ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

GOAL:

To gain an understanding of adolescent development including knowledge of the different theories advanced and how adolescents are influenced by, and influence, their environment.

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

After completing the module, participants will be able to:

    a.
        i.   give a definition of adolescence
        ii.   describe physical, cognitive, psychological, social and spiritual development during adolescence

    b.   explain how different aspects of development interact with each other during this stage of life

    c.   analyse how an individual's development both shapes and is shaped by their environment
        i.   write 2 case studies of adolescents and consider how the various aspects of their development have been influenced by their context and environment
        ii.   develop a programme that indicates and understanding of the needs of the different ages and stages of adolescents.

WHAT TO DO

Step One	What is adolescence?	5 hours

1. From your own experience describe what you understand by the term adolescence. Include in your description the changes people at this age experience , what challenges they face, and what distinguishes them from adults.

2. There are 5 areas of development which can be observed - physical, intellectual, psychological, social and spiritual. Read the resource material on adolescence pgs 4-19, making notes on the main points for each of the five areas. It may help you to organise your thoughts into early, middle and late adolescence.

3. EITHER write a 600 word essay defining adolescence OR present your findings in chart form (A3 size)

4. While we divide development up into different areas, people are complicated wholes. It is useful to spend some time thinking about how these areas interact in the lives of young people.

   Example: a shift from concrete to abstract thought influences faith development. *The adolescent's growing mental ability means that they start to question and form their own opinions. This impacts their faith development in that they may no longer accept what they have been brought up with. In some cases this means that reliable Sunday School attenders no longer want to go, whereas sometimes the children of the most ardent athiest find meaning in a relationship with God.*

    Consider: How does....
   • social development impact faith development?
   • physical development impact social development?
   • physical development connect with intellectual development?
   • psychological development connect with faith development?

   Choose 3 of these areas to consider, or decide on your own combination. Using the example above as a guide EITHER write a short paragraph giving specific examples for each combination OR find a creative way to present your understandings.

Step Two	Text books meet reality	3 hours

5. EITHER Find a group (4-5) of adolescents willing to talk with you. Talk with them about your findings so far and get their feedback - in what ways do the text books describe their experience?

   OR Watch the video provided "The Young and the Reckless". How do the people on the video demonstrate adolescent behaviour?.

   As you watch and listen be alert for any connections as described in Question 6.

   EITHER write OR describe on a tape a 200 word summary of your findings

Step Three	Development and context	6 hours

6. Read the Resource Material on pages 20-22. This material gives an overview of some

different theories on development.

7. Read the Resource Material on pages 23-42, about the context of development and including case studies on Jody and Rosemary. Find three examples from each case study in which their environment could have been influencing the adolescent's development. Note any examples of the adolescent influencing their environment. e.g. Jody's strict family environment may be influencing her social development because she isn't included in peer activities.

8. Read the Resource material on pages 43-44 called Preparing and Writing a Case Study. Find TWO adolescents willing to be interviewed closely by you. Spend some time talking with them to build up a picture of their development in their context. Write a 500 word case study for each showing

    a. what stage of development they are at (early/middle/late adolescence)

    b. how the various aspects of their development - physical, social etc - have been influenced by their context and environment.

Step Four Applying issues of development	2 hours

9. Using your own ministry as a context choose either early, middle or late adolescence and develop a programme of youth ministry which takes into account the various aspects of development of the young people involved. Fill in the worksheet p45 to give a skeleton plan for the year explaining how it caters to your chosen age group's adolescent developmental needs.

RESOURCE MATERIAL

Introduction

Why look at adolescent development? If you try telling an older person what you're doing they may look at you blankly or say "We never needed any of that in my day." They may in fact be right; our culture has changed, in effect creating a stage called adolescence by extending education and the coming of age into the early twenties. Many of our seventy and eighty year olds went to work in their early teens, either looking after children or contributing to the family income. This change in culture means that many of the theories we rely on have only been proposed in this century, and only popularised in the last fifty years.

Searching the Bible for references to adolescence bears this out; adolescence wasn't recognised as a "stage" - you were either a child, or you had been properly initiated into adulthood at about the age of 13.

We now understand that the whole of life is a developing process, and it is helpful to figure out where our clientele are at.

> "Within a life long perspective we approach people within the context of their developmental ages and stages. The developmental and social journey of the adolescent becomes the foundational base for efforts in youth ministry. A 'developmental approach' is based on a holistic understanding of the person. It not only includes, but it involves, the growth of body, mind and spirit - both individually and within a system of relationships this means that the physical, social and intellectual changes of adolescence provide the starting point for our youth ministry efforts. It also includes an understanding of the xoial context that provides the fabric of the adolescents everyday life."
>
> from *The Young Adolescent Ministry Project* by the Anglican Church of Canada, August 1992

The resource material begins with a short overview of adolescence in its entirety. When thinking about being adolescent we generally imagine teenage , or between thirteen and nineteen. Adolescence is actually longer, starting at 10 or 11 and finishing in the early 20's. I have included in the resource material a lengthy article on young adolescence because it covers the main points of what we consider to be adolescence. I have also included material on young adulthood because older teenagers will be at that stage or nearing it. In churches often young adults are lumped in with youth, so it is relevant to the scope of this course. I haven't been able to find anything specific on middle adolescence other than what is given in the overview. From my experience the 15-18 year old years are a settling down after the turbulence of young teenagehood. In New Zealand it is the time when people are in senior high school and most are concentrating on getting their qualifications or getting a job.

Part of being adolescent is being 'in between' childhood and adulthood. As a child all your needs are met by others, as an adult you are responsible for meeeting your own needs and also those of others. In between these two is a stage of learning what it is to be adult and practising what you have learnt. The paper "I am fifteen" gives a glimpse into the frustrations of this stage.

I am Fifteen

I am a child. In my parents' eyes I will always be their firstborn - an obstinate youngster who insisted on having long hair although it didn't suit her. I will always be so many years younger than them and therefore incapable of making decisions for myself. I wonder when I am fifty and they are seventy will they still tell me to 'tidy my room' I can make no medical decisions for myself. My parents must give permission for any operation; they sign all my dental forms. Apparently I am not considered responsible enough to do this for myself.

I am an adolescent. In the opinion of psychiatrists and psychologists I am going through a difficult stage. I am expected to be rebellious and defiant. I am experiencing strange new emotions with which I cannot cope. I am quite normal because I have crushes on other people. They say it's natural that I should be insolent and mutinous. In theory I am not supposed to feel happy and fulfilled. I should feel frustrated, rejected, unsociable and lacking in confidence. In short I think I am expected to be slightly sub-normal.

I am an adult and expected to behave like one. I cannot have silly, childish outbursts. I must only show my emotions in a proper manner. In school I am told that I am an adult - if only a young adult. I have to pay adult fares on public transport. I am old enough to be responsible for my actions in law. My parents expect me to behave like an adult in my manner. I am expected to say the right things at the right time. In my role as an adult, I should be completely socially acceptable.

I am fifteen

and

I am confused.

Adolescence

Rich is in his twenties now. He is employed as an assistant manager in a supermarket that hires a lot of teenagers who work part time after school. Sometimes Rich looks at these kids and thinks of his own tumultuous teenage years less than a decade ago.

Rich's parents are active in a very conservative, fundamentalist church. They wanted the best for their children, took Rich and his sister to church regularly and had family devotions in the home every night.

Too often, according to Rich, the parents imposed arbitrary rules that were held with rigid tenacity. Rock music was banned from the house. The children were forbidden to attend movies of to work on Sunday. The parents closely monitored their children's activities and often criticised their friends. There wasn't much laughter or informal interaction in the home, but there were a lot of arguments. Rich felt that his parents never listened to his point of view. Whenever there were disagreements the children were told to respect their parents' wishes, and there was little opportunity for discussion. The parents expected their children to obey without question.

Instead, the children rebelled. Rich took delight in doing everything his parents forbade him - drinking, sex, drugs, pornographic movies. He even started his own rock band, singing songs with lyrics that even Rich described as filthy. His grades dropped in school, he quit going to church, he argued constantly with his parents, and eventually they kicked him out of the house.

After high school, Rich drifted from job to job and eventually started work at the supermarket. he lives in a dingy little apartment now, talks to his parents only occasionally, and wonders if he will always be working in his present job. He would like to go to school, dreams at times of becoming a lawyer, and silently envies many of those teenage part-time workers who seem to have such a bright future. Occasionally he sees kids in the throes of rebellion, like he was, and he wonders how life might have been different for him if he had coped better with the stresses of adolescence.

The chapters in this book deal with problems many of us have never experienced. We have, however, all be adolescents, and most of us can remember those stressful but exciting years when we were moving through a time of life that one psychiatrist has called "the most confusing, challenging, frustrating, and fascinating phase of human development."

The word "adolescence" means "a period of growing to maturity". It begins at puberty (the beginning of a growth spurt an sexual maturation) and extends to the late teens or early twenties. During this time of conflict and growth the young person changes physically, sexually and emotionally, intellectually and socially. He or she moves away from dependence and the protective confines of the family and toward relative independence and social productivity. Life for many (at least in our society) is filled with friends, television, sports, study, jobs, hobbies, and sometimes a lot of stress and reflective thinking. Internally, "teenage life consists of a multitude of emotional peaks and valleys, ranging from exhilarating highs to depressing lows." The teenager's world is often confusing and changing so quickly that immature young people do not always adjust efficiently. This has led some to describe adolescence as a highly disruptive period characterised by rebellion, perpetual turmoil, and stormy periods of stress.

This view is not always supported by the professional literature. many research studies have confirmed that adolescence is a period of rapid growth and frequent change, but it probably is true that "taken as a whole, adolescents are *not* in turmoil, *not* deeply disturbed, *not* at the mercy of their impulses, *not* resistant to parental values, *not* politically active, and *not* rebellious." One study of teenagers found that the vast majority were trouble free; only 15 percent were plagued by trouble and turmoil. Nevertheless adolescents are going trhoug a significant change period, characterised first by the need to adjust to a variety of physical changes, second by the influence of great social pressures, and third by the challenge of making life-determining decisions about values, beliefs, identity, careers, lifestyles, and relationships with others, including those of the opposite sex.

Adolescence often is divided into three overlapping periods: *preadolescence* (sometimes called "pubescence" or "early adolescence") beginning around age ten or eleven and continuing for at least a couple of years; *middle adolescence*, the period from ages fourteen to eighteen when the young person is in high school; and *postadolescence* (sometimes called late adolescence or the period of "youth") that includes the late teenage years and extends into the early twenties.

PREADOLESCENCE

This period begins with a bursting of biological changes that can evoke simultaneous feelings of anxiety, bewilderment, and delight. In both sexes there is a spurt of growth, especially in the limbs (this creates clumsiness and a gangly appearance), a change in body proportions (boys widen in the shoulders and develop thicker muscles, girls expand in the hips and develop breasts), a lowering of the voice in males, an enlargement of the sexual organs, an increase in sex hormones, the growth of pubic hair, an increase in the size of skin pores with more active glandular activity (which often leads to acne), and the appearance of hair on the face and body which, of course, is generally heavier in boys. A need for new emotional adjustments comes with the beginning of female menstruation and the occurrence in young males of both ejaculation and a sharp increase in the frequency of erections. During the past hundred years there has been a steady decline in the age of first menstruation and first ejaculation of semen. this means that the onset of adolescence is getting earlier in life.

These physical changes have social and psychological implications. Most adolescents have times when the feel awkward, self-conscious, and dissatisfied with their physical appearance. Often there is difficulty in handling emerging sexual urges, and people who develop quickly or slowly of ten feel embarrassed, especially in the locker room where their peers easily observe and sometimes comment freely about the differences. Girls who feel awkward about using santiary pads or young males who have erections at the most unexpected and potentially embarrassing times are bothered by these preadolescent influences, especially if they were not anticipated.

Peer influences and pressures, the insecurities of shifting in junior high school, the development of close friendships, hero worship, and "crushes" on people of the opposite (or same) sex, all indicate social adjustments during this period. There, in addition, a new spirit of independence from parents, sometimes accompanied by increased conflict in the home. The development of more abstract, self critical, and reflective thinking leads to an initial questioning of parental values and increased ability to worry and be anxious.

MIDDLE ADOLESCENCE

This period has fewer physical changes but the adolescent must adapt to his or her new

identity as a person with an adult body. Sexual urges become more intense, especially in boys, and control is difficult in view of peer pressures, strong needs for intimacy, and the temptations from a hedonistic society that no longer considers self-control to be important or even possible. The result has been an upsurge in the number of sexually active teenagers (including those associated with church) and a staggering increase in the number of teenage pregnancies.

Peers who were of importance in preadolescence now become of even greater significance as adolescents seek to break away from parental influences, values, and controls. The family still provides money, transportation, and a place to live, but teenagers often criticise parental standards and have no desire to accompany parents to church, on vacations, or on shopping trips. Communication at home may be minimal, but daydreaming is common and long hours are spent talking with friends on the telephone. There is a great desire to be accepted and to identify with current teenage language., heroes, music, styles of dress, and forms of entertainment. Dating or other relationships with the opposite sex become of extreme significance and "breakups" are very painful.

During this period three influences become important: sex, drugs and motor vehicles. Each of these relates to the peer pressures, physical changes, insecurities, and adolescent struggles for identity. The need for love and acceptance, the influence of sexual hormones, the sexual openness in our society, and the relative ease of finding privacy (often in a car)make sexual intercourse a common experience for adolescents, even though this often arouses guilt, self-criticism, and sometimes causes pregnancy. The use of drugs, including alcohol, has always characterised adolescence, especially those who are seeking an unusual experience, espcape from anxiety and boredom, or acceptance with drug-using friends. Cars and motorcycles also lead to greater acceptance from peers and provide a way to express power or bolster feelings of insecurity.

Hidden behind the continuing interest in sex, drugs, vehicles, peers and independence, is the pressure to face some serious challenges about the future. These include choosing a college or finding a job, leaving home, shifting responsibility onto themselves, and coping with the subtle and often unconscious attempts of parents to keep their growing children dependent and close to home.

POSTADOLESENCE

This is the period that begins when high school ends. Neither child nor adult, the young person in this period is faced with the tasks of moving comfortably into adult society, assuming adult responsibilities, shifting to an independent status, and formulating a distinct life style. Planning for the future, getting further education, choosing a mate, and moving into a career are all tasks that take time and energy.

To an outside observer, many adolescent behaviours may seem to make no sense. We may understand the vacillation between maturity and immaturity (most of us have seen that in ourselves), but we rarely begin to comprehend the nature of adolescence, especially later adolescence, until we recognise that young people need to answer at least four crucial questions during this time in their life.

IDENTITY - WHO AM I?

Early in life, children imitate and identify with their parents and family members. Later they model their behaviour after admired adults, develop relationships with peers, and then

struggle, at least in our society, to develop their own self-concepts, uniqueness, values and identities. For many this can be a time of soul searching, anxiety, confusion, experimentation with lifestyles, and drifting into goalless behaviour.

RELATIONSHIPS - HOW DO I GET ALONG WITH OTHERS?

In additions to developing relationships with both sexes, adolescents must learn how to fit into society and how to shift the nature of the parent-child bond so there is less dependency on parents. Teenage crushes, conflicts with authority, gang behaviour, sexual involvements, hero worship, "best friend" relationships, petty squabbles, resistance to adult suggestions, and yielding to peer pressure can all reflect adolescent attempts to learn social skills and build meaningful bonds with others.

FUTURE - WHERE DO I FIT?

The answer to this question will depend somewhat on one's economic level, personality traits, opportunities, capabilities, values, and family expectations. Choosing a career can be a difficult decision and adolescents, like people in their twenties and thirties, often make a number of vocational "false starts." Because they are idealistic, and sometimes overly optimistic, young people may move in unrealistic career directions. This can lead to frustration, pessmism, and the need to constantly reevaluate vocational choices.

IDEOLOGY - WHAT DO I BELIEVE?

This includes, but goes beyond questions about religion. Adults may not be willing or able to give answers, but young people may wonder about a number of troubling issues: for example, why so many people in the world go hungry, why some people live in poverty while others can flaunt their affluence, why nuclear disarmament doesn't happen, whether their parents' religious or political views are really right, what is wrong with premarital sex, why the Bible or the government should be sources of authority, or why anybody should go to church. In their attempts to find what they believe and why, young people have always asked hard questions to the generation that is now in control. In the process of finding answers, adolescents develop their own values, religious beliefs and life philosophies.

Too often, the society and people in the older generation give little in the way of clear values and practical help. Perhaps it is not surprising that may adolescents struggle with feelings of inner emptiness, confusion, interpersonal tension, and anxiety.

The Causes of Problems in Adolescence

In describing modern adolescents, one expert concluded that " taken as a whole, the data do not present a picture of overwhelming woes." I stress this point because adolescents are extremely vulnerable to external influences. If we portray them in the media and in legislative hearings as pathological, spaced-out, drunk, and assaultive, we run the risk of alienating greater numbers of young people and of encouraging them unwittingly to fulfill our worst expectations. If parents, teachers and counselors look for the worst in teenagers, and expect the worst, it may be that we will see the worst and subtly encourage teenagers to engage in the very behaviours that we most fear and hope to have them avoid.

Adolescent society changes quickly and most adults find themselves out of touch with contemporary teenagers. In spite of the changes however, several issues persist and create problems for adolescents regardless of the times in which they live.

PHYSICAL CHANGES

The growth spurt, skin problems, excess fat, periodic decreases in energy, changes in body proportions, development of body hair, lowering of voice pitch, and other physical changes can each influence adolescents psychologically. Recent reports suggest that teenagers, as a group, are not in good health; many are out of shape, overweight, physically unfit, and victims of lack of exercise or poor nutritional habits. At a time when it is important to look attractive, a teenager's physical development can bring embarrassment and dissatisfaction, especially if the biological changes are obvious to others or if maturation is slow in coming. Late maturers tend to be treated as children by both peers and adults. This can lead to problems in social adjustment and feelings of rejection. Although these effects of late maturation usually can be overcome, some young people carry their insecurities and adjustment problems into adulthood.

SEXUAL CHANGES

Even when they are expecting the sexual changes of adolescence, most young people experience anxiety over the physical changes in their bodies, the increasing erotic impulses within, and the confusion about sexual behaviour. Sexual fantasies, masturbation, heavy petting, and adolescent intercourse can all produce guilt. Crushes on people of the same sex can lead to fears of homosexuality. Intimate contact with others can increase the fear of AIDS or venereal disease. Sudden physical growth can create confusion over one's identity and uncertainty about who to act appropriately as an adult male or female. Dating may be feared and desired at the same time. There is a sexual freedom in our society, an easy access to sexually explicit and erotically arousing video movies, a parental reluctance to give clear sex education, and frequent opportunities to engage in impulsive sexual experimentation. All of this can lead to loss of self-control, guilt, pregnancies, and the emotional trauma that follows.

INTERPERSONAL CHANGES

As we have seen, adolescence is a time when there are changes in relationships with parents, peers, and others in society. It is important to be liked and accepted by other adolescents, especially those of the opposite sex, but even as they move away from parental control, young people need to feel that their environments have stability. When there is no clear parental guidance, or when the inner and outer worlds both seem to be unstable, adolescents often feel confused, anxious, and angry.

CHANGING VALUES, MORALS AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Prior to adolescence, the young person may accept parental standards with little question or challenge. As they get older, however, adolescents begin to question parental viewpoints and peers have a greater impact on the moulding of beliefs and values. Often, young people get no help with the process of values clarification except from equally confused and struggling peers. Religious doubt, a decrease in church related activities, and a turning to some other faith (at least temporarily) are all common in adolescence, must to the distress of parents and church leaders.

Studies confirm that the commonly accepted values and beliefs of one generation may differ greatly from the values of those who were adolescents a few years earlier. Within the past several years, for example, attitudes towards sex have been changing (perhaps because of the fear of AIDS), and there have been changes in beliefs about the roles of women, the sue of drugs, and the importance of career success. Many of these and other value changes seem to be nationwide and many reflect changes in the adult thinking and behaviour. Recent studies

have shown for example, that the American family has "begun to divest itself of responsibility for the young, just as earlier it abandoned much of its responsibility for the elderly." Two-thirds of American parents want to be free to live their own lives even if it means spending less time with their children. If this trend continues, some experts fear that adolescents will no longer inherit a cohesive value system from their parents. Instead, young people will look to the mass media, peers, and other hit and miss resources for moulding their future beliefs. The resulting confusion could present counselors with a greater responsibility for helping people find and clarify values.

These issues are made more complex by the role of cultural differences. A recent comparison of "traditional" and Hispanic youth, for example, found a number of value differences. the mainstream culture glorifies youth, but the Hispanic culture traditionally respects age. Peer groups have major influence in the larger culture; Hispanic young people are more influenced by family. Competition and individual achievement are rewarded in the mainstream; cooperation and interdependence are encouraged by Hispanic families. These and similar cultural differences can create further value confusion for minority adolescents who want to fit both cultures.

Religious cultures also create tensions for young people. Many years ago, a denominational conference arranged a meeting to discuss the problems of today's teenagers. The topics for discussion were selected by adults and proved to be of little interest to the adolescent participants. When urged to express their real concerns, the young people expressed frustrations that probably still exist. Many felt that:

- Christian parents and church leaders today fail to realise the intense pressures and problems facing teenagers today, including the pressures to turn on with drugs and sex.
- Outward conformity to adult standards is taken as evidence of spiritual maturity when, in fact, it may show a desire to not "rock" the family boat by asking questions or expressing doubts.
- Christian parents and church leaders don't instill healthy and realistic attitudes towards sex.
- Adults fail to show the confidence in adolescents that would come by letting the undertake real responsibilities.
- Many church people take a lackadaisical attitude towards important economic, health, social and political issues.
- There often is a disparity between the pat answers and the day-to-day Christian lives of older Christians

These conclusions are not based on scientific study, but the demonstrate some of the moral struggles of adolescents. Alert older Christians, including counselors, recognise that we may be ignoring pressing adolescent issues while we seek to answer questions that nobody is asking.

THE MOVE TO INDEPENDENCE

Adolescence, as we have seen, is a period of growth into maturity. Aware that they are no longer children, adolescents want freedom in large doses, but the handle it better in small and slowly increasing amounts. What young people want and think they can handle often differs from what parents are willing or think it wise to give. This can create tension, frustration,

rebellion and persisting power struggles. An old cliche says that parents often find it easier to give their children roots than to give them wings.

ACQUIRING SKILLS AND BUILDING SELF ESTEEM

According to James Dobson, teenagers do not feel good about themselves unless they have physical attractiveness, intelligence (which sometimes translates into academic ability), and money. Rarely are these all present and frequently there are feelings of self-condemnation, social incompetence, academic and athletic ineptness, and spiritual failures that are emphasised whenever there is criticism, social rejection, or the inability to succeed in some important task.

Self-esteem problems sometimes come because adolescents are lacking in social skills. Each of us must learn how to cope with stress, study effectively, manage time, interact smoothly with others, resist temptation, hold a job, mature spiritually, relate to the opposite sex, or handle money. These are some of the survival skills that individuals must learn if they are to get along smoothly in life. When adolescents have limited opportunities to learn these skills, adjustments to life can be much more difficult.

CONCERNS ABOUT THE FUTURE

Late adolescence has been called a period of "psychosocial moratorium" when young people are free to regroup psychologically and socially while they seek to find their niches in society. Even during this time, however, many older adolescents feel pressure to make decision about careers, college majors, values, lifestyles, and what to do with their lives. No decision is permanent at this age and it is possible to change later, at least in our society. Nevertheless some adolescent decisions can have life long implications. An awareness of this creates pressure and anxiety for people who want to make wise decisions.

Changes and Needs

From Guides to Youth Ministry Leadership *by Thomas East and John Roberto, 1994*

APPENDIX 1: THE CHANGES OF EARLY ADOLESCENCE

Physical Development

! developing secondary sex characteristics and the capacity to reproduce

! growing stronger and taller

! experiencing physical changes; confused about emerging sexuality, incorporating bodily changes into male or female self image

Intellectual Development

! beginning to move from concrete (what is) to abstract thinking, "formal operations," (what might be true if...)

! questioning and testing adults' statements; evaluating adults' values

! feeling acutely self-conscious, critical, idealistic, argumentative, self-centered

! expanding interests; intense, short term enthusiasm

Identity Development

! requiring time to reflect on new reactions received from others and to construct a consistent self-image from the different mirrors in which they view themselves

! discovering they are unique persons with abilities, interests and goals

! seeking limited independence and autonomy from parents and adults

Moral Development

! engaging in more complex decision-making process

! resolving moral dilemmas in terms of the expectations of Others, i.e. family, friends or other significant persons or what the law or our society calls for in a given situation

Interpersonal Development

! relying on parents and families in setting values and giving affection

! identifying more strongly with a peer group to belong and deepen friendships

! entering a broader social world: middle school, ["leer, and activity groups

! developing the ability to consider the feelings, actions, and needs of those within a relationship

! learning how to relate to the opposite sex (what to say and how to behave)

Faith Development

! deriving faith from parents and family through earlier identification

! developing faith and identity, establishing religious beliefs, attitude; and values through participating and belonging in a faith community where they are valued

THE DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS OF YOUNG ADOLESCENTS

Self-Definition

! to understand, define, and accept who they are as individuals

! to explore their widening social world and to reflect upon the meaning of new experiences, so that they can consider themselves participants in society

! for adolescents of ethnic cultures to achieve a positive orientation toward their own culture and white

! American culture; to affirm their ethnicity through observation of ceremonies, retention of native language, and reinforcement of specific attitudes, beliefs, and practices

Competence and Achievement

! to find out what they are good at doing and to know what they do is valued by others whom they respect

! that encourage new skills, public performance and recognition, and reflection on personal and group accomplishments

Positive Social Interaction with Adults and Peers

! to develop interpersonal skills

! to learn how to develop a relationship with their parents that is reflective of their growing autonomy and utilizes new patterns of communicating

! to form positive peer relationships and support, especially through structured programs

! to develop caring relationships with adults who like and respect them, who share their own experiences, views, values, and feelings, and who serve as role models and advisors

Meaningful Participation in Families, Schools, Churches and Community Organizations

! to participate in making decisions about activities that shape their lives and as active leaders or participants who can make a viable contribution to the success of those activities

! to participate as valued members of the faith community and as leaders in church ministries and programs

! to be exposed to situations in which they can use their skills to solve real life problems and affect the world around them, such as community service programs

Physical Activity

! to utilize their energy and growing bodies through activities that require physical movement or expression

Creative Expression

! to express to the external world who they are on the inside (feelings, interests, abilities, thoughts) through a variety of activities, e.g., music, writing, sports, art, drama, cooking

! to participate in activities that enable them to experience and test out new and different forms of self-expression

Personal Religious Experience

! to explore "the big questions" in life, questions whose answers can only be

comprehended within the context of faith and religion for a deeper and more personal relationship with God

Structure and Clear Limits

! to provide structure and guidance for young adolescents in making decisions about their behavior that involves them in the process of decision-making

! to provide structure that helps them stay focused on a task, persevere in their various efforts and succeed, which leads to an increase in self-esteem

! to provide structure and clear limits that helps them feel safe in their activities, helping them to live with joy and confidence

APPENDIX 2: THE CHANGES OF OLDER ADOLESCENCE

Intellectual Development

! dealing with more complex intellectual challenges

! developing the ability to engage in reflective thinking i.e., the ability to think about what they know, value, and believe, making it possible for them to grow toward a personal identity, moral value system, and faith

! thinking about and planning for the future

Identity Development

! beginning to establish a personal identity, which includes an acceptance of one's sexuality, a sex-role identity (self-definition as a man or woman), decision-making regarding education or career choice, and a commitment to one's own system of values, religious beliefs, vocational goals, and philosophy of life

! shifting from inherited authority (especially the family) to self-chosen authority (eventually oneself), often by establishing a relational identity powerfully shaped by others (peers and adults)

! experiencing questioning, reevaluation, and experimentation as they seek to develop a unified, consistent self-concept

! developing increasing autonomy in making personal decisions, assuming responsibility and regulating one's own behavior

Moral Development

! exercising moral judgments in matters of greater complexity as they seek to establish a personal form of moral reasoning

! reevaluating values received from family, church, and others

! searching for a moral code which preserves their personal integrity and provides the basis for developing an internalized value system that can guide their behavior

Interpersonal Development

! moving toward greater personal intimacy and adult sexuality

! developing the capability for more mutual, trusting, deep, and enduring personal friendships with both sexes that provide acceptance, love, affirmation of self-image, and the opportunity to honestly share their deepest selves

! expanding their perspective to encompass the larger world by seeking to comprehend

more deeply the motives, feelings, and thought patterns of individuals and groups of people outside their personal experience

Faith Development

! exploring and questioning the faith handed down by family and church as they search for a faith which is more personal

! beginning to take responsibility for one's own faith life, commitments, lifestyle, beliefs and attitudes

! exploring a personal relationship with God and with Jesus through his teaching, example, and presence

DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS OF OLDER ADOLESCENTS

Exploration and Experimentation

! to experiment with a wide array of behaviors, roles, attitudes, relationships, ideas, and activities as they develop their own identity and faith identity

! to explore who they are and who they can become by reflecting on self in relation to others

Adult Sexuality

! to understand their sexual growth and integrate their sexuality into their personalities in a holistic way

! to develop healthy values and attitudes regarding their own sexuality

Interpersonal Relationships

! to form positive relationships and experiences with peers in a comfortable and secure environment and to develop friendship-making and friendship-maintaining skills

! to learn how to develop a relationship with parents that is reflective of their growing autonomy and utilizes new patterns of communicating

Meaningful Roles In the Community and Society

! to participate with other older adolescents as full members and leaders in the community, society and church

! to explore, discuss, and act on local and global justice issues; to develop an active responsibility for what happens in their community and world and to be involved in meaningful community service

! to be involved in the decision-making, planning, and implementation of programs that serve them

Preparing for the Future

! to acquire the competencies necessary for adult roles, such as goal setting, problem solving, time management, and decision making

! to explore life options and plan their futures (education, career) and to help them acquire the skills, knowledge and experience for their chosen fields; to link more closely the worlds of school and work

Personal Value System and Decision-Making Skills

! to discuss conflicting values and formulate their own value system

! to gain knowledge and experience in making decisions and to apply Christian moral values in making moral judgments

Personal Faith

! to explore and question the faith they have been given by family and the faith community and develop their own faith identity

! to explore what it means to be and live as a person of faith today

Adult Mentors

! to develop relationships with adult Christians who affirm their journey and struggles, explore sensitive issues with them, listen to their stories and questions, share their .own faith journey, and ask questions that encourage critical thinking and reflection

Young Adult Development

Joan Weber published in Vision and Challenge*, Fall 1995 3.1*

One of the first things we teach in youth ministry training is the developmental path of young and older adolescents. Knowing the needs and the necessary developmental struggles of the teenagers to whom we minister helps us be more proactive in providing programs which enhance their growth.

Developmental studies of young adults are crucial for young adult ministers, but can also be helpful to youth ministers. Knowing what is ahead for the youth we serve can help us design programs which prepare older adolescents for the not-too-distant future they face. This article will provide an overview of the developmental issues which people between the ages of 18 and 35 work through on their way to full adulthood. Much of the research was done by Ron Bagley, CJM, the director of the St. John Eudes Center in Buffalo, New York. Ron Bagley is also part of the Project Staff for the National Catholic Young Adult Initiative.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF YOUNG ADULTS

Before we look at the various tasks of young adulthood, it is important to note that there is a tremendous range of maturity and lifestyles when we compare 18-year-olds to 35-year-olds. The tasks of young adulthood occur at different stages and in different ways as persons move through their early 20s, their mid to late 20s, and their 30s. Using the research of such noted experts as Kenneth Keniston, Enk Erikson, Lawrence Kohlberg and others, Ron Bagley lays out ten developmental tasks of young adults.

1. Becoming Competent

Perhaps more than at any other time in history, adults cannot function in society without competence, i.e. the ability to accomplish goals and feel some degree of capability. When adolescents move into young adulthood, they need social and emotional competence, which they obtain by developing their interpersonal skills. Tney also need competence in the area of job or career, and institutional competence (knowing how to live with the structures that form our society). Without competence, young adults experience feelings of loneliness, inadequacy, and powerlessness.

2. Achieving Autonomy

Autonomy implies self-sufficiency ana some degree of independence. Young adults grow into the ability to rely on their inner selves, rather than approval or advice from others, to cope with life. They begin to take control of their lives while balancing their needs with the needs of

others. As young adults mature, they realize that interdependence is the most desirable way to interact with others. They are capable of admitting tneir need for others because they have developed a deeper sense of their own worth ana their ability to be of service to others.

3. Developing and Implementing Values
Adolescents begin the process of choosing values, but it is in young adulthood that values are freely chosen, clarified and integrated. Part of this process may involve temporary rejection of traditional values, a genuine searching; style of faith, and even moral relativism. Eventually young adults develop a commitment to a set of values which makes sense to them. However, this task may not be completed until mid-life.

4. Forming an Identity
Erik Erikson's research on identity development describes this stage as coming to "a fairly stable sense of self that seems to be shared by the significant people in one's life." Adolescents and young adults come to this identity through interaction with others and with life experiences. In adolescence, the achievement of self-awareness begins to take place. In young adulthood, integrating this new sense of self into society with integrity occurs.

5. Integrating Sexuality into Life
Young adults are asking - who they are sexually, how they relate in healthy and moral ways as sexual persons, and how their values contribute to their sexual selves. They are also looking at male and female roles, trying to weed out stereotypes and embrace what is real. In this stage, young adults move from the narcissism of adolescence to mutuality in their relationships with others or in other words, from focusing almost exclusively on self to balancing self with others.

6. Making Friends and Developing Intimacy
A kev issue for young adults is developing friendships that last. Young adults develop the capacity to achieve true intimacy, which Erikson defines as "the capacity to commit oneself to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments even though they may call for significant sacrifice and compromises." Qualities which young-adults internalize in developing the capacity for intimacy include firmness, loyalty, strong mutual support, a shared view of the world, mutual self-disclosure, and shared vulnerability.

7. Choosing a Marriage Partner
While single life is recognized today as a choice, most young adults will marry. In order to be successful in marriage, young adults must first develop the ability to engage in shared decision-making, to deal with conflict and disagreement, to work toward mutual goals, to sacrifice or postpone gratification for a higher goal, to balance family and career, and to communicate in an open, honest manner. For the choice of partner to be a good one, young adults must have completed many of the other developmental tasks, e.g., identity. It is increasingly important to encourage young adults to discern their vocation in a way which includes priesthood, religious life, single life, and marriage as viable options.

8. Making Initial Job or Career Choices
In the 1990s, many young adults find that they have no choice of career (or even no career at all). But ideally this task involves choosing a career which will bring personal satisfaction and whicn taps into the strengths and gifts the young adults possess. It is important to note that Generation Xers, unlike the Boomers before them, see work as a means to an end, not as an end in itself.

9. Becoming an Active Community Member and Citizen

Young adults bring the idealism from older adolescence to their growing world view. Two pitfalls involved in the task of becoming a contributing member of society are naivete (which overlooks reality) and cynicism (which blocks out compassion). What young adults grow into is a "realistic optimism" in which idealism is tempered by the wisdom of knowing what actually can be accomplished. Joining voluntary organizations or doing service in the community are ways young adults live out this developmental task.

10. Learning How to Use Leisure Time

Leisure, the "freedom from activities that are considered socially compulsory," is highly valueci by Generation Xers. By experimenting with different ways of using leisure time, young adults learn more about socializing, about relaxing and renewing, about making a contribution to Church and society. Effective use of leisure time can help young adults achieve competence in many of the other developmental tasks they face.

FAITH DEVELOPMENT

Faith development is also a critical part of young adulthood. The Church has come to recognize the lifelong nature of the faith journey. Specific stages of that journey occur in young adulthood. Using John Westerhoff's four unique styles of faith development, we can place most young adults in the searching style of faith. They may have one foot still in affiliative faith (the style which says, "I believe because the important people in my life believe), they may have moved one foot into owned faith (the style which says, "I believe because I freely choose to believe and this makes sense for my life"). In general young adult faith is characterized by asking deeper questions and searching for answers to help make sense of young adults' lives.

Some young adults go through searching faith in a completely interior way. Observers would never know that these individuals are questioning because their activities and outward attitudes seem the same. The majority of people, however, go through an observable period of searching faith. They may reject organized religion temporarily, try different lifestyles, or embrace various causes or ideologies. They are more likely to challenge the traditions of their family religion than to embrace them.

The searching style is a legitimate style of faith, and necessary to the process of coming to own one's faith. It should be seen as a healthy part of the faith development of older adolescents and young adults. Giving young adults the freedom to explore is more likely to lead to the style of owned faith which is our goal for all the people with whom we minister.

James Fowler's definition of faith development comes through a six-stage approach. He identifies the late adolescent and some young adults as living out of a Stage 3 perspective. The Synthetic-Conventional Faith of this stage is one in which the community of faith provides the context or faith. Young adults in this stage conform to the standards set by the community of like-minded believers with whom they affiliate. When questions arise, these young adults look to the Church to provide answers.

Charles McCullough has described persons in this stage as "Loyalists." Stage 4, Individuative-Reflective Faith, is that which most young adults experience. This stage is the one in which individuals begin to take charge of their faith. Doubts, questions, and rejections are part of this stage, and Fowler describes the stage as one which is not "comfortable." It is natural for young adults to question their faith because they are generally questioning the meaning of life.

Sharon Parks uses words like "ambivalence, wariness, exploration and tentativeness" to describe faith in the young adult years. McCullough characterizes this group as "Critics."

A small percentage of young adults have moved into Fowler's fifth stage, Conjunctive Faith. People in this stage take elements of previous stages and weave them into a faith which they uniquely claim as theirs. One characteristic of this stage is the ability to see perspectives which are different from their own. Again, McCullough uses the word "Seer" to describe adults in this stage of faith.

CONCLUSIONS

What are the implications for ministry from this description of young adult development? For those who minister with young adults, it is important that we keep these tasks in mind as we create our programs. The Church needs to meet young adults where they are in their faith development. The more we can connect faith with life the greater success we will have in inviting young adults to enter into full participation in their local faith communities.

Youth ministers can use this information in at least two different ways. If you are a young adult, take the time to reflect on where you are in your own development and how this will impact the way you minister with youth. Second, use the developmental tasks of young adults in your strategic planning for older adolescent ministry. How can youth ministry provide a foundation for graduating seniors to move comfortably and confidently into the next part of their life?

Programs which focus on the following issues give youth the background they will need to wrestle with their life tasks beyond high school:

! identity, self-awareness,

! feeling comfortable with self-image

! friendship, relationships, interpersonal skill development

! career education; vocational education

! recreational activities-group and individual

! male-female gender differences

! service projects

! opportunities to learn about organizations which help people (in the public as well as the private sector)

! forums for asking the tough faith questions in an atmosphere of acceptance and trust

! solid faith formation given by adults who walk their talk

In conclusion, studying the developmental tasks of young adults reminds us that those of us who work in ministry, no matter what our area of specialization)may be, must work together to ensure that the people in our care receive integrated, holistic, and healthy and holy support from the faith community. They deserve lifelong faith formation which moves smoothly from one stage of development to the next, with each step giving them preparation for their future life tasks.

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Theories of Development

PSYCHOANALYTIC

Freud was responsible for the idea that people act in response to unconscious feelings. He suggested that the urges people feel - mainly sexual or aggressive - put them in conflict with society, which makes them anxious. People deal with these feelings with defense mechanisms such as repression (blocking the feelings), sublimation (channeling energy into sport or work). The psychosexual stages finished with adolescence, the time of mature sexuality.

Erikson used Freud's work as a basis for his own theories. Rather than stopping at adolescence, as Freud did, he proposed eight stages of development which have to do with crises a person must deal with. They are positive and negative poles of the same issue leading to the establishment of a virtue:

> from *puberty to young adulthood* the crisis is identity versus identity confusion, leading to the virtue fidelity. The adolescent must determine their own sense of self in *young adulthood* the crisis is intimacy versus isolation, leading to love. The person seeks to make commitments to others; if unsuccessful they may suffer from a sense of isolation and self-absorption.

MECHANISTIC

This theory views human development as mainly a response to events; it doesn't count a person's purpose, will, intelligence or unconscious forces. With this theory once you know all the significant influences in person's environment you can tell how they will act.

Science focuses on what you can see, and so does this theory. It is based on a set of experiments by Pavlov, in which he was able to get a dog to associate the ring of a bell with food. This is known as classical conditioning. Operant conditioning looks at what a person or animal does, and tries to change that by either reinforcing it with rewards or punishing it.

The modern off-shoot of this theory - social learning theory - says that human behaviour can't be explained by research on animals, and takes into account the social context of people. Children learn by observing and imitating models, but can choose which models to imitate. While it stresses a person's response to the environment, it also allows for individual thought and choice.

ORGANISMIC

People are living, growing beings with their own impulses and patterns for development.

Two main points make up this theory:

1. People are active, they don't just react to events. The source of developmental change is within a person.

2. Development occurs in stages which build on the one before, and everyone goes through the same stages in the same order, but not necessarily at exactly the same time.

Piaget is the main man when it comes to explaining this theory. He worked especially in the area of cognitive or intellectual development. Between the ages of 7-12 children are at what he called the concrete operational stage, where they can work things out logically if they are focused on the here and now. At around 12 years they move into the formal operations stage, where they can think in abstract terms and deal with what is possible and not just what is

actual. Piaget assumed that this stage occurs among all people, however research evidence doesn't support this theory. The ability of adolescents to solve complex problems depends on accumulated learning and knowlegde.

SO WHAT?

These theories have become part of our everyday thinking whether we like it or not. How often, when confronted with a moody teenager, might we think to ourselves:

"She can't help it, her mum shouts at her all the time" - mechanistic

" She's just going through a stage" - organismic

" She must have had an awful childhood" - psychoanalytic

As youth workers we need to understand these theories because they do help us understand the people we work with. At the same time we need to realise that they are theories, and that while they may hold same truth they are not the final word. None of them take into account the fact that God lives and acts and we can respond to him.

> **For reflection**: *What is the role of God and the faith community in each of these theories of development*

Contexts of Development

If you want a seed to develop into a normal, healthy plant, you must provide it with rich soil and appropriate amounts of light and moisture. The quality of its environment will determine how well it matures and flourishes. The development of all living things occurs within a context, and the composition of that context influences the course of development. This is as true of humans as it is of other species. Human development, both physical and psychological, requires an appropriate context for its unfolding. If that context is abnormal, development may be too.

For example, years ago orphaned infants were sometimes raised in very sterile institutions, with almost no physical or social stimulation. The babies were fed and kept clean, but most of the time they were left alone, with little to look at or touch. No one talked to them, played with them, or gave them loving attention. These children soon became apathetic, unresponsive, and withdrawn (Spitz, 1945). In other words, they lacked the physical and social stimulation our species requires. Many even died. Of course, with this kind of uncontrolled observation it is difficult to tell what caused the high death rate. Perhaps the babies were less healthy to begin with or more prone to disease because of crowded conditions. On the other hand, perhaps the absence of a normal environment made these children unusually vulnerable. Recent follow-up studies of children separated from parents before age 4 and reared in institutions show long-term negative outcomes, especially with regard to peer relations and parenting (Rutter, in press).

Other evidence suggesting that infants require an appropriate environment for normal development comes from the occasional discovery of a child who has been isolated from human contact. One such child was Victor, who was captured in a French forest in 1799. Despite intensive efforts at rehabilitation, he remained abnormal in all respects. More contemporary is the case of Genie, who from the age of one was restricted to a small room. There her emotionally unstable father harnessed her in a sitting position during the day and often bound her in a cagelike crib at night. When discovered at the age of 13 she was physically deformed and underdeveloped (from being kept so confined), and she also was seriously retarded in every area of human functioning. In time Genie made some improvements in physical and intellectual development, including modest use of language. However, she remained severely handicapped in establishing social relationships (Curtiss, 1977; Ruch and Shirley, 1985).

It is hard to say at this time whether the results of early environmental deprivation are reversible or irreversible. Victor improved very little, but perhaps he was abandoned because he was seriously abnormal in the first place. Genie improved more, especially in mastery of cognitive skills, but she may have had considerable language stimulation in the first two years. The point is that neither of the studies of these children was an experiment (with normal children assigned to deprivation) and neither used a prospective (forward-going) longitudinal design; that is, measurements were not made before the deprivation began.

Therefore, many questions remain. We do not know, for example, whether Genie began acquiring some language because she was mentally more sound than Victor, had more early language experience, or had better teaching. Still, it does seem clear that normal human

development depends on environmental support. More recent studies of the effects of early deprivation are presented in Chapter 7.

Even short of such extreme circumstances, the context in which a child grows strongly influences how that child develops. Imagine two children, one born into a traditional Japanese family and one born into a family such as your own. In the traditional Japanese family social roles are strictly demarcated. Women serve their husbands. The oldest male child is prized beyond all others; advanced education is planned for him alone. Family bonds are very tight and relationships are closely dependent. Traditional Japanese mothers never part from their young children, even to go shopping (Takahashi, 1986). Infants are quickly comforted if they cry, and when they do cry, the mother feels shame. Respect and agreeableness are highly valued, as are emotional maturity, self-control, and social courtesy (Hess et al., 1980). Conformity to the group rather than individual assertiveness is the principal guide to behavior. The newborn infant is viewed as initially independent (not bound to the group), and making the infant dependent and a part of the culture is an urgent task (Caudill and Weinstein, 1969).

How would a person growing up in. such a culture differ from you? Obviously, given a common humanity, people raised in different cultures are similar in basic ways. They share intelligence, curiosity, the ability to speak, bonding with kin, and social organisation. But people raised in distinctly different cultures vary in attitudes, values, and belief systems, and these differences influence not only individual personality but parent-child relationships and other social relationships as well (Caudill and Weinstein. 1969).

And within the same general culture, living circumstances have an impact on development. The three families we introduced in the opening of Part I differ in economic circumstances, ethnicity, and community. In addition, other factors in their lives are continually changing, such as relationships among family members, and these affect the environment in which their children are raised. Thus, while all three families are influenced by the dominant North American culture, they represent dif-ferent subcultures and different living situations. Moreover, into each is born an individual infant with a unique set of genes. Development of each child will take place within this matrix of contextual influences, and as you will see, the development of each will be unique. Although the task is enormously complex, developmental psychologists aim to understand how people develop within this matrix.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE CONTEXTS

When we say that human development takes place in context, we are actually referring to many things, many contexts. The contexts for development include human evolutionary history, our biological heritage. Developmental contexts also include the culture in which a child is born, the particular period in history, the subculture and community, the child's family, and the immediate surroundings. All of these influence development—usually in a complex, interlocking way. Many common features of our modern industrial culture, such as the presence of a television set, two working parents, out-of-home care, and formal schooling, do not go together just by coincidence; they are part of the same societal pattern, and their influences supplement one another.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to looking at each of the major contexts of development. We will examine the impact of these contexts in later chapters as we look at the major periods of child development. As background for these discussions, it helps to have a broad overview of the contexts, and that overview is our goal here. We begin with the child's biological context.

THE BIOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Children do not enter the world as totally, blank slates, waiting to be taught a long list of "human" behaviors. Instead, they come equipped with a rich evolutionary heritage, which greatly affects how they act. This heritage consists of certain traits shared by mammals, others shared by primates (the order of animals that includes humans, apes, and monkeys), and still others characteristic of humans alone. For example, human infants, like other primates, have an inherited tendency to seek social .stimulation and to form strong attachments to care givers. In addition, human infants have a built-in tendency to detect and attend to human speech sounds, something unique to members of our species. Our evolutionary heritage also includes a rather precise timetable for the emergence of many developmental milestones, from reaching for and grasping a nearby object to showing the emotion of fear.

Each individual (except for identical twins—see Chapter 4) has a somewhat different genetic makeup and a somewhat different biological context for development. Such differences in individual children have both direct and indirect influences on development. Girls and boys, for example, have certain physical differences as a result of their genetic differences. They may have differences in mental abilities as well (see Chapters 12 and 14). Most parents certainly treat them differently, and the effects of this different treatment are part of the indirect influence of genetics.

Individual differences also are apparent hi the range of children's intellectual potential. Mental retardation, which often is caused by inborn factors, clearly provides a different developmental context than normal intellectual functioning. Finally, some researchers believe that differences in activity level, tearfulness, and other aspects of behavior We strongly influenced by an individual's genetic makeup (Goldsmith, 1983; Plomin and DeFries, 1983; Thomas and Chess, 1977). If this is true, then the biological context takes on additional importance because such features would influence the reactions of others in the child's environment (Scarr and McCartney, 1983).

As we noted in Chapter 1, many developmentalists are interested in now genes and environment interact to produce behavior. A major question concerns the degree to which genes constrain, or put limits on, how much the environment can influence particular capacities. C. H. Waddington (1966) has used the term canalization to refer to these genetic constraints. In his view, some behaviors are strongly canalized, or "channeled," from the beginning. For example, babbling appears in all babies at about the same age, regardless of culture or context. Even those who are deaf, and therefore have never heard sound, babble. Thus, even with a great deal of environmental variation this behavior follows its genetically determined course. Other characteristics, such as social competence, are thought to be much more changeable in response to variations in environment.

For some capacities, canalization is strong early in life, and the constraints become more rigid with age. As an analogy, consider what happens when water runs down a sandy hillside. At first, it establishes several broad paths or channels. If more water continues to pour down, the grooves deepen. In time, rather massive environmental change is required to reroute the streams thus formed. Some human abilities develop that way. Genes provide the broad outlines, or dispositions, for acting. If the environment supports these dispositions early in life, the tendencies become stronger. Such behavior is susceptible to environmental input at first and becomes difficult to change later on.

For other capacities, strong genetic canalization appears early, but at a later developmental period, there is increased openness to the environment. Robert McCall (1981) has proposed that mental development follows such a course. Until the age of 2, he argues, mental development is strongly canalized by the individual's biological makeup. The range of behavior across children is narrow, and widely differing environments have relatively little impact. After age 2, developmental pathways diverge. Genetically determined tendencies have less of an impact on behavior, and children are more vulnerable to variations in experience.

Biological tendencies, then, are critical factors in human behavior. They influence behavior not only directly but also indirectly by helping to shape other aspects of our developmental context. Through what we seek and respond to, we influence the world around us and to a large extent determine our "effective" environment, the part of the environment that influences us in return. For a child, the effective environment includes the immediate environment, which encompasses objects and people.

THE CHILD'S IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT

People are of primary importance to a child's development because they directly interact with the child and are largely responsible for the child's physical surroundings. The people in a child's world generally include parents, peers, and in modern cultures, teachers. Often there are siblings and other relatives as well. In addition to people, the objects a child encounters in the immediate environment help shape development.

The Influence of Objects on Development

While no certain set of toys is required for optimal development, ready availability of objects that are responsive to the child's actions (such as "busy boxes") has been shown to be related to the pace of cognitive development (Elardo, Bradley, and Caldwell, 1975; Yarrow, Rubenstein, and Pederson, 1975). Children learn by doing and are especially attracted to objects that respond to them (Charlesworth, 1969; Watson, 1972).

In recent decades researchers have been interested in the impact of prominent objects in many home environments, such as the television set and now the home computer. Many children view a large amount of television. It is estimated that the average child in the United States will have watched 15,000 hours of television by the time he or she is 18 years old (Lesser, 1974). Even though young children commonly are engaged in other activities in front of the set (Anderson and Smith, 1984), it seems likely that video material influences children. Potential influences on sex roles, racial attitudes, and aggression have all been documented (e.g., Stein and Friedrich, 1975). In general, it might be argued that television has a homogenizing influence, presenting a standard set of values widely held in the culture. While less research has been done on the impact of the home computer, is it clear that by preschool age, children find such devices quite captivating and enjoy working with them with peers (Green-field, 1984).

The Family Context

The family is a dominant part of a child's immediate environment. Every day family members directly interact with the child, stimulating language development and other cognitive skills (Elardo, Bradley, and Caldwell, 1975, 1977; Wachs, 1976). Family members also provide models for behaviors. Children imitate those around them, especially those they look up to or to whom they are emotionally attached (Bandura, 1965, 1977a; Hetherington, 1965). Chief among such people are parents and older siblings. Family members model not only specific

behaviors but roles. Much of a child's understanding of what it is like to be male or female, mother or father, husband or wife comes from the family (Parsons and Bales, 1955; Satir, 1967; Sroufe and Fleeson, 1986). Family members also provide children with the security of nurturing relationships. As you will learn in later chapters, a child's curiosity, problem solving, and interactions with peers are all influenced by the emotional quality of family relationships.

THE FAMILY AS A SYSTEM

For many years researchers who studied the family's influence on children focused almost exclusively on the role of the mother, a practice that now has been criticized (Chess and Thomas, 1982; Parke, 1979). The emphasis arose because mothers have traditionally had the major direct impact on infants and young children. The importance of maternal care is also a cornerstone of psychoanalytic theory, which became quite influential earlier in this century. By underscoring the psychological need of children for a warm and emotionally supportive environment, this stress on the mother-child relationship has been beneficial.

However, developmentalists have come to realize that the traditional view of the family must be expanded. Mothers never care for children in a vacuum. The quality of their care giving is influenced by other family members, both directly and indirectly. Today, the developmental influences of fathers and siblings are topics of active study, as is the broader family support system that includes grandparents (Tinsley and Parke, 1984). Also of great interest is the child's own role in shaping family interactions. Modern developmentalists do not see the family as a set of separate relationships existing side by side. Instead, they see the family as an interconnected system (Belsky and Isabella, 1987a; Bugental and Shennum, 1984; Minuchin, 1985; Sroufe and Fleeson, in press).

At the simplest level, the idea of a system implies that all parts areinterconnected. A modern heating system is a common example. When the thermostat registers a temperature below a certain level, a connection is made that activates the furnace. Heat is produced and the room temperature rises until the desired level is reached. At this point, the electrical connection is broken and the furnace is switched off. Without the electrical connection, the furnace would not run; without the changes in temperature produced by the furnace, the thermostat would not be functional. Each part depends on the others for its operation, and the role of each is defined by the overall system. Family members are even more complexly interconnected. Each member's behavior depends in part on the behavior of the others. The roles of mother, father, oldest son, youngest daughter, and so forth are defined by the overall family system.

The idea of an interconnected system stresses an important point: The influence between members of the system moves in two directions. The furnace and its heat affect the thermostat, but the thermostat and its electrical connection also affect the furnace. So it is in a family. While the behavior of parents helps determine the characteristics of their children, the characteristics of the children in turn influence the parents' behavior. For example, American parents often behave differently toward their sons than their daughters. Toddler girls get hair ribbons; toddler boys get tossed in the air. These different styles of care giving encourage children to act in sex-typed ways; this, in turn, reinforces the parents' beliefs and child-rearing practices. Thus, the behavior of the parents helps shape the children's responses, but the children's responses also encourage the parents' behavior. Developmentalists call this two-way stream of influence a bidirectional effect (Bell, 1968) or reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1985).

Arnold Sameroff has introduced a transactional model to describe the long-term bidirectional effects of parents and child, taking into account the family's social and economic context as well (Sameroff, 1986; Sameroff and Chandler, 1975). A newborn baby enters the family system with certain innate tendencies. The parents, because of their own circumstances and characteristics, respond to the baby in particular ways. The baby's behavior then gradually changes, partly because of the parents' influences, partly because of maturation. These changes in the baby's behavior in turn elicit new parental responses, which further influence the child, and so on, in an ongoing cycle.

Sameroff's transactional model can help to answer some otherwise puzzling questions, such as why certain moderately premature infants have developmental problems. The answer does not lie solely with the, babies, for in general such infants develop quite well. Moreover, those who later encounter developmental problems are physically indistinguishable at birth from those who do not. It seems that the premature babies who have trouble are mainly those in very low income homes. (Sameroff and Chandler, 1975).

What is it about living in poverty that puts a moderately premature infant at developmental risk? Sameroff's transactional model can help us understand what goes wrong in these cases. A premature infant requires special care and poses special challenges for parents. These demands can be overtaxing for parents already burdened with the many stresses of Poverty. Thus, the baby's condition at birth interacts with the parents' psychological state, which itself is shaped by their economic and social circumstances. The result can be a parent-child relationship not conducive to optimal development.

Note that it is the transaction between particular actors in a particular context that gives rise to the outcome. In middle-class families, which do not suffer the extra burdens of poverty, moderate prematurity in an infant does not predict negative outcomes. In fact, one study of middle-class families found that the mothers of premature babies in general became more "sensitive" care givers than the mothers of full-term infants (Cohen and Beckwith, 1979). Sensitive care involves the mother's fitting her own behavior to the infant's wishes and needs. For example, if the baby turns its head away when not ready for more food, the sensitive mother pauses and waits for the baby to turn back. Apparently, premature infants with their special needs tend to elicit sensitive care from mothers who have adequate social support and are not unduly stressed. Although at age 9 months the premature babies in this particular study lagged behind the full-term infants on developmental tests, they had caught up to the full-term infants by the age of 2 years. This positive outcome is much less likely in poor households. There the premature baby often places additional stress on already highly stressed parents. In some cases the parents become less effective care givers, so the baby fails to thrive. The transactional model emphasizes that the total system of individuals, their contexts, and their two-way interactions are all important in explaining developmental outcomes.

The idea of the family as a system means more than that each individual affects the.other individuals. It also means that each family member is changed fundamentally by the organization of the whole (Sroufe and Fleeson, in press). Before a child is born, a family system already exists, and the child is fitted into that system more or less smoothly. Consider the Gordon family we introduced earlier. Wanting a son is their primary reason for having a third child. A place in the system is already prepared for the child. If the baby does turn out to be a boy, he immediately has a role of sizable importance: he makes the family "complete." But what if the child turns out to be a girl? Frank may actively show his disappointment

toward both the child and his wife. Christine may feel she has failed by not producing a boy. Or if she has a son, she may become angry at Frank if the wished-for closeness with him does not result. The wishes, expectations, and needs of the Gordons will influence how they react to the baby and to each other. People and relationships will be changed by the altered system formed with the child's birth. There.are no simple child effects in this view of the family system. Even child effects themselves are partly determined by the larger system.

Family systems are obviously much more complex than a modern heating system: One reason is that they are made up of many subsystems (relationships between siblings, fathers and sons, mother and father, and so forth), all of which are joined together in a coherent, interlocking network. For example, qualities of the siblings' relationships are predictable from qualities of mother-child relationships (Dunn and Kendrlck, 1982; Hetherington, in press; Robb and Mangelsdorf, 1987), and one parent's relationship to a child is connected with all other relationships in the family. Thus a mother is seductive toward her son, her relationship with her daughter is often characterized by derisiveness (Sroufe et al., 1985) and her relationship with her husband by emotional distance (Sroufe and Flees. in press). Rather than saying that the mother-son relationship causes the mother-father distance, or mother-father distance causes seductiveness, we would rather emphasize that the network of relationships within the family is a coherent one. Close, supportive relationship between spouses generally are not found in families where one parent is emotionally overinvolved with the opposite-gender child.

Families are also dynamic, open systems, subject to change as well as continuity. Family systerns change in obvious ways as members are added and lost. But they also change as circumstances change, as crises are faced, and as members enter new developmental phases (Hill, 1970). Developmentalists are particularly interested in how a child's development influences and is influenced by the overall development of the family. The Gordons' hoped-for boy may initially be given the role of holding the family together, but as he grows older, he may actively seek out this role, particularly if the relationship between his mother and father worsens. As they develop, children become active participants in defining and maintaining the family system. Individual and family development are always closely linked.

Family systems may be described in terms of historical, cyclical influences. For example, marital harmony or discord is related to child personality (Elder. Caspi, and Downey, 1986; Emery, 1982; Patterson and Dishion, in press: Quinton, Rutter, and Liddle, 1984; Rutter, in press). But a child's personality predicts his or her future marital satisfaction and harmony (Cowan et al., 1986; Stolnick, 1981) and even characteristics of spouses chosen (Caspi and Elder, in press). Moreover, in comparison with girls from a more normal family setting, girls from disrupted families more often become pregnant before marriage and select partners with few resources, which leads to troubled marriages (Hetherington, Cox, and Cox, 1978). Thus, it becomes difficult to determine where the cycle of influence begins or ends as patterns are repeated. In one study such cycles of influence were demonstrated across four generations (Elder, Caspi, and Downey, 1986). As you shall see, these cycles may be broken when adequate marital relations are achieved.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

While the family is a crucial context for child development, the family itself is embedded in a broader social and economic context (the second ring in Figure 3.1). This social and economic context can directly affect children, as when youngsters in city slums experience unsafe

housing, poor health care, high crime rates, and general overcrowding. At the same time, the social and economic context indirectly affects children by influencing their parents' behavior. If parents are stressed by the hardships of poverty or the uncertainty of losing a job, the quality of their child care may diminish. If parents receive aid and support from relatives, friends, and social institutions, their interactions with their children may improve. The ledger of hardships and challenges on the one hand balanced by social support on the other seems to be important in understanding individual development (Belsky, 1984; Rutter, in press). This will become apparent in the stories of our three children.

A popular TV show of the 1950s always began with the businessman father arriving at his house in the suburbs after a hard day's work. "Margaret, I'm home!" he would call out, as he swung open the front door. In the kitchen his homemaker wife, who had spent the day tending the house and children, was making dinner. Wiping her hands on her clean apron, she would rush to the door to greet the family breadwinner.

Few contemporary American families fit this traditional domestic pattern. The reasons have to do with social and economic forces that have changed the way most families live. For example, changing values and aspirations among women have led many to pursue careers outside the home. At the same time, economic circumstances have created new financial pressures, further contributing to the entry of married women into the paid labor force. In the years between 1947 and 1985, the proportion of working mothers grew from 20 to 60 percent (Newberger, Melnicoe, and Newberger, 1986; Norton and Click, 1986).

Partly because of greater financial demands, women with school-age children are even more likely to work than married women who as yet have no children. Of course, many contemporary women also work because they want to, because their jobs have meaning for them (Rubin, 1979). Fully 75 percent of employed women have said they would go on working even if financial need was not a consideration (Veroff, Dorwan, and Kukla, 1981).

New norms and values have led to other changes in American families. One that has had a significant effect on child development has been the increase in the number of single-parent homes. As of 1982, 22 percent of U.S. children lived with only one parent (Newberger, Melnicoe, and Newberger, 1986). It is estimated that 50 percent of children in our society will spend at least some of their time in a single-parent household (Norton and Click, 1986). The rise of single-parent families is due to both an increasing divorce rate and an increased tendency for unmarried mothers to keep their babies. Many of these single mothers are quite young, and many live in poverty.

In summary, a large percentage of today's children will experience living with only one parent. Very often the mother will work outside the home, even in two-parent households. Add to this the increasing tendency, for adults to marry later, bear children later, and have fewer children, and you can see that the U.S. family has changed dramatically over the past few decades. What are the consequences of these dramatic changes for contemporary children? Let's begin by looking at single-parent families—first those created by teenage pregnancy, then those created by divorce.

Social Class, Poverty, Stress, and the Family
In addition to changing the American family, by encouraging an increase in both one-parent households and in mothers who work outside the home, social and economic factors affect the family in another way. They determine what is called social class. In the past,

developmentalists have been interested in how social class affects child rearing. It seems reasonable that living conditions and life opportunities might influence a person's values, attitudes, and expectations regarding children. Researchers have in fact reported many differences in child-rearing practices between working-class and middle-class parents. For example, working-class parents in general use more physical means of discipline, whereas middle-class parents are more likely to "reason" with their children (Hoffman, 1963; Kohn, 1963, 1979).

It is easy to slip into making value judgments about these differences, but doing so can be misleading. Both styles of parenting have potential drawbacks. "Reasoning," when carried to extreme, can induce much guilt in children, just as physical discipline, when excessive, can become physical abuse. Excellent and poor quality child care cut across class lines (Egeland .and Sroufe, 1981). Moreover, poor-quality care is not caused by social class in itself any more than it is caused by the simple fact that a mother works. In the Egeland study we mentioned before, mothers who had adequate social support and stable life situations did quite well with their children despite very low incomes.

Our concern about an inappropriate social class stereotype is not to underplay the consequences of poverty. Various factors that accompany Poverty can have serious consequences for child development. More than 12 million children in this country are being raised in families below the poverty level, with more than half of these living in female-headed households (Select Committee Report, 1984). It is important to know just what effects being poor may have on these children.

First, children of poor families, compared with middle-class ones, are much more likely to suffer prenatal problems, poor physical health at birth, and death during infancy (Egeland and Brunnquell, 1979; Newberger, Melnicoe, and Newberger, 1986). In addition, youngsters living in poverty receive generally poorer medical care and poorer nutrition throughout childhood. These are the health costs of poverty (National Council, 1976; Riessman, 1962; Select Committee Report, 1984).

Second, poverty households usually experience much more life stress than do middle-class families. This increased stress is due to crowded conditions, financial uncertainty, and general instability in life circumstances (Egeland, Breitenbucher, and Rosenberg, 1980; National Council, 1976). Numerous studies have shown that stress can affect parenting and child development adversely (Belsky, 1984; Hoffman, 1960; Patterson and Dishion, in press; Vaughn et al., 1979). In particular, mothers who live in poverty have been found to exhibit notably more anger and punitive-ness toward their children than do middle-class mothers (Radke-Yarrow, Richters, and Wilson, in press). When stress is coupled with the social isolation often associated with being poor, it can take an even higher toll on the quality of child care (Egeland and Brunnquell, 1979; Gottlieb, 1980; Rutter, in press; Salzinger, Kaplan, and Artemyeff, 1983).

Third, the stresses of poverty are related to negative community conditions, such as interpersonal violence and drug addiction (Select Committee Report, 1984). While these social problems have complex origins, researchers have shown repeatedly that they are linked to poverty. For example, studies during economic recessions reveal that job loss and its hardships are associated with conflict and violence in the family, including child abuse (Belsky, 1980; Garbarino, 1981; Margolis, 1982).

Finally, the effects of poverty can be seen in the average level of adjustment among children of the poor. They are more likely than middle-class children to have behavioral and emotional problems. They are more apt to drop out of school, to be labeled learning disabled, and to spend time in a correctional institution as adolescents (National Council, 1976; Riessman, 1962). Being raised in poverty is also associated with serious mental disorders, such as schizophrenia (Wolkind and Rutter, 1985).

Drawing upon a natural experiment, Glen Elder and his colleagues (e.g., Elder, Caspi, and Burton, 1987) examined the consequences of paternal unemployment and loss of income during the Great Depression. Material available before and after this striking family stress showed changes in family relationships (with mothers assuming more responsibility), increased irritability and conflict between parents, and less consistent discipline of children.

For many families poverty is a self-perpetuating trap. The isolation and instability associated with poverty put children at. an extreme educational disadvantage. Because of school failure, dropping out, and frequent trouble with the law, people's job opportunities are limited. Lack of adequate employment, in turn, ensures poverty, and the cycle repeats itself. Stress negatively influences parenting, and children inadequately nurtured grow up less able to cope with stress (Patterson and Dishion, in press). Anyone concerned about the development of healthy children :must also be concerned about the developmental problems caused by poverty.

Social Settings Outside the Family

As children grow older, they increasingly find themselves in settings 'outside the family. Aspects of the child's neighborhood or community, 'especially the social support available, have a definite influence on development (Bryant, 1985). In addition, three settings that have a major role in development are day care, the peer group, and the school. We will be saying much more about the influences of these settings in later chapters of this book. Here we simply provide an introduction and raise some of the questions that researchers have tried to answer.

THE DAY-CARE SETTING

As the proportion of single parents steadily rises and as more and more married women seek work outside the home, the use of day care is increasing. By 1985, 10 million American children were receiving care from someone other than a parent for a sizable block of time each week, and that number continues to climb (Abernathy, 1987; Gamble and Zigler, 1986). Fifty-five percent of these children are infants, toddlers, and preschoolers, while the rest are older youngsters in need of supervision during nonschool hours. Contrary to common belief, most of these children are not enrolled in formal day-care centers. More than 80 percent of all families requiring child-care services use a more informal arrangement. About half use family day care, which consists of several children being cared for in someone else's home. Another large Percentage use individual baby-sitters, usually in the child's own home. This leaves only a little less than 20 percent who use organized day-care centers (Newberger, Melnicoe, and Newberger, 1986). Since the use of day care in America is so widespread and is grow so rapidly, developmentalists are greatly concerned about its imp Many important questions still require answers. The effects on cognitive growth appear to be minimal (Gamble and Zigler, 1986). But, what the short-term and long-term effects of the various kinds of day care children's social and emotional growth, and how does day care affect parent-child relationships, especially in infancy? Does the development impact differ depending on the age at which day care begins? Does it differ depending on the social class from which a child

comes? What constitutes quality day care, and how many facilities meet the standard? Are the day-care arrangements currently available to most American families adequately meeting the parents' needs as well? If not, what additional stress is day care placing on family life? These are some of issues we will be raising in subsequent chapters, particularly in the one on infancy.

THE PEER GROUP

The child's peer group as a setting for human development ranks sec in importance only to the family (Hartup, 1983). And the peer group influence increases at each developmental period. By adolescence, peers exert a heavy influence on dress, tastes, and activities (Brittain, 19 Later, in adulthood, the nature of a person's relationship with parents changes dramatically. Now friends and spouses play many of the roles that parents previously did. The growing importance of peers can be seen in the increasing time that children spend with them as they grow older. By age 11, peers occupy about as much of the average child's time as do adults (Barker and Wright, 1955; Wright, 1967). Teenagers spend seemingly endless hours with their special friends and often find activities with parents an intrusion. What are children learning in all these hours spent with peers? What skills, values, and expectations do peers convey to one another?

One thing the peer group teaches is how to interact in equal-status, or symmetrical, relationships. Relationships between children and adults are inherently unequal. However warm and caring the interactions may be, the adult always retains the power to tell the child what to do. This is not so within the peer group. Here no child holds any formal authority over the others. As a result, the peer group is a critical setting for practicing and understanding concepts such as fairness, reciprocity, and cooperation. It is also a major setting in which children learn to manage interpersonal aggression (Hartup, 1983).

Another powerful learning experience within the peer group is frequent reinforcement of cultural norms and values. Take the example of sex roles. Although parents initially convey what is expected of girls and boys, peers are the most dogmatic enforcers of these standards. This is particularly true within male peer groups, where a preference for "feminine" toys or pastimes meets with derision even among preschoolers (Langlois and Downs, 1980). It may be that young children are such cultural "hard liners" partly because they are still trying to get important norms and values firmly established in their own minds (Maccoby, 1980). Exaggerating norms and values may help to clarify them, just as carefully enunciating a new word makes its sounds clearer. Whatever the reason, much of the process of learning to follow society's rules takes place within the peer group.

We will first examine the peer group in the unit on early childhood; then in later chapters we will follow its influence into the elementary and high school years. In the process we will answer some important questions. Why do some children find it easy to get along with peers while others are socially isolated or actively rejected by them? When do true friendships between children emerge, and what underlies this development? When do children begin to think of their peer groups as having boundaries — of their own friends as "we" and other children as "they"? What promotes this sense of peer solidarity? How conforming are children to their peer groups, and why does conformity seem to intensify during middle childhood and early adolescence (Costanzo, 1970)? To what extent do the norms and values of adolescent peer groups conflict with those of parents and other adults? Research findings regarding these questions are of great interest to many who study child development.

THE SCHOOL

The school is often thought of as the child's workplace. Here, by age 6 or 7, children spend six hours daily, five days a week. School activities vary with a child's age. Nursery schools are often flexibly structured with an emphasis on social activities. More formal instruction usually begins in the early elementary school years, and some research supports child's cognitive readiness at this time [White, 1965). Generally, though not until middle school do children begin to have different teachers different subjects. The earlier practice of having one central teacher each year rests on the belief that such a relationship is important for preadolescents, who are more emotionally dependent than older children.

The fact that American children spend so much time in the classroom as well as in extracurricular activities, makes the school a potentially powerful influence on their development. American children learn much more at school than the information in their textbooks. Like the peer group, the school is also a great instructor in cultural norms and values. For example, studies show that elementary school teachers respond their students in ways that reinforce traditional sex roles (Block, 19: Frey, 1979). Schools are also strong conveyors of mainstream Americ values such as neatness, discipline, punctuality, competition, hard wo: and material success. Because the running of a public school must please the majority of people in a community, schools tend to be staffed by those who hold the same ideas about good and bad that most Americans do.

What about the impact of schools on cognitive, social, and emotional development? Do American schools have positive effects in these important areas? There is some evidence that how a school is run and the teachers interact with students can make a difference in the extent which the school experience is positive for children (Frey and Rub: 1985; Rutter et al., 1979). Unfortunately, however, this is a topic about which we as yet have few definitive answers (Minuchin and Shapir 1983).

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

> "In a nursery school in Beijing, China, a teacher is showing a group of 3-year-olds a mechanical Ping-Pong game. The toy consists of a miniature table with net and two players who stiffly swing their paddles. The teacher explains how the new toy works and then places it on the ground so the children can observe it in action. A sea of little bodies, dressed in padded jackets and trousers, quickly surrounds the toy. Thirty pairs of eyes intently watch the performance, but not a single hand moves. Those in the front do not even stretch out an arm to hold or finger the toy. The children squat quietly in a tightly packed circle, staring in delighted fascination. At the back of the circle a teacher is holding a Western child, the son of a diplomat stationed in Beijing. She lets the boy down, and without hesitation he breaks through the ranks and lunges for the toy. The teacher quickly scoops him up, while the Chinese children look on (Kessen, 1975)."

These differences in behavior between Chinese youngsters and a Western child are largely a reflection of two different cultures—two different sets of values and guidelines for behavior that people in a particular society tend to share. Families, peer groups, schools, and communities always exist within a culture and are greatly influenced by it. These influences. in turn, affect the developing child.

Cultural Influences

One way in which a culture exerts its influence is by shaping the structure of the various settings in which children find themselves: To Western eyes, for example, a Chinese nursery school might seem relatively spartan because there are few toys and little play equipment. As opposed to allowing free play, Chinese teachers are responsible for initiating and organizing most of the daily activities, a practice that teaches and reinforces the value of group cooperation. As we discussed earlier, television, a cultural invention, exercises notable influence on children in the Unite States.

Even one particular family structure is not a cultural universal. For example, some societies have no concept of a nuclear family, a husband and wife with their young children living together as an independent group. Instead, parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles live in the same household, and all the adults have equal authority over all the children If an uncle gives a directive, a child is obliged to obey just as if the directive came from the father (Whiting and Whiting, 1975). How different this is from our own society, where a nuclear family arrangement is considered "natural." Virtually every setting in which human development takes place is structured to a great extent by a society's culture.

Culture also shapes the values that people in a society hold. For example, Chinese and Americans value different behavior patterns, even for very young children. Whereas the Chinese expect self-control and group cooperation, Americans tend to consider self-expression and individuality important. And adults encourage behaviors that match the cultural values. So Western visitors to China who see disciplined nursery school children might assume that these youngsters are innately different from their more boisterous American peers. However, these differences probably are not caused by genetics. Studies have shown that Chinese American children, in families that have adopted Western life styles behave similarly to other Americans (Li-Repac, 1982). It is far more likely that adults, influenced by their culture, are promoting the behaviors the think children ought to have.

As another example, Lebanese parents believe that prayer and family relations are of great importance, but they place little emphasis during early childhood on either relations with peers (except cousins) or on verbal inquisitiveness (encouraging questions about the world). Not surprisingly, when such children are enrolled in Western schools and expected to perform according to different cultural standards, difficulties arise (Goodnow et al., 1984).

Laboratory studies also illustrate the impact of culture. Some year: ago, for example, Millard Madsen at UCLA developed a series of two person games that could be used to study children's inclinations to cooperate or compete (Kagan and Madsen, 1972; Madsen, 1971). In one game, four hands were needed to open a box. Only if the two players worked together, pushing all four latches at the same time, would either of them get a prize. In another game, the players moved toward a goal by putting marks in circles.

Sometimes the first child to reach the goal won a prize. Other times both children received a prize when either reached the goal. In another variation, one of the players was prohibited from winning a prize, but he could still make the other player lose his. Madsen found dramatic differences in behavior between urban Anglo-American and rural Mexican children. The Anglo-Americans were far more competitive, especially older ones. They even clung to a competitive strategy when it had no benefit for them. The rural Mexican children, in contrast, avoided competition at all costs, even when a competitive strategy would have benefited both players. Madsen does not argue that one playing style is better than the other. His point is that

different cultural values lead to distinctly different behaviors. Moreover, these different behavioral styles were not viewed as genetic because urban Mexican children were much more competitive at Madsen's games than their rural counterparts.

Why do different cultures have such different values? Why do adults in one society encourage children to be cooperative, while adults in another society encourage competitiveness? Anthropologists who specialize in the study of cultural diversity believe that these differences are generally adaptive. By adaptive, they mean that the values adults instill tend to produce the kinds of children best able to perform the activities required in their particular society. Beatrice and John Whiting (1975) demonstrated this in a study of six different cultures: North America, India, Africa, Mexico, Okinawa, and the Philippines. Children in the nonindustrialized cultures were given tasks important to the well-being of their families, such as caring for younger siblings and tending the goat while mothers worked in the fields. These children showed nurturant and responsible behavior, traits suited to the roles they performed. If they failed to tend the goat, there was no milk. In contrast, children in industrialized cultures were more egoistic and self-centered. Apparently, the economic efficiency of industrialized societies reduces the need for children to contribute to their family's survival, so a self-centered orientation can be tolerated in them (Munroe and Munroe, 1975). In fact, some would argue that egoism is actually an asset in societies that depend on a desire for personal profit to motivate economic growth.

Cultural Change and Child Development
A certain culture once maintained that the most important goal in raising children was to establish strong parental control. Training the child to be obedient was to begin in the first year. To avoid "spoiling" a baby, only the infant's physical needs were to be met. Babies who merely wanted attention were strongly discouraged, and sentimental treatment was avoided. Infants were never picked up when they cried and were punished for touching themselves. They also were fed on a strict schedule, not when they wanted to be fed.

Where in the world did such harsh practices exist? This is not a description of some remote culture but of our own society a mere 50 years ago (Newsom and Newsom, 1974; Truby-King, 1937; Watson, 1928)! Up until quite recently, children in Western cultures were viewed as miniature adults and pressured toward adult responsibility as soon as possible. People did not recognize the specialness of childhood or the need for an extended period of nurturant care giving. This outlook prevailed for many centuries. Perhaps it was due to the harshness of life in earlier times. Even as late as the eighteenth century, death at birth or during childhood was common, and many infants of poor families were abandoned because their parents could not support them. In Paris at that time, one out of every three babies was abandoned (Piers, 1978). Children admitted to foundling homes usually died. Out of 10,272 babies admitted to one Dublin institution, only 45 survived (Kessen, 1965). These harsh conditions have gradually changed as technological progress has steadily raised both the average standard of living and our ability to combat disease. This change may be the reason why modern-day parents can afford the luxury of devoting themselves to their children's emotional welfare.

Undoubtedly, broad cultural changes will continue to affect parenting and child development. In some societies these cultural changes are happening very rapidly. For instance, far-reaching change is taking place in China, where a family-centered culture is being totally transformed into a state-centered one. Imagine the consequences of establishing universal preschool education in a society where young children have always been cared for in the home. Imagine the effects of a one-child-per-family policy in a culture that previously considered large

families a blessing. The results of this major cultural "experiment" are just now being revealed to Westerners. Even in our own society cultural change is evident from generation to generation.

American children today are being raised in a world far more technologically advanced than the world their parents knew as children. American children today are also more aware of the threat of nuclear war. Developmentalists are concerned about the impacts of these important cultural changes. As yet, little is known about how children may be shaped by them.

Subcultures

We have talked about societies as if all their members share a single culture. However, especially in complex, industrialized societies, this is seldom the case. Many societies have a number of subcultures, that is, particular groups whose members adhere to norms and values that differ in some ways from those of the dominant culture. In the United States, the Eastern Europeans, Chicanos, Japanese Americans, and so forth who practice their traditional ways are members of subcultural groups.

The norms and values of a subculture may influence the way children are raised. You will see this in our story of the Williams family. As black Americans living in an urban center, they are influenced by certain sub-cultural norms and values. Their lives provide a good example of how subcultural influences continually interact with broader cultural forces.

DEVELOPMENT AS CONTEXT

No discussion of developmental contexts would be complete without Mention of development itself as a context for further development. Development provides a context in several ways. First, it gives each person a developmental history, which influences the course of his or her future development. This idea is central to Erik Erikson's theory, discussed in Chapter 2. According to Erikson, the way a child negotiates the issues of a particular developmental period depends in part on development during earlier periods. Consider, for example, a toddler who is faced with the emergence of a sense of autonomy and a capacity for self-assertion. That toddler's tendency to comply with parents' demands and limits is forecast by the nature of the infant-parent relationship (Ainsworth, Bell, and Stayton, 1974; Londerville and Main, 1981; Matas, Arend, and Sroufe, 1978]. In other words, part of the context for development in the toddler period is development in the preceding infancy period. Similarly, children enter preschool with different orientations toward their peers and teachers and with different expectations about their own capacities to master new situations. These different orientations and expectations, based in each child's developmental history, become part of the context for development in the preschool period.

Development also provides a context for future development by changing children both physically and intellectually through the process of maturation. The transformations in physical and cognitive capacities that occur with maturation have a dramatic influence on how children interact with their environments. Consider once again the toddler. Because of maturation the toddler is much more mobile than the infant, much more able to "get into things." This new mobility encourages parents to impose new demands, and the child's world consequently changes. At the same time, the toddler begins to understand and use language as a result of cognitive maturation. This opens up a whole new avenue of parental influence, which greatly affects future development. Maturation as a context for future development can be seen in other periods, such as adolescence. The physical and cognitive changes at puberty lead to profound changes in teenagers' self-concepts, in their communications with parents,

and in their orientations toward peers, including an emerging interest in sexual relationships and strong loyalty to same-sex friends. A key context for all these developmental changes is prior development through maturation.

CONTEXTS IN INTERACTION

This chapter's central message has been that human development always occurs within a set of contexts: the biological context, the child's immediate environment, social and economic spheres, the cultural environment, and even the child's history of development. None of these contexts exists in isolation. None exerts its influence apart from the others. All are constantly interacting, helping to shape the child's development.

One important point to remember in thinking about developmental contexts is that certain environmental factors tend to go together. Economic advantage, job satisfaction, adequate food and housing, a stable home life, and social support often accompany one another. Thus, when you find an infant living in physical neglect (unbathed, without toys, without a proper place to sleep), it is also common to find an overstressed and isolated parent with limited education and little chance of finding satisfying work. The out-of-home care available to such babies is typically haphazard and of poor quality (Vaughn, Gove, and Egeland, 1980). This is not to say that these environmental factors always go together. Sometimes parents with very limited economic resources still have excellent social support systems, stable relationships, well-organized households, and a remarkable tolerance for stress. In general, however, very negative life situations tend to diminish how well people cope, including their ability to cope with the raising of children.

Another point to remember when thinking about developmental contexts is that all the environmental influences we have discussed in this chapter are funneled to some extent through the family. For instance, children are not directly affected by their parents' job stress or social isolation. Instead, these factors have an indirect influence by affecting the quality of care the children experience at home. Even the influences of day care, the school, and the peer group are not removed from the family. It is parents who arrange for out-of-home care, select schools for their children, and promote or fail to promote peer relationships (Lieberrnan, 1977). In short, the significance that various developmental contexts have for a child is always affected by decisions and interactions within the child's family. Biological, socioeconomic, and cultural factors provide both the. challenges parents face and the resources they may draw on for the task of child rearing.

We will return to developmental contexts again and again in this book. Our view is that these contexts dramatically influence how children develop. In the next chapter we will focus on important aspects of a child's biological context, namely, how the genetic instructions contained in two tiny cells combine to produce the human infant. As you will see, this early development involves an intricate interplay of genes and environment.

Two Case Studies

JODY (16)

Jody was the oldest daughter of a conservative, fundamentalist family. They lived in an old farmhouse that had managed to survive as elegant suburban homes were built around it. The front porch was piled high with boxes of National Geographies, sleds, snow shovels and work boots. The small living room reminded me of my grandparents' home in the fifties. It was cramped but cozy, with worn overstuffed furniture. Doilies perched on the television and pots of Swedish ivy hung from macrami cords. Every available space was occupied by family pictures, trophies and knickknacks.

I'd heard about Jody from her teachers and wanted to interview her. This afternoon she was home alone. Her sisters were at ball practice and her mother and brothers were at a church bazaar. Her dad was at work in the family tree-trimming and firewood business. I'd seen a photo of Jody in the paper when she was homecoming queen, but today I wouldn't have recognized her. She wore no makeup and her long black hair was pulled back in a ponytail. She was dressed in gray sweats and glowed with good health and wholesomeness. I knew she had a softball scholarship and I asked first about sports.

Jody said, "Everyone plays ball in my family. All my uncles coach and my cousins play. We start as soon as we're old enough to catch a ball. The family business sponsors several softball teams. My grandmother has a master calendar she uses in the summer to keep track of all the games. In a record week she attended seventeen games."

I asked what role her father had played in her life as an athlete.

"Dad has a great philosophy of sports," Jody said. "He taught us to play for fun. He thinks that we learn more from losing than winning, and that our goal should be to improve with every game."

I asked, "How does he deal with your mistakes?"

"Sometimes he might show us something we did wrong, but he doesn't say much." She laughed. "Dad does get upset about bad sportsmanship. He never lets us get aggressive or blame other players."

Jody had great respect for her father. Her church taught her that men were in charge of decisions. Her father decided where the family would go on vacations and how they spent money. He led the family! prayers and made the rules and punishments.

"How are you disciplined?" I asked.

"Until sixth grade we got spankings, after that, groundings. There was no back talk. If we did something wrong, we got punished. Dad didn't let us off when we cried or apologized."

I asked how she would discipline her kids. Jody said carefully, "I. know it's not popular to say, but I would spank my kids too. I think it taught us right from wrong."

"Does your family discuss problems as they come up?"

"Not as a family. I talk to my mom, and my brothers and sisters talk to me. Mom talks to Dad, and he doesn't talk to anyone."

She paused. "I've only seen Dad cry one time—when his mom died,' That scared me."

Jody sipped her tea. "Dad is hard to get along with sometimes. If he's had a tough day at work he can be impatient. I wish he spent more time with the family."

She brushed her hair from her face and said quickly, "I know he loves us, though. He takes care of our family. When we do something that makes him proud, he doesn't compliment us directly, but maybe he'll punch us in the arm or give us a noogie."

Jody answered the phone. It was her aunt inviting them over to Sunday dinner. Jody's family spent most Sundays with this aunt's family. The parents played cards on Saturday nights. They all played ball together and attended the same church.

I asked about Jody's mom. She smiled. "Mom's a total sweetheart. She'll do anything for us kids. She won't buy anything for herself until we have what we need. She dropped out of high school to get married, but she wants us to go to college."

"How do your parents get along with each other?"

Jody shook her head. "They fight quite a bit. Mom tries to do what Dad says, but sometimes she gets mad at him. He's picky about housework and that bugs her."

"How has it been being the oldest in the family?"

"I take care of my sisters and brothers when Mom is doing the bookkeeping for Dad. I cook most nights. My parents were strictest with me because they wanted me to set a good example."

She rubbed her upper arm. "They made me take vaccinations first in front of the little ones. I was expected to be brave and announce that (the shots didn't hurt. I'm not complaining, though. I am close to my family, much closer than any of my friends."

We talked about junior high, which was a big change for Jody. She got teased about her hand-me-down clothes and cheap tennis shoes. Her dad wouldn't let her wear makeup.

Jody looked at me. "Do you have any idea how much drinking goes on?" I nodded and she continued. "I was thrown in with kids from all over town. Kids tried to talk me into drinking and smoking. They swore all the time to prove they were tough. I got left out of things. I'm glad I had sports to keep me busy."

I asked about difficult times and Jody looked sad for the first time 'in our interview. "In tenth grade I started dating Jeff. He was a caring person, very sensitive. But after a few months Dad told me I had to stop dating him. At first I was mad. Jeff made me happy and I thought, Why would Dad take this away from me? We even sneaked around for a few dates, but I couldn't take it. I gave up trying to see him. I still see Jeff in the halls at school and feel bad."

I asked Jody if she was angry. "I wish Dad would have let me decide, but I'm not mad. He was worried I'd have sex before marriage, and I don't want to do that. Also, he wanted me to keep my options open and not get serious too young. I can accept that."

Jody looked out the window. "My locker is in the area where hardcore kids hang out. When I go to my locker I hear a lot of sexual talk. Guys hassle girls and girls come on to guys. I'm sorry that they value themselves so little."

I could hear Jody's sisters returning from ball practice. I asked her what else she wanted to tell

me. "I want to follow God's plan for me. Maybe I'll be a phys. ed. teacher. I want to marry and have a close family like mine."

She thought for a while. "Sometimes I wonder if I'm too close to my family. I try so hard to be like my aunt and my mom. I wonder if there is a different side of me that I don't allow myself to look at. Sometimes I feel myself thinking thoughts I'm sure no one in my family ever had."

"What might that different side of you be like?"

Jody shook her head. "I don't know. There are so many things I haven't tried: drama, music, things my family isn't interested in. Would I like those things?"

Jody's sisters burst into the room. We greeted them and then I said good-bye to Jody. She hugged me. "I liked this interview," she said. "It made me think."

For a high school girl, Jody had a lot of responsibility that she shouldered without complaint. Her life seemed all of one piece. She loved her family and believed as they did in the importance of God and softball. Her appreciative and respectful attitude toward her parents, her lack of self-pity and her industriousness reminded me of Vietnamese girls like Leah.

Psychologists would condemn many of the elements in Jody's background—the traditional sex roles of the parents; the physical punishments; the lack of lessons, camps and other enrichment experiences; the strict religion and the conformity of family members. They would note that this wasn't a family that talked much about feelings. Particularly the father's injunction against dating seems harsh by 1990s standards. Psychologists would question the family's rigid beliefs. Interest: in philosophical questions and self-examination were not encouraged. The parts of Jody that were different from her family would not flower.

I struggled with the questions this interview raised for me. Why .would a girl raised in such an authoritarian, even sexist, family be so well liked, outgoing and self-confident? Why did she have less anger, and more respect for adults? Why was she so relaxed when many girls: are so angst-filled and angry?

I remembered some facts from sociology. There are fewer suicides in authoritarian countries than in more liberal ones. Those facts seem somehow related to Jody's strength and happiness. In neither authoritarian countries nor Jody's family are there many opportunities for existential crises. Someone else is making the important decisions. The world is black and white and there is a right way and a wrong way to do everything. The rules are clear, consistent and enforced. There simply aren't enough choices to precipitate despair.

The diversity of mainstream culture puts pressure on teens to make complicated choices. Adolescents don't yet have the cognitive equipment. Young adolescents do not deal well with ambiguity. If the parents are affectionate and child-centered, teenagers are comforted by clarity and reassured by rules. Teens like Jody are protected from some of the experiences of their peers. Jody had challenges that she could be expected to meet—challenges that had to do with work, family responsibility and sports.

But there were costs. Jody's family had limited tolerance for diversity. Obedience was valued more than autonomy. Jody hadn't been encouraged to think for herself and develop as an individual. As an adolescent, Jody looks stronger than her peers, who are at odds with their families and overwhelmed by all the choices they must make. I wonder how she'll look in her

mid-twenties. By then teens raised in more liberal homes may look as strong as Jody and they may have even more creative and independent spirits.

ROSEMARY (14)

Gary ran a silk-screening business and Carol gave violin lessons to children after school. They had three children: Rosemary, in eighth grade, and twin boys three years younger, who were stars of their neighborhood soccer team.

Carol and Gary were New Age parents. Gary wore beads and had a ponytail. Carol collected crystals and spent time in the brain wave room at our New Age bookstore. They had raised Rosemary to be her own person. They hadn't tried to mold her in any way, but rather, believed in letting her character unfurl. Gary said, "Our biggest fear, was damaging her spirit."

They tried to model equality in their relationship and to raise their children free of gender role constraints. Rosemary mowed the lawn and the twins did the dishes and set the table. Gary taught Rosemary to pitch and draw. Carol taught her to read tarot cards and to throve the I Ching.

This was a child-centered home, very democratic, with an emphasis on freedom and responsibility rather than conformity and control. The parents didn't believe in setting many limits for the children. Rather they felt they would learn their own limits through trial and error. They both liked to describe themselves as friends of their kids. They taught Rosemary to stand up for herself and had many stories of her assertiveness with adults and peers.

Carol and Gary spared no expense to offer their children enrichment' opportunities. Rosemary took art lessons from the best teacher in town and attended baseball camp every summer. The boys had ball teams, YMCA camps and yoga classes.

At our first appointment Carol and Gary seemed vulnerable and shaken.

Carol said, "I want my daughter back." She talked about how happy and confident Rosemary had been in elementary school. She'd been a good student and student council president in her sixth-grade year. She was interested in everything and everybody. They had trouble slowing her down enough to get rest and food. She once said to her art teacher, "I'm your best student, aren't I?"

With puberty she changed. She hated the way her wiry body "turned to dough." She was still assertive with her parents, even mouthy and aggressive much of the time, but with peers she was quiet and conforming. She worried about pleasing everyone and was devastated by small rejections. Many days she came home in tears because she sat alone at lunch or because someone criticized her looks. She stopped making good grades because she felt grades didn't matter. Popularity was all that counted. She obsessed about her weight and her looks. She exercised, dieted and spent hours in front of the mirror.

Suddenly she cared more about being liked by athletes than about being an athlete. She became what her parents called "boy crazy." They found notes she'd written filled with sexual innuendos. She talked about boys all the time, called boys on the phone and hurled herself at any boy within reach. She was asked to parties by ninth-grade boys who were experimenting with sex and alcohol.

Gary said, "We're in over our heads with Rosemary. She's doing stuff now that we thought she'd do in college. We're not sure that we can protect her."

Carol said, "I wish we could find a nice safe place and put her there for about six years until she matures." We all laughed.

"We're both from small towns," Carol continued. "When we were Rosie's age, we didn't have these kind of temptations. We don't know what to do."

Carol handed me a CD they'd found in her room. "Look at what she's listening to—'Reckon You Should Shut the Fuck Up and. Play Some Music,' 'Crackhouse' and 'You Suck' by the Yeastie Girls."

Gary said, "We had a family rule that anyone who swore put a quarter in the jar, and when it filled we'd all go out to eat. After listening to that CD, we realized that we were in a new ballpark."

Gary stared at his hands. "We taught her to be assertive and take care of herself, but it seems like she uses all her assertiveness against us. She keeps things stirred up all the time. She has a real flair for the dramatic and her timing's great. She'll blow just during my meditation time or when I have a customer on the phone."

Preparing and writing a case study

A case study is a look at something in depth, in this case a person's life, trying to make connections between the various strands.

You have been asked to interview TWO adolescents closely and present your impressions of their development in case study form. Here are some guidelines to help you.

PRELUDE :
These case studies ask you to look at two things: an adolescent's stage of development and the effect of their environment on that development. You already have some idea of the main things an adolescent is experiencing from your reading. Make sure they are prepared for the sort of things you will ask them (maybe give them the questions to think about) and are willing to answer personal questions honestly.

ONE:
Prepare some questions which will let you in on the person's life. Try to ask   open ended questions, or ones that don't have a yes/no answer. Asking your interviewee to describe various parts of their lives is a good way to go. Invite them to share feelings and thoughts. Try to avoid jargon - asking them about their cognitive development is not helpful! Remember you want to be able to write about their intellectual, social, psychological, spiritual and physical development, so you may want to design questions around each area.

> Example #1: *How did you feel on the first day of school this year? How are you feeling about it now?*
>
> The answer should give you some idea of their intellectual and/or social development
>
> Example #2: *How would you describe your relationship with God?*
>
> An answer of "What relationship?" is as descriptive as some adolescents get! This is an attempt to figure out their stage of faith development. Asking about the church will likely get a different response.

Example #3: *Describe some of the things that have had the most impact on your life? OR If you could change something in your life what would it be?*

I'm trying figure out the impact of the person's environment. It will take more than one question to get a good picture of the person's development in a particular area.

TWO:

Record the interview in some way that makes sense for you: either make notes while you talk to them, or record the interview on tape or video. Your interview should take at least an hour and a half.

THREE:

Analyse your results and record them. A case study is usually written up in anecdotal form, or as if you are telling the story of your interview. You should include actual statements made by the person or your own personal observations to back up your analysis.

Example #1: *Jane was still trying to figure out her own sense of identity, and at this stage is relying on her peers for guidance in what to wear and how to think and act. She was dressed in a shapeless, baggy grey t-shirt and check shorts. I asked her what she thought about smoking and she said she didn 't really like it but everyone else did so she went along.*

Example #2: *Riki is experimenting with his growing sense of self. At the moment his hair is shaved most of the way up his head leaving a few brightly blanded curls on top. He made statements that he thought would shock to see how I would react, referring to his girlfriend in a vulgar way. He didn't realise how hypocritical this was when contrasted with his declarations of commitment to the idea of an ideal relationship.*

Refer to the case studies provided for further examples of how to write one up. Offer to show what you have written to the people you have interviewed. Good luck!

Outline for Year

I have chosen to cater for _____ adolescents this year.

The changes they are facing at this stage include:

I intend to address their needs by providing: (*describe specific activities, social events, camps, studies, pastoral care ...*)

Outline for the year looks like this:

Suggested Reading

Collins, G. *Christian Counselling* 1988:Word Publishing

East, T and Roberto, J. *Guides to Youth Ministry Leadership* 1994: Don Bosco Multimedia

991: Triune

Ford. *Jesus for a New Generation*

Fowler, J. *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning* 1979: Collins Dove

Mourant, M. *Understanding Teenagers.* 1991: Collins

Olson, G. *Counselling Teenagers.* 1984: Group

Papila and Olds. *Human Development and Learning.* 1992: McGraw-Hill Inc

Pipher, M. *Reviving Ophelia.* 1996: Doubleday

Sparkman, T. and Boling, D. (eds.) *Knowing and Helping Youth.* 1977: Broadman

Stone, J. *Childhood and Adolescence.* 1984: Random House.