humility dimension (Lee & Ashton, 2008). And some cross-cultural researchers conclude that only three of the Big Five factors (extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness) consistently portray people's personality traits in different cultures (De Raad & others, 2010).

Optimism

Another important personality characteristic is **optimism**, which involves having a positive outlook on the future and a tendency to minimize problems. Optimism is often referred to as a style of thinking.

Somewhat surprisingly, little research has been conducted recently on optimism in children, adolescents, and emerging adults. In *The Optimistic Child,* Martin Seligman (2007) described how parents, teachers, and coaches can instill optimism in children and adolescents, which he argues helps to make them more resilient and less likely to develop depression. One study found that having an optimistic style of thinking in adolescence predicted a reduction in suicidal ideation for individuals who had experienced negative and potentially traumatic life events (Hirsch & others, 2009). Another study revealed that adolescents with an optimistic thinking style had a lower risk of developing depressive symptoms than their pessimistic counterparts (Patton & others, 2011). Also, a recent study indicated that higher levels of optimism are linked to lower levels of emotional distress in adolescence (Jimenez, Montorio, & Izal, 2017). And, in a recent study, college students who were more pessimistic had more anxious mood and stress symptoms (Lau & others, 2017). Further, one recent study indicated that being optimistic was associated with higher health-related quality of life in adolescence (Haggstrom Westberg & others, 2018) and another found that being more optimistic was linked to better academic achievement five months later in seventh grade (Tetzner & Becker, 2018).

optimism Involves having a positive outlook on the future and minimizing problems.

Traits and Situations

Many psychologists argue that it is better to view personality not only in terms of traits but also in terms of contexts and situations (Berger, 2019; Carver & Scheier, 2017; Cloninger, 2019; Schultz & Schultz, 2017). They conclude that the trait approach ignores environmental factors and places too much emphasis on stability and lack of change. This criticism was first leveled by social cognitive theorist Walter

Mischel (1968), who argued that personality varies according to the situation. Thus, adolescents who are in a library might behave quite differently from the way they would act at a party.

Today, most psychologists are interactionists, arguing that both traits and situations need to be taken into account in understanding personality (Berger, 2019). Let's again consider the situations of being in a library or at a party and consider the preferences of two adolescents: Jenna, who is an introvert, and Stacey, who is an extravert. Jenna, the introvert, is more likely to enjoy being in the library, whereas Stacey, the extravert, is more likely to have a good time at the party.

TEMPERAMENT

Although the study of personality has focused mainly on adults, the study of temperament has been limited primarily to infants and children (Abulizi & others, 2017; Gartstein, Putnam, & Kliewer, 2016; Janssen & others, 2017). However, both personality and temperament are important in understanding adolescent development.

Temperament can be defined as an individual's behavioral style and characteristic way of responding. Many psychologists emphasize that temperament forms the foundation of personality. Through increasing capacities and interactions with the environment, temperament evolves or becomes elaborated across childhood and adolescence into a set of personality traits.

The close link between temperament and personality is supported by research that connects some of the Big Five personality factors to temperament categories (Shiner & DeYoung, 2013). For example, the temperament category of positive emotionality is related to the personality trait of extraversion, negative emotionality maps onto neuroticism (emotional instability), and effortful control is linked to conscientiousness (Putnam, Sanson, & Rothbart, 2002).

temperament An individual's behavioral style and characteristic way of responding.

easy child A child who generally is in a positive mood, quickly establishes regular routines, and adapts easily to new experiences.

Temperament Categories

Just as with personality, researchers are interested in discovering what the key dimensions of temperament are (Chen & Schmidt, 2015; Rothbart, 2011). Psychiatrists Alexander Chess and Stella Thomas (Chess & Thomas, 1977; Thomas & Chess, 1991) followed a group of infants into adulthood and concluded that there are three basic types, or clusters, of temperament:

- An **easy child** is generally in a positive mood, quickly establishes regular routines, and adapts readily to new experiences.

What temperament categories have been used to describe adolescents?
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- A **difficult child** reacts negatively to many situations and is slow to accept new experiences.
- A **slow-to-warm-up child** has a low activity level, is somewhat negative, and displays a low intensity of mood.

difficult child A child who reacts negatively to many situations and is slow to accept new experiences.

slow-to-warm-up child A child who has a low activity level, is somewhat negative, and displays a low intensity of mood.

New classifications of temperament continue to be forged (Bates, 2012a, b; Rothbart, 2011). In a review of temperament research, Mary Rothbart and John Bates (1998) concluded that the best framework for classifying temperament involves a revision of Chess and Thomas' categories of easy, difficult, and slow to warm up. The general classification of temperament now focuses more on the following aspects:

- *Positive affect and approach.* This category is much like the personality trait of extraversion/introversion.
- *Negative affectivity*. This involves being easily distressed. Children with a temperament that involves negative affectivity may fret and cry often. Negative affectivity is closely related to the personality traits of introversion and neuroticism (emotional instability).
- *Effortful control (self-regulation)*. This involves the ability to control one's emotions. Thus, adolescents who are high on effortful control show an ability to keep their arousal from getting too high and have strategies for soothing themselves. By contrast, adolescents who are low on effortful control often show an inability to control their arousal, and they become easily agitated and intensely emotional (Eisenberg & others, 2002). Earlier in the chapter, we described the importance of effortful control in academic persistence and educational attainment (Veronneau & others, 2014). And in a recent study, children with a lower level of effort control at 3 years age were more likely to have ADHD symptoms at 13 years of age (Einziger & others, 2018).

One study revealed that adolescents characterized by high positive affectivity, low negative affectivity, and high effortful control had lower levels of depressive symptoms (Verstraeten & others, 2009).

Developmental Connections and Contexts How stable is temperament from childhood to adulthood? Do young adults show the same behavioral style and characteristic emotional responses that they did when they were infants or young children? For instance, activity level is an important dimension of temperament. Are children's activity levels linked to their personality in emerging and early adulthood? In one longitudinal study, children who were highly active at age 4 were likely to be very outgoing at age 23, a finding that reflects continuity (Franz, 1996, p. 337). Yet, in other ways, temperament may change. From adolescence into early adulthood, most individuals show fewer mood swings, greater responsibility, and less risk-taking behavior, characteristics reflecting discontinuity of temperament (Caspi, 1998).

Is temperament in childhood linked to adjustment in adolescence and adulthood? Here is what is known based on the few longitudinal studies that have been conducted on this topic (Caspi, 1998). A longitudinal study using Chess and Thomas' categories found a link between temperament assessed at 1 year of age and adjustment at 17 years of age (Guerin & others, 2003). Those with easier temperaments as infants showed more optimal development across behavioral and intellectual domains in late adolescence. The individuals with easier temperaments experienced a family environment that was more stimulating and cohesive and had more positive relationships with their parents during adolescence than did their counterparts with more difficult temperaments. When the participants were characterized by a difficult temperament in combination with a family environment that was high in conflict, an increase in externalizing behavior problems (conduct problems, delinquency) occurred.

In regard to a link between temperament in childhood and adjustment in adulthood, in one longitudinal study children who had an easy temperament at 3 to 5 years of age were likely to be well adjusted as young adults (Chess & Thomas, 1977). In contrast, many children who had a difficult temperament at 3 to 5 years of age were not well adjusted as young adults. Other researchers have found that boys who have a difficult temperament in childhood are less

	Initial Temperament Trait: Inhibition	
	Child A	**Child B**
	Intervening Context	
Caregivers	Caregivers (parents) who are sensitive and accepting, and let child set his or her own pace.	Caregivers who use inappropriate "low-level control" and attempt to force the child into new situations.
Physical Environment	Presence of "stimulus shelters" or "defensible spaces" that the children can retreat to when there is too much stimulation.	Child continually encounters noisy, chaotic environments that allow no escape from stimulation.
Peers	Peer groups with other inhibited children with common interests, so the child feels accepted.	Peer groups consist of athletic extraverts, so the child feels rejected.
Schools	School is "undermanned," so inhibited children are more likely to be tolerated and feel they can make a contribution.	School is "overmanned," so inhibited children are less likely to be tolerated and more likely to feel undervalued.
	Personality Outcomes	
	As an adult, individual is closer to extraversion (outgoing, sociable) and is emotionally stable.	As an adult, individual is closer to introversion and has more emotional problems.

FIGURE **7**

TEMPERAMENT IN CHILDHOOD, PERSONALITY IN ADULTHOOD, AND INTERVENING CONTEXTS. Varying experiences with caregivers, the physical environment, peers, and schools may modify links between temperament in childhood and personality in adulthood. The example given here is for inhibition.

likely than others to continue their formal education as adults; girls with a difficult temperament in childhood are more likely to experience marital conflict as adults (Wachs, 2000).

In sum, across a number of longitudinal studies, an easy temperament in childhood is linked with more optimal development and adjustment in adolescence and adulthood. When the contexts in which individuals live are problematic, such as a family environment high in conflict, the long-term outcomes of having a difficult temperament are exacerbated.

Inhibition is another temperament characteristic that has been studied extensively (Kagan, 2013). Researchers have found that individuals with an inhibited temperament in childhood are less likely to be assertive or to experience social support as adolescents and emerging adults, and more likely to delay entering a stable job track (Wachs, 2000). And in a longitudinal study, an increasing trajectory of shyness in adolescence and emerging adulthood was linked to social anxiety, mood, and substance use disorders in adulthood (Tang & others, 2017).

Yet another aspect of temperament is emotionality and the ability to control one's emotions (Rothbart, 2011). In one longitudinal study, individuals who as 3-year-old children showed good control of their emotions and were resilient in the face of stress were likely to continue to handle their emotions effectively as adults (Block, 1993). In contrast, individuals who as 3-year-olds had low emotional control and were not very resilient were likely to show those same problems as young adults. Also, in a recent study, a high level of emotionality was related to depression in emerging adulthood (Bould & others, 2015).

In sum, these studies reveal some continuity between certain aspects of temperament in childhood and adjustment in early adulthood (Shiner & DeYoung, 2013; Wachs & Kohnstamm, 2013). Keep in mind, however, that these connections between childhood temperament and adult adjustment are based on only a small number of studies; more research is needed to verify the links. Indeed, Theodore Wachs (1994, 2000) has proposed ways that the links between childhood temperament and adult personality might vary, depending on the intervening contexts and individual experiences (see Figure 7).

The match between an individual's temperament and the environmental demands the individual must cope with, called **goodness of fit,** can be important to an adolescent's adjustment (Rothbart, 2011). In general, the temperament characteristics of effortful control, manageability, and agreeableness reduce the effects of adverse environments, whereas negative emotionality increases their effects (Rothbart, 2011).

goodness of fit The match between an individual's temperament style and the environmental demands faced by the individual.

In this chapter, we examined many aspects of the self, identity, emotions, and personality. In our discussion of identity and emotion, we evaluated the role of gender, a topic that is discussed in more detail in another chapter of this edition.

Review Connect Reflect

LG4 Characterize the personality development of adolescents.

Review

- What are some key personality traits in adolescence? Is personality influenced by situations?
- What is temperament, and how is it linked to personality? What are some key temperament categories? What developmental connections and contexts characterize temperament?

Connect

- How might the Big Five factors of personality be linked to the concept of risk taking?

Reflect *Your Own Personal Journey of Life*

- Consider your own temperament. We described a number of different temperament categories. Which one best describes your temperament? Has your temperament changed as you have grown older, or is it about the same as it was when you were a child or an adolescent? If your temperament has changed, what factors contributed to the changes?

reach your **learning goals**

The Self, Identity, Emotion, and Personality

1 The Self

LG1 Describe the development of the self in adolescence.

Self-Understanding and Understanding Others

- Self-understanding is the adolescent's cognitive representation of the self, the substance and content of the adolescent's self-conceptions. Dimensions of the adolescent's self-understanding include abstraction and idealism; differentiation; contradictions within the self; real and ideal selves; true and false selves; social comparison; self-consciousness; the unconscious self; and not yet being self-integrative.
- The increasing number of selves in adolescence can vary across relationships with people, social roles, and sociocultural contexts. In emerging adulthood, self-understanding becomes more integrative, reflective, and complex, and is characterized by decisions about a worldview. However, it is not until the thirties that a coherent and integrative worldview develops for many individuals.
- Three important aspects of understanding others in adolescence are perceiving others' traits, perspective taking, and social cognitive monitoring.

Self-Esteem and Self-Concept

- Self-esteem is the global, evaluative dimension of the self, and also is referred to as self-worth or self-image. Self-concept involves domain-specific self-evaluations. For too long, little attention was given to developing measures of self-esteem and self-concept specifically tailored to adolescents. Harter's Self-Perception Profile is one adolescent measure. Self-esteem reflects perceptions that do not always match reality. Thus, high self-esteem may be justified or it might reflect an arrogant, grandiose view of oneself that is not warranted. An increasing number of studies document the problems of adolescents who are narcissistic.
- Controversy characterizes the extent to which self-esteem changes during adolescence and whether there are gender differences in self-esteem. Researchers have found that self-esteem often drops during and just after developmental transitions, such as going from elementary school to middle or junior high school. Some researchers have found that the self-esteem of girls declines in adolescence, especially during early adolescence, although other researchers argue that this decline has been exaggerated and actually is only modest in nature.

- Self-esteem is only moderately linked to school success. Adolescents with high self-esteem have greater initiative, but this can produce positive or negative outcomes. Perceived physical appearance is an especially strong contributor to global self-esteem. Peer acceptance also is linked to global self-esteem in adolescence. In Coopersmith's study, children's self-esteem was associated with such parenting practices as showing affection and allowing children freedom within well-defined limits. Peer and friendship relations also are linked with self-esteem. Self-esteem is higher in elementary school than in middle or junior high school.
- For most adolescents, low self-esteem results in only temporary emotional discomfort. However, for others, especially when low self-esteem persists, it is linked with depression, delinquency, and even suicide. Four ways to increase adolescents' self-esteem are to (1) identify the causes of low self-esteem and determine which domains of competence are important to the adolescent, (2) provide emotional support and social approval, (3) help the adolescent to achieve success, and (4) improve the adolescent's coping skills.

Self-Regulation

- Self-regulation involves the ability to control one's behavior without having to rely on others' help. Self-regulation includes the self-generation and cognitive monitoring of thoughts, feelings, and behavior in order to reach a goal. Self-regulation plays a key role in many aspects of adolescent development, especially achievement and academic success. Various factors might enhance or inhibit an adolescent's ability to engage in self-regulation.

2 Identity

LG2 Explain the many facets of identity development.

Erikson's Ideas on Identity

- Identity versus identity confusion is Erikson's fifth developmental stage, which individuals experience during adolescence. As adolescents are confronted with new roles, they enter a psychosocial moratorium. Role experimentation is a key ingredient of Erikson's view of identity development. In technological societies like that of the United States, the vocational role is especially important. Identity development is extraordinarily complex and takes place in bits and pieces. A current concern voiced by William Damon is the difficulty too many youth today encounter in developing a purposeful identity.

The Four Statuses of Identity

- Marcia proposed four identity statuses: diffused, foreclosed, moratorium, and achieved. A combination of crisis (exploration) and commitment yields each of the statuses. Some critics argue that Marcia's four identity statuses oversimplify identity development. Recently, emphasis has been given to expanding Marcia's concepts of exploration and commitment to focus more on in-depth exploration and ongoing evaluation of one's commitment.

Developmental Changes in Identity

- Some experts argue that the main identity changes take place in late adolescence rather than in early adolescence. College upperclassmen are more likely to be identity achieved than are freshmen or high school students, although many college students are still wrestling with ideological commitments. Individuals often follow MAMA ("moratorium–achievement–moratorium–achievement") cycles.

Identity and Social Contexts

- Parents are important figures in adolescents' identity development. Researchers have found that democratic parenting, individuality, connectedness, and enabling behaviors are linked with positive aspects of identity. Erikson was especially sensitive to the role of culture in identity development, underscoring the fact that throughout the world ethnic minority groups have struggled to maintain their cultural identities while blending into majority culture. Identity development also is influenced by the types of peers, friends, and romantic partners adolescents and emerging adults interact with. In recent years, the digital world has provided a broader platform for adolescents and emerging adults to express their identity and get feedback about it. Adolescence is often a special juncture in the identity development of ethnic minority individuals because for the first time they consciously confront their ethnic identity. Many ethnic minority adolescents have a bicultural identity. Ethnic identity increases with age during adolescence and emerging adulthood, and higher levels of ethnic identity are linked to more positive attitudes. The contexts in which ethnic minority youth live influence their identity development.
- Erikson noted that adolescent males have a stronger vocational identity, female adolescents a stronger social identity. However, researchers are finding that these gender differences are disappearing.

Identity and Intimacy

- Intimacy versus isolation is Erikson's sixth stage of development, which individuals experience during early adulthood. Erikson argued that an optimal sequence is to develop a positive identity before negotiating the intimacy versus isolation stage.

3 Emotional Development

LG3 Discuss the emotional development of adolescents.

The Emotions of Adolescence

- Emotion is feeling, or affect, that occurs when a person is in a state or an interaction that is important to the individual, especially to his or her well-being. Adolescents report more extreme and fleeting emotions than do their parents, and as individuals go through early adolescence they are less likely to report being very happy. However, it is important to view moodiness as a normal aspect of early adolescence.

Hormones, Experience, and Emotions

- Although pubertal change is associated with an increase in negative emotions, hormonal influences are often small, and environmental experiences may contribute more to the emotions of adolescence than do hormonal changes.

Emotion Regulation

- The ability to manage and control one's emotions is a key dimension of positive outcomes in adolescence. With increasing age, adolescents are more likely to use cognitive strategies for regulating emotion, although there are wide individual variations in this aspect of adolescence. A prominent feature of adolescents with problems is their inability to effectively manage their emotions. Cognitive reappraisal is often a more effective emotion regulation strategy than suppression.

Emotional Competence

- Adolescents' increased cognitive abilities and awareness provide them with the opportunity to cope more effectively with stress and emotional fluctuations. However, the emotional burdens of adolescence can be overwhelming for some adolescents. Among the emotional competencies that are important for adolescents to develop are being aware that the expression of emotions plays a major role in relationships, adaptively coping with negative emotions by using self-regulatory strategies, understanding how emotionally expressive behavior influences others, being aware of one's emotional states without being overwhelmed by them, and being able to discern others' emotions.

Social-Emotional Education Programs

- An increasing number of programs are being used in schools to improve the socioemotional development of children. Two such programs are (1) Second Step and (2) CASEL.

4 Personality Development

LG4 Characterize the personality development of adolescents.

Personality

- There has been a long history of interest in discovering the core traits of personality, and recently that search has focused on the Big Five factors of personality: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (emotional instability). Much of the research on the Big Five factors has focused on adults, but an increasing number of these studies focus on adolescents. Having an optimistic thinking style is linked to positive adjustment in adolescents.
- Researchers continue to debate what the core characteristics of personality are. Critics of the trait approach argue that it places too much emphasis on stability and not enough on change and situational influences. Today, many psychologists stress that personality is best described in terms of both traits and situational influences.

Temperament

- Many psychologists emphasize that temperament forms the foundation for personality. Chess and Thomas described three basic types of temperament: easy child, difficult child, and slow-to-warm-up child. New classifications of temperament include positive affect and approach, negative affectivity, and effortful control (self-regulation). Connections between the temperament of individuals from childhood to adulthood have been found, although these links may vary according to the contexts of people's lives. Goodness of fit refers to the match between an individual's temperament and the environmental demands faced by individuals.

key terms

bicultural identity
Big Five factors of personality
commitment
connectedness
crisis
difficult child
easy child
emotion
ethnic identity
goodness of fit
identity
identity achievement
identity diffusion
identity foreclosure
identity moratorium
identity versus identity confusion
individuality
intimacy versus isolation
narcissism
optimism
personality
perspective taking
possible self
psychosocial moratorium
self
self-concept
self-esteem
self-regulation
self-understanding
slow-to-warm-up child
temperament

key people

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James Marcia
Walter Mischel
Jean Phinney
Seth Schwartz
Moin Syed
Stella Thomas
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improving the lives of adolescents and emerging adults

***The Construction of the Self* (2nd ed.) (2012)**
Susan Harter
New York: Guilford Press
Leading self theorist and researcher Susan Harter provides an in-depth analysis of how the self develops in childhood and adolescence.

***Oxford Handbook of Identity Development* (2015)**
Edited by Kate McLean and Moin Syed
New York: Oxford University Press
Leading experts provide contemporary and important reviews of research and theory on identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood.

***Gandhi's Truth* (1969)**
Erik Erikson
New York: Norton
This Pulitzer Prize–winning book by Erik Erikson, who developed the concept of identity as a central aspect of adolescent development, analyzes the life of Mahatma Gandhi, the spiritual leader of India in the middle of the twentieth century.

***Identity Development Process and Content: Toward an Integrated and Contextualized Science of Identity* (2017)**
Developmental Psychology, 53, 2009–2217
Leading experts provide an up-to-date, in-depth exploration of many aspects of identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood, with papers on topics such as models of identity development, ethnic and cultural identity, and links between identity and various areas of psychosocial functioning,

***Emotion Regulation* (2018)**
Edited by Pamela Cole and Tom Hollenstein
New York: Routledge
This very recent book includes four chapters on emotion regulation in adolescence by leading experts, including developmental changes in emotion regulation and how emotion regulation is best attained in various contexts.

***The Structure of Temperament and Personality Traits* (2013)**
Rebecca Shiner and Colin DeYoung
In P. D. Zelazo (Ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Developmental Psychology.*
New York: Oxford University Press
Leading experts describe recent research on how temperament and personality are structured and how they develop.