



EXPERIENCING THE LIFESPANFourth Edition

CaunchPad for EXPERIENCING THE LIFESPAN, Fourth Edition

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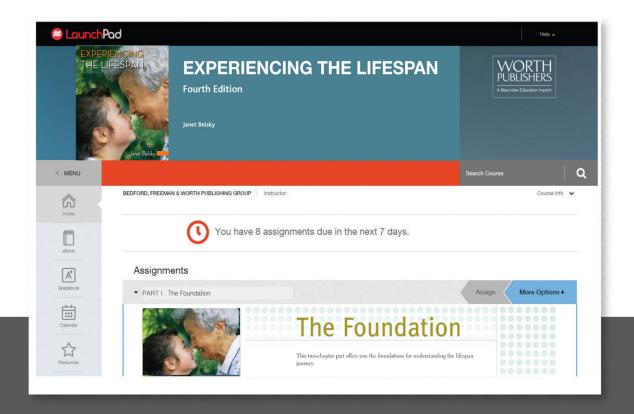
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Experiencing the Lifespan



Experiencing the Lifespan FOURTH

JANET BELSKY

Middle Tennessee State University



FOR DAVID A world-class intellectual and the world's best possible husband

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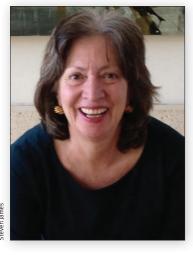
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About the Author



Born in New York City, Janet Belsky always wanted to be a writer but was also very interested in people. After receiving her undergraduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania, she deferred to her more practical and people-loving side and got her Ph.D. in clinical psychology at the University of Chicago. Janet spent her thirties in New York

City teaching at Lehman College, CUNY, and doing clinical work in hospitals and nursing homes. During this time, she wrote one trade book, *Here Tomorrow, Making the Most of Life After 50*, got married, adopted a child and, with the publication of the first undergraduate textbook in the psychology of aging, began what turned into a lifelong developmental science textbook writing career. In 1991, Janet moved to Tennessee with her family to write and teach undergraduate courses in psychology at Middle Tennessee State University. After her husband died in 2012, Janet enrolled in the Master's Program in Liberal Arts at the University of Chicago (a beginning graduate student again at the U of C, after 45-plus years!). Still, she remains committed to her life passion—exciting readers in the marvelous human lifespan through this book.

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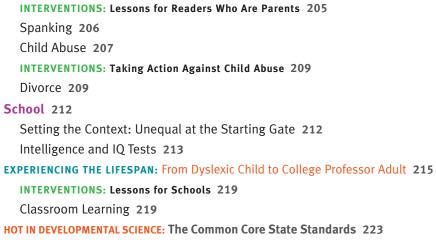
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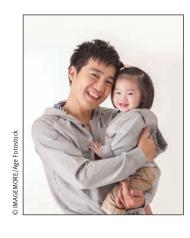




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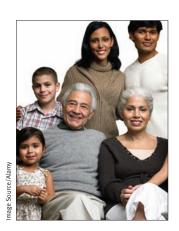


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Preface

Ispent my thirties and forties writing textbooks on adult development and aging. I spent more than 15 years writing and revising this book. I've spent almost 40 years (virtually all of my adult life!) joyously teaching this course. My mission in this book is simple: to excite students in our field.

Because I want to showcase the most cutting-edge research, in this edition of *Experiencing the Lifespan*, you will find hundreds of citations dating just from 2013. I've added new sections to every chapter, covering topics as varied as our scientific strides in epigenetics, to the personal experience of providing hospice care. I've constructed dozens of new figures and tables, rewritten almost every sentence, and given this text a new social media—oriented thrust. But, readers who have used *Experiencing the Lifespan* in the past will be comforted to know that this edition has the same familiar structure and plan. It reflects my commitment to convey the beauty of our science in the same compelling way. What *exactly* makes this book compelling? What makes each chapter special? What makes this edition stand out?

What Makes This Book Compelling?

- Experiencing the Lifespan unfolds like a story. The main feature that makes this book special is the writing style. Experiencing the Lifespan reads like a conversation rather than a traditional text. Each chapter begins with a vignette constructed to highlight the material I will be discussing. I've designed my narrative to flow from topic to topic; and I've planned every chapter to interconnect. In this book, the main themes that underlie developmental science flow throughout the entire book. I want students to have the sense that they are reading an exciting, ongoing story. Most of all, I want them to feel that they are learning about a coherent, organized field.
- Experiencing the Lifespan is uniquely organized to highlight development. A second mission that has driven my writing is to highlight how our lives evolve. What exactly makes an 8-year-old mentally different from a 4-year-old, or a 60-year-old different from a person of 85. In order to emphasize how children develop, I decided to cover all of childhood in a single three-chapter part. This strategy allowed me to fully explore the magic of Piaget's preoperational and concrete operational stages and to trace the development of aggression, childhood friendships, and gender-stereotyped play. It permitted me to show concretely how the ability to think through their actions changes as children travel from preschool through elementary school. I decided to put early and middle adulthood in one unit (Part IV) for similar reasons: It simply made logical sense to discuss important topics that transcend a single life stage, such as marriage, parenting, and work (Chapter 11) and adult personality and cognitive development (Chapter 12) together in the same place. In fact, I've designed this whole text to highlight development. I follow the characters in the chapter-opening vignettes throughout each several-chapter book part. I've planned each life-stage segment to flow in a developmental way. In the first infancy chapter, I begin with a discussion of newborn states. The second chapter in this sequence (Infancy: Socioemotional Development) ends with a discussion of toddlerhood. My three-chapter Early and Middle Adulthood book part starts with an exploration of the challenges of emerging adulthood (Chapter 10), then tackles marriage, parenthood, and career (Chapter 11), and culminates with a chapter tracking adult personality and intelligence through midlife, and exploring "older" family roles such as parent care and grandparenthood (Chapter 12). In Part VI, Later Life, I begin with a chapter devoted to topics, such as retirement, that typically take place during the young-old years. Then I focus on physical aging (Chapter 14, The Physical Challenges of Old Age) because sensory-motor impairments, dementing diseases, and interventions for



dressed up to visit this Shinto family shrine and pay their respects to their ancestors is an important ritual. It is one way that the lesson "honor your elders" is taught to children living in collectivist societies such as Japan from an early age.



These teens are probably taking great pleasure in serving meals to the homeless as part of their school community-service project. Was a high school

For this grandmother, mother, and daughter, getting

experience, like this one, life changing for you?



As she translates an oath of naturalization to her non-Englishspeaking Iraq mom, this daughter is engaging in a role reversal that can be distressing, but can also offer a lifelong sense of empathy and self-efficacy.

late-life frailty become crucial concerns mainly in the eighties and beyond. Yes, this textbook does—for the most part—move through the lifespan stage by stage. However, it's targeted to highlight the aspects of development such as constructing an adult life in the twenties or physical disabilities in the eighties—that become salient at particular times of life. I believe that my textbook captures the best features of the chronological and topical approaches.

- Experiencing the Lifespan is both shorter and more in-depth. Adopting this flexible, development-friendly organization makes for a more manageable, teacher-friendly book. With 15 chapters and at fewer than 475 pages, my textbook really can be mastered in a one-semester course! Not being locked into covering each slice of life in defined bits also gives me the freedom to focus on what is most important in special depth. As you will discover while reading my comprehensive discussions of central topics in our field, such as attachment, parenting, puberty, and adult personality consistency and change, omitting superficial coverage of "everything" allows time to explore the core issues in developmental science in a deeper, more thoughtful way.
- Experiencing the Lifespan actively fosters critical thinking. Guiding students to reflect on what they are reading is actually another of my writing goals. A great advantage of engaging readers in a conversation is that I can naturally embed critical thinking into the actual narrative. For example, as I move from discussing Piaget's ideas on cognition to Vygotsky's theory to the information-processing approach in Chapter 5, I point out the gaps in each perspective and highlight why each approach offers a unique contribution to understanding children's intellectual growth. On a policy-oriented level, after discussing day care, teenage storm and stress, or physical aging, I ask readers to think critically about how to improve the way our culture cares for young families, treats teenagers, and can make life more user-friendly for the baby boomers now traveling into their older years.
- Experiencing the Lifespan has a global orientation. Intrinsic to getting students to evaluate their own cultural practices is the need to highlight alternate perspectives on our developing life. Therefore, Experiencing the Lifespan is a firmly international book. I introduce this global orientation in the first chapter when I spell out the differences between collectivist and individualistic cultures and between the developed and developing worlds. In the childhood chapters, when discussing topics from pregnancy to parenting, I pay special attention to cultural variations. In the adulthood sections, standard "Setting the Context" heads, preceding the research, offer snapshots of love and marriage in different nations, discuss retirement around the world, and explore different societal practices and attitudes toward death. (In fact, "How do other groups handle this?" is a question that crops up when I talk about practically every topic in the book!)
- Experiencing the Lifespan highlights the multiple forces that shape development. Given my emphasis on cultural variations within our universal human experience, it should come as no surprise that the main theoretical framework I've used to organize this book is the developmental systems approach. Throughout the chapters, I explore the many influences that interact to predict life milestones—from puberty to physical aging. Erikson's stages, attachment theory, behavioral genetics, evolutionary theory, self-efficacy, and, especially, the importance of looking at nature and nurture and providing the best person-environment fit—all are concepts that I introduce in the first chapter and continue to stress as the book unfolds. Another theme that runs through this text is the impact of socioeconomic status on shaping everything from breast-feeding practices to the rate at which we age and die.

- Experiencing the Lifespan is applications-oriented, and focused on how to construct a satisfying life. Because of my background as a clinical psychologist, my other passion is to concretely bring home how we can use the scientific findings to improve the quality of life. So most topics in this text end with "Interventions" sections spelling out practical implications of the research. With its varied Interventions, such as "How Can You Get Babies to Sleep Through the Night?" or "Using Piaget's Theory at Home and at Work," to its adulthood tables, such as "How to Flourish During Adulthood" and sections devoted to "Aging Optimally," Experiencing the Lifespan is designed to show how the science of development can make a difference in people's lives.
- Experiencing the Lifespan is a person-centered, hands-on textbook. This book is also designed to bring the experience of the lifespan home in a personal way. Therefore, in "Experiencing the Lifespan" boxes, I report on interviews I've conducted with people ranging from a 16-year-old (a student of mine) who was charged as an adult with second-degree murder to a 70-year-old man with Alzheimer's disease. To entice readers to empathize with the challenges of other life stages, I continually ask students to "imagine you are a toddler" or "a sleep-deprived mother" or "an 80-year-old struggling with the challenges of driving in later life."

Another strategy I use to make the research vivid and personal are questionnaires (often based on the chapter content) that get readers to think more deeply about their own lives: the checklist to identify your parenting priorities in Chapter 7; a scale for "using selective optimization with compensation at home and work" in Chapter 12; surveys for "evaluating your relationships" in Chapters 10 and 11; true/false quizzes at the beginning of my chapters on adolescence (Chapter 9), adult roles (Chapter 11), and later life (Chapter 13) that provide a hands-on preview of the content and entice students into reading the chapter so that they can assess the scientific accuracy of their ideas.



This new member of the Efé people of central Africa will be lovingly cared for by the whole community, males as well as females, from his first minutes of life. Because he sleeps with his mother, however, at the "right" age he will develop his primary attachment to her.

• Experiencing the Lifespan is designed to get students to learn the material while they read. The chapter-opening vignettes, the applications sections with their summary tables, the hands-on exercises, and the end-of-section questionnaires (such as "Evaluating Your Own Relationship: A Section Summary Checklist" in Chapter 10) are part of an overall pedagogical plan. As I explain in my introductory letter to students on page 2, I want this to be a textbook you don't have to struggle to decode—one that helps you naturally cement the concepts in mind. The centerpiece of this effort is the "Tying It All Together" quizzes, which follow each major section. These mini-tests, involving multiple-choice, essay, and critical-thinking questions, allow students to test themselves on what they have absorbed. I've also planned the photo program in Experiencing the Lifespan to illustrate the major terms and concepts. As you page through the text, you may notice that the pictures and their captions feel organically connected to the writing. They visually bring the main text mes-



If you can relate to this photo the next time you are tempted to text during that not-so-interesting class, keep this message in mind: *Divided attention tasks* make memory worse!

sages home. When it's important for students to learn a series of terms or related concepts, I provide a summary series of photos. You can see examples in the photographs illustrating the different infant and adult attachment styles on pages 112 and 319, and in Table 3.7 on page 95, highlighting Jean Piaget's infant circular reactions.

As you scan this book, you will see other special features: "How do we know...?" boxes in some chapters that delve more deeply into particular research programs; "Hot in Developmental Science" sections in each chapter showcasing cutting-edge topics, from prenatal stress to preteen popularity; timelines that pull everything together at the end of complex sections (such as the chart summarizing the landmarks of pregnancy and prenatal development on pages 55–56).

What will make this text a pleasure to teach from? How can I make this book a joy to read? These are questions I have been grappling with as I've been glued to my computer—often seven days a week—during this decade-and-a-half-long labor of love.

What Makes Each Chapter Special?

Now that I've spelled out my general writing missions, here are some highlights of each chapter, and a preview of exactly what's new.

PART I: The Foundation

CHAPTER 1: The People and the Field

- Outlines the basic contexts of development: social class, culture, ethnicity, and cohort.
- Traces the evolution of the lifespan over the centuries and explores the classic developmental science theories that have shaped our understanding of life.
- Spells out the concepts, the perspectives, and the research strategies I will be exploring in each chapter of the book.

What's New?

- Introduces epigenetics and emerging research on environment-sensitive genes (to be discussed in subsequent chapters), and sets readers up for this edition's focus on social media.
- Describes economic trends since the Great Recession.
- Includes psychoanalytic theory as a major perspective in developmental science.
- Revises items in the Tying It All Together quizzes and updates figures to offer data on recent demographic trends. (I've made similar changes to the quiz items and relevant figures throughout the book.)
- Provides a new example to teach students about correlational and experimental research.

CHAPTER 2: Prenatal Development, Pregnancy, and Birth

- Discusses pregnancy rituals and superstitions around the world.
- Highlights the latest research on fetal brain development.
 - Fully explores the experience of pregnancy from both the mother's and father's points of view and discusses infertility.
 - Looks at the experience of birth historically and discusses policy issues relating to pregnancy and birth in the United States and around the world.



- Explores the impact of pregnancy stress on the fetus.
- Offers a more thorough look at the emotional effects of infertility.
- Provides international data on smoking and alcohol use during pregnancy.
- Updates material on c-sections and infant mortality worldwide.



Imagine being this terrified woman as she surveys the rubble of her collapsed house. What is the impact of disasters, like this Malaysian landslide, on babies in the womb? Fetal programming research offers fascinating answers.

PART II: Infancy

CHAPTER 3: Infancy: Physical and Cognitive Development

- Covers the latest research on brain development.
- Focuses in depth on basic infant states such as eating, crying, and sleep.
- Explores breast-feeding and scans global undernutrition.
- Provides an in-depth, personal, and practice-oriented look at infant motor development,
 Piaget's sensorimotor stage, and beginning language.
- Explores the cutting-edge findings on infant social cognition.

What's New?

- Discusses physical hurdles to breast-feeding and explores variations in developed-world pressures for new mothers to nurse.
- Showcases research demonstrating that kangaroo care is superior to swaddling, at calming babies
- Explores how visual pruning during the first year of life may smooth the path to racial prejudice.
- Amplifies my third-edition discussion of infant social cognition by discussing several recent studies suggesting that our basic sense of fairness and morality kicks in at a very young age.
- Includes a new figure illustrating the early neural correlates of emerging language.

CHAPTER 4: Infancy: Socioemotional Development

- Provides unusually in-depth coverage of attachment theory.
- Offers an honest, comprehensive look at day care in the United States and discusses early childhood poverty.
- Highlights exuberant and shy toddler temperaments, explores research on the genetics of temperament, and stresses the need to promote the right temperament—environment fit for each child.

What's New?

- Explores research suggesting plasticity genes may affect how vulnerable infants are to lessthan-optimal attachment environments, influence how much attachment can change, and predict how young children adapt to day care. Bottom line: Our "genetics" may set us up to either be more or less reactive to environmental events.
- Updates research exploring the life paths of orphanage-reared babies.
- Introduces the hormones oxytocin and cortisol and discusses the impact of urban and rural poverty on later academic development.

PART III: Childhood

CHAPTER 5: Physical and Cognitive Development

- Begins by exploring why we have childhood, illustrating what makes human beings qualitatively different from other species.
- Covers childhood obesity, including its emotional aspects, in depth.

- Showcases Piaget's, Vygotsky's, and the information-processing models of childhood cognition—with examples that stress the practical implications of these landmark perspectives for parents and people who work with children.
- Discusses ADHD, autobiographical memory, and theory of mind.

What's New?

- Explores new findings suggesting that complex fine-motor skills during early childhood foreshadow later academic performance.
- Offers the latest statistics on child overweight, expands on obesity's epigenetics, and focuses
 directly on strategies to limit later obesity by changing the environment in utero and during
 the first months of life.
- Updates the research on ADHD, autobiographical memory, and theory of mind.
- Includes a new section on autism spectrum disorders (accompanied by a figure highlighting autism's increasing prevalence).

CHAPTER 6: Socioemotional Development

- Discusses the development of self-understanding, prosocial behavior, aggression, and fantasy play, and explores friendships and popularity throughout childhood.
- Clearly spells out the developmental pathway to becoming an aggressive child.
- Highlights the challenge of emotion regulation, and focuses on internalizing and externalizing disorders.
- Covers the causes and consequences of bullying in older childhood.

What's New?

- Includes a study showing that praising toddlers for effort enhances later academic selfefficacy.
- Tackles gender differences in prosocial behavior, in depth.
- Showcases findings that toddlers are naturally prosocial, and emphasizes how important it is to allow young children to spontaneously share.
- Explores (in the discussion on play) whether pretend play is crucial to development.
- Revises the popularity discussion (accompanied by a new figure and table) by exploring
 the impact of relational aggression in promoting high status during elementary school and
 discussing how children's social goals in fifth grade relate to preteen popularity.
- Provides a new section on cyberbullying.

CHAPTER 7: Settings for Development: Home and School

- This final childhood chapter shifts from the process of development to the major settings for development—home and school—and tackles important controversies in the field, such as the influence of parents versus peers versus genetics in shaping development and the pros and cons of intelligence testing.
- Offers extensive discussions of ethnic variations in parenting styles and describes the latest research on how to stimulate intrinsic motivation.
- Showcases schools that beat the odds and targets the core qualities involved in effective teaching.



Imagine how you would feel if this terrifying, anonymous threat appeared on your screen, and you will immediately understand why cyberbullying is more distressing than bullying of the face-to-face kind.

What's New?

- Expands on the discussion of cultural differences in parenting styles.
- Revises sections on child maltreatment and, especially, divorce; the latter includes an introduction to the concept of parental alienation and more material on custody issues and their impact on the child (this discussion features a new summary table and figure).
- Describes a newer edition of the WISC and updates the standard IQ diagnostic labels to reflect the new DSM-5 terminology.
- Presents the Common Core State Standards for education in a new concluding section.

PART IV: Adolescence

CHAPTER 8: Physical Development

- Offers an in-depth look at puberty, including the multiple forces that program the timing of this life transition, and looks at historical and cultural variations in puberty timetables.
- Explores the emotional experience of puberty (an "insider's" view) and the emotional impact of maturing early for girls.
- Provides up-to-date coverage of teenage body image issues, eating disorders, and emerging sexuality.

What's New?

- Offers new findings on pubertal progression rates, discusses the impact of being an early maturer for boys, and showcases a cross-national study (accompanied by a figure) suggesting that a nation's norms determine the tendency for earlymaturing girls to act out as teens.
- Links dieting problems during puberty to in-utero hormones, discusses binge-eating disorder, and greatly expands the discussion of eating-disorder treatments.
- Explores social-media research related to the sexual double standard, and highlights the global need for relationship education versus just sex education.

What are teens who avidly scan the photos on a social-network site likely to do? The surprise is that girls may decide to post more sexually oriented comments than boys.

CHAPTER 9: Cognitive and Socioemotional Development

- Covers the developmental science research on teenage brain development and various facets of adolescent "storm and stress."
- Spells out the forces that enable adolescents to thrive and explains what society can do (and also may not be doing!) to promote optimal development in teens.
- Explores parent-child relationships and discusses teenage peer groups.

What's New?

- Showcases new fMRI research exploring preteens' social sensitivities and impulsiveness.
- Offers a more thorough treatment of nonsuicidal self-injury, explores recent studies tracking adolescent child-parent separation, and pinpoints the issues that are most problematic for teens and parents in different world regions.

PART V: Early and Middle Adulthood

CHAPTER 10: Constructing an Adult Life

- Devotes a whole chapter to the concerns of emerging adulthood.
- Offers extensive coverage of diversity issues during this life stage, such as forming an ethnic
 and biracial identity, interracial dating, and issues related to coming out gay.
- Gives students tips for succeeding in college and spells out career issues for non-college emerging adults.
- Introduces career-relevant topics, such as the concept of "flow," and provides extensive coverage of the research relating to selecting a mate and adult attachment styles.
- Focuses on current social policy issues such as the impact socioeconomic status makes on attending and completing college, and discusses "nest residing," given that so many twentysomethings now live at home.

What's New?

- Includes an expanded leaving-the-nest discussion, focused more specifically on variations in different European nations.
- Updates the section on identity styles, and introduces a new term, ruminative moratorium.
- Discusses self-esteem changes, specifically during college.
- Presents a completely rewritten "Finding Love" section that features a variety of new topics such as on-line dating, the tendency for young people to put off having romantic relationships until later in their twenties, and how Facebook is changing contemporary love relationships. This section also features a new table entitled "Everything (or Some Interesting Things) You Wanted to Know About Cyberspace Love Relationships," in addition to updating the research on same-sex relationships and offering a more nuanced look at the qualities we look for in a mate.

CHAPTER 11: Relationships and Roles

- Focuses directly on the core issues of adult life: work and family.
- Provides an extensive discussion of the research relating to how to have happy, enduring relationships, the challenges of parenting, and women's and men's work and family roles.
- Looks at marriage, parenthood, and work in their cultural and historical contexts.
- Offers research-based tips for having a satisfying marriage and career.
- Discusses job insecurity in our more fragile economy.

What's New?

- Includes a rewritten demographics of marriage discussion that explores marriage in India and Iran, current cohabitation trends in the United States, varying attitudes toward cohabitation, and having babies outside of marriage, in different nations (accompanied by two new figures).
- Offers a new section ("Marriage the Second or Third or 'X' Time Around") that discusses remarriage, as well as generally updating the research on what makes for happy marriages.
- Includes a revised parenthood section and features a new summary table entitled "Research Forces that Erode the Quality of the Day-to-Day Motherhood Experience."
- Includes a new section in the Work discussion, entitled "A Final Status Report on Men, Women, and Work" (accompanied by a figure tracking parental leave in Sweden for women and men). This section also introduces the concept of career as a calling.



Having the flexibility to work at home is definitely a double-edged sword. Not only are you tempted to work on assignments when you should be paying attention to your child, but you are probably working far longer hours than if you had gone to the office.

CHAPTER 12: Midlife

- Describes the complexities of measuring adult personality development.
- Anchors the research on adult intellectual change (the fluid and crystallized distinctions) to lifespan changes in creativity and careers.
- Offers thorough coverage of the research on generativity and adult well-being.
- Provides research-based advice for constructing a fulfilling adult life.
- Covers age-related changes in sexuality, menopause, grandparenthood, and parent care.

What's New?

- Tracks the lifespan impact of conscientiousness in a new Hot in Developmental Science feature.
- Provides (in the section on Personality) additional data suggesting we get happier into later life and that adult stress can sometimes promote emotional growth. (To make these points, I've included several new figures as well as a new research summary table.)
- Introduces the concept of allostatic load (in the discussion on intelligence), and explores how this global index of physical functioning predicts midlife intellectual change.
- Includes a study of on-line relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, and elaborates on the forces that make for closeness or more distance in this core family relationship.
- Features a new section that specifically discusses research demonstrating that sex continues to be highly fulfilling in old age.

PART VI: Later Life

CHAPTER 13: Later Life: Cognitive and Socioemotional Development

- Offers an extensive discussion of Carstensen's socioemotional selectivity theory.
- Helps decode our contradictory stereotypes about later-life emotional states, the core qualities
 that make for a happy or unsatisfying old age, and offers a section on "aging optimally."
- Describes the research on aging memory, retirement, and widowhood.
- Discusses salient social issues such as age discrimination in hiring and intergenerational equity.
- Looks at later life developmentally by tracing changes from the young-old to the old-old years.

What's New?

- Provides an enhanced discussion of old-age perceptions and includes a new key term, ageism.
- Explores new neuroscience research on late-life memory and offers evidence that evoking age stereotypes impairs older people's laboratory performance on memory tests.
- Includes a new term, *age paradox* (in the section on Personality), and showcases research revealing that happiness is high *well into later life*.
- Includes a new Hot in Developmental Science feature exploring current retirement realities in the United States (and other developed nations).
- Offers a rewritten widowhood section showcasing the latest research on spousal mourning, and highlights the importance, specifically, of friends in determining how well older women cope with this life event.



Although his main goal is to greet this woman in a warm, personal way, in order to remember his new friend's name, this elderly man might want to step back and use the mnemonic strategy of forming a mental image, thinking, "I'll remember it's Mrs. Silver because of her hair."

CHAPTER 14: The Physical Challenges of Old Age

- Offers a clear developmental look at how normal aging shades into chronic disease and ADL impairments and looks at the impact of gender and socioeconomic forces on physical aging.
- Focuses on how to change the environment to compensate for sensorimotor declines.
- Provides an in-depth look at neurocognitive disorders, accompanied by compelling first-hand descriptions of their inner experience by people with Alzheimer's disease.
- Explores alternatives to institutionalization and provides a full description of nursing home care.
- Strives to provide a realistic, honest, and yet action-oriented and uplifting portrait of the
 physical frailties of advanced old age.

What's New?

• Includes a new head (Can we live to 1,000?) that summarizes the biological life-extension research and offers reasons why extending our human maximum lifespan, in the near future, is an unrealistic dream.

- Ties the socioeconomic health gap directly to biology, by looking at telomeres and allostatic load; explores the impact specifically of education on longevity; and introduces a new key term, healthy-life years.
- Expands the gender discussion by offering an E.U. nation-by-nation chart, graphically showing that women spend more time than men living frailer.
- Updates sections on vision and hearing, and also provides new data on late-life falling and driving (the latter in a new Hot in Developmental Science feature).
- Revises the diagnostic labels for serious aging pathologies such as Alzheimer's disease and neurocognitive disorder (dementia) to conform with DSM-5, as well as exploring the latest findings relating to these conditions.
- Discussion in the section on options for the frail elderly section includes research on "social issues" related to moving to continuing care.
- Includes updates in the nursing home discussion.



The huge domed ceilings are awe-inspiring, but combined with bare floors and the clatter of commuters they make New York City's Grand Central Station an acoustic nightmare. However, thanks to the miracle of the hearing loop, people can now bypass that background noise via loudspeaker train announcements beamed directly to their hearing aids.

PART VII: Epilogue

CHAPTER 15: Death and Dying

- Explores cross-cultural variations in dying and offers an historical look at death practices from the Middle Ages to today.
- Discusses the pros and cons of the hospice movement, with its focus on dying at home.
- Offers a look at the pros and cons of different types of advance directives and explores controversial topics such as physician-assisted suicide.

What's New?

- Includes a new Hot in Developmental Science feature devoted to mourning, accompanied
 by a table summarizing the research on children's bereavement, and introduces new key
 terms, complex bereavement-related disorder and prolonged grief.
- Includes a new section devoted to the concerns caregivers face in providing home hospice
 care. (In this edition, I also discuss my experience caring for my husband in hospice—in a
 new Experiencing the Lifespan interview.)

• Offers data on how euthanasia attitudes vary in different European nations, how older people feel about physician-assisted suicide, and generally updates the findings on advance directives.

Final Thoughts

This wrap-up section summarizes my new four top-pick research trends since the previous edition of *Experiencing the Lifespan*.

What Media and Supplements Come with This Book?

When you decide to use this book, you're adopting far more than just this text. You have access to an incredible learning system—everything from tests to video clips that bring the material to life. The Worth team and several dozen dedicated instructors have worked to provide an array of supplements to my text to foster student learning and make this course memorable: Video clips convey the magic of prenatal development, clarify Piaget's tasks, highlight child undernutrition, and showcase the life stories of active and healthy people in their ninth and tenth decades of life. Lecture slides and clicker questions make class sessions more visual and interactive. My publisher has amassed a rich archive of developmental science materials. For additional information, please contact your Worth Publishers sales consultant or look at the Worth Web site at http://www.macmillanhighered.com/Catalog/product/experiencingthelifespanfourthedition-belsky. Here are descriptions of the supplements:



A comprehensive Web resource for teaching and learning, Worth Publishers' online course space offers:

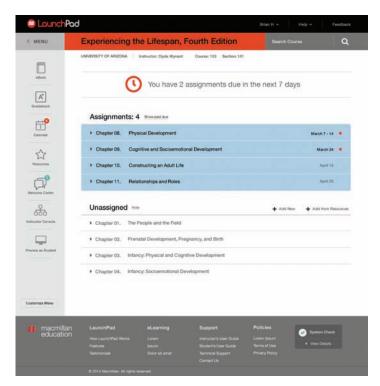
- Prebuilt units for each chapter, curated by experienced educators, with relevant media organized and ready to be assigned or customized to suit your course
- One location for all online resources, including an interactive e-Book, LearningCurve's adaptive quizzing (see below), videos, activities, and more
- Intuitive and useful analytics, with a gradebook that lets you track how students in the class are performing individually and as a whole
- A streamlined and intuitive interface that lets you build an entire course in minutes

The LaunchPad can be previewed at www.macmillanhighered.com/launchpad/

LearningCurve

The LearningCurve quizzing system reflects the latest findings from learning and memory research. LearningCurve's adaptive and formative quizzing provides an effective way to get students involved in the coursework. It combines:

- A unique learning path for each student, with quizzes shaped by each individual's correct and incorrect answers
- A personalized study plan to guide students' preparation for class and for exams
- Feedback for each question with live links to relevant e-Book pages, guiding students to the resources they need to improve their areas of weakness



The LearningCurve system combines adaptive question selection, immediate feedback, and an interactive interface to engage students in a learning experience that is unique to them. Each LearningCurve quiz is fully integrated with other resources in LaunchPad, so students will be able to review using Worth's extensive library of videos and activities. And state-of-the-art question-analysis reports allow instructors to track the progress of individual students as well as their class as a whole.

You'll find the following in our LaunchPad:

Human Development Videos

In collaboration with dozens of instructors and researchers, Worth has developed an extensive archive of video clips. This collection covers the full range of the course, from classic experiments (like the Strange Situation and Piaget's conservation tasks) to investigations of children's play, to adolescent risk taking. Instructors can assign these videos to students through LaunchPad or choose one of 50 popular video activities that combine videos with short-answer and multiple-choice questions. For presentation purposes, our videos are available in a variety of formats to suit your needs, and highlights of the series appear periodically in the text's margin.

Interactive Presentation Slides

A new extraordinary series of "next generation" interactive presentation lectures give instructors a dynamic, yet easy-to-use, new way to engage students during classroom presentations of core developmental psychology topics. Each lecture provides opportunities for discussion and interaction and enlivens the psychology classroom with an unprecedented number of embedded video clips and animations.

Lecture Slides

There are two slide sets for each chapter of *Experiencing the Lifespan* (one featuring a full chapter lecture, the other featuring all chapter art and illustrations).

Instructor's Resources in Launchpad

Now fully integrated with LaunchPad, this collection of resources has been hailed as a rich collection of instructor's resources in developmental psychology. The resources include learning objectives, springboard topics for discussion and debate, handouts for student projects, course-planning suggestions, ideas for term projects, and a guide to audiovisual and online materials.

Assessment

- LearningCurve: Formative Quizzing Engine. Developed by a team of psychology instructors with extensive backgrounds in course design and online education, LearningCurve combines adaptive question selection, personalized study plans, and state-of-the-art question analysis reports. LearningCurve is based on the simple yet powerful concept of testing-to-learn, with gamelike quizzing activities that keep students engaged in the material while helping them learn key concepts. A team of dedicated instructors have worked closely to develop more than 3,000 quizzing questions developed specifically for this edition of Experiencing the Lifespan.
- Downloadable Diploma Computerized Test Bank (for Windows and Macintosh). This
 Test Bank offers an easy-to-use test-generation system that guides you through the process
 of creating tests. The Diploma software allows you to add an unlimited number of questions, edit questions, format a test, scramble questions, and include pictures, equations, or

multimedia links. The Diploma software will also allow you to export into a variety of formats that are compatible with many Internet-based testing products. For more information on Diploma, visit: www.brownstone.net/publishers/products/dip6.asp.

Course Management

Worth Publishers supports multiple Course Management Systems with enhanced cartridges for upload into Blackboard, Desire2Learn, Sakai, Canvas, and Moodle. Cartridges are provided free upon adoption of *Experiencing the Lifespan* and can be downloaded from Worth's online catalog at www.macmillanhighered.com. Deep integration is also available between LaunchPad products and Blackboard, Brightspace by D2L, and Canvas. These deep integrations offer educators single sign-on and gradebook sync now with autorefresh.

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Harriet Bachner, Northeastern State University

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Thomas Bailey, University of Baltimore

Shelly Ball, Western Kentucky University

Mary Ballard, Appalachian State University

Lacy Barnes-Mileham, Reedley College

Kay Bartosz, Eastern Kentucky University

Laura Barwegen, Wheaton College

Jonathan Bates, Hunter College, CUNY

Don Beach, Tarleton State University

Lori Beasley, University of Central Oklahoma

Martha-Ann Bell, Virginia Tech

Daniel Bellack, Trident Technical College

Jennifer Bellingtier, University of Northern

Karen Bendersky, Georgia College and State University

Keisha Bentley, University of La Verne

Robert Billingham, Indiana University

Kathi J. Bivens, Asheville-Buncombe Technical Community College

Jim Blonsky, University of Tulsa

Cheryl Bluestone, Queensborough Community College, CUNY

Greg Bonanno, Teachers College, Columbia University

Aviva Bower, College of St. Rose

Marlys Bratteli, North Dakota State University

Bonnie Breitmayer, University of Illinois, Chicago

Jennifer Brennom, Kirkwood Community College

Tom Brian, University of Tulsa

Sabrina Brinson, Missouri State University

Adam Brown, St. Bonaventure University

Kimberly D. Brown, Ball State University

Donna Browning, Mississippi State University

Janine Buckner, Seton Hall University

Ted Bulling, Nebraska Wesleyan University

Holly Bunje, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Melinda Burgess, Southwestern Oklahoma State University

Barbara Burns, University of Louisville

Marilyn Burns, Modesto Junior College

Joni Caldwell, Spalding University

Norma Caltagirone, Hillsborough Community College, Ybor City

Lanthan Camblin, University of Cincinnati

Debb Campbell, College of Sequoias

Lee H. Campbell, Edison Community College

Robin Campbell, Brevard Community College

Kathryn A. Canter, Penn State Fayette

Peter Carson, South Florida Community College

Michael Casey, College of Wooster

Kimberly Chapman, Blue River Community College

Tom Chiaromonte, Fullerton College

Yiling Chow, North Island College, Port Albernia

Toni Christopherson, California State University, Dominguez Hills

Wanda Clark, South Plains College

Judy Collmer, Cedar Valley College

David Conner, Truman State University

Deborah Conway, University of Virginia

Diana Cooper, Purdue University

Ellen Cotter, Georgia Southwestern State University

Deborah M. Cox, Madisonville Community College

Kim B. Cragin, Snow College

Charles P. Cummings, Asheville-Buncombe Technical Community College

Karen Curran, Mt. San Antonio College

Antonio Cutolo-Ring, Kansas City (KS) Community College

Ken Damstrom, Valley Forge Christian College

Leslie Daniels, Florida State College at Jacksonville

Nancy Darling, Bard College

Paul Dawson, Weber State University

Janet B. Dean, Asbury University

Lynda DeDee, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

David C. Devonis, Graceland University

Charles Dickel, Creighton University

Darryl Dietrich, College of St. Scholastica

Stephanie Ding, Del Mar College

Lugenia Dixon, Bainbridge College

Benjamin Dobrin, Virginia Wesleyan College

Delores Doench, Southwestern Community College

Melanie Domenech Rodriguez, Utah State University

Sundi Donovan, Liberty University

Lana Dryden, Sir Sanford Fleming College

Gwenden Dueker, Grand Valley State University

Bryan Duke, University of Central Oklahoma

Trisha M. Dunkel, Loyola University, Chicago

Robin Eliason, Piedmont Virginia Community College

Traci Elliot, Alvin Community College

Frank Ellis, University of Maine, Augusta

Kelley Eltzroth, Mid Michigan Community College

Marya Endriga, California State University, Stanislaus

Lena Ericksen, Western Washington University

Kathryn Fagan, California Baptist University

Daniel Fasko, Bowling Green State University

Nancy Feehan, University of San Francisco

Meredyth C. Fellows, West Chester University of Pennsylvania

Gary Felt, City University of New York

Martha Fewell, Barat College

Mark A. Fine, University of Missouri

Roseanne L. Flores, Hunter College, CUNY

John Foley, Hagerstown Community College

James Foster, George Fox University

Geri Fox, University of Illinois, Chicago

Thomas Francigetto, Northampton Community College

James Francis, San Jacinto College

Doug Friedrich, University of West Florida

Lynn Garrioch, Colby-Sawyer College

Bill Garris, Cumberland College

Caroline Gee, Palomar College

C. Ray Gentry, Lenoir-Rhyne College

Carol George, Mills College

Elizabeth Gersten, Victor Valley College

Linde Getahun, Bethel University

Afshin Gharib, California State University, East Bay

Nada Glick, Yeshiva University

Andrea Goldstein, Kaplan University

Arthur Gonchar, University of La Verne

Helen Gore-Laird, University of Houston, University Park

Tyhesha N. Goss, University of Pennsylvania

Dan Grangaard, Austin Community College, Rio Grande

Julie Graul, St. Louis Community College, Florissant Valley

Elizabeth Gray, North Park University

Stefanie Gray Greiner, Mississippi University for Women

Erinn L. Green, Wilmington College

Dale D. Grubb, Baldwin-Wallace College

Laura Gruntmeir, Redlands Community College

Lisa Hager, Spring Hill College

Michael Hall, Iowa Western Community College

Andre Halliburton, Prairie State College

Laura Hanish, Arizona State University

Robert Hansson, University of Tulsa

Richard Harland, West Texas A&M University

Gregory Harris, Polk Community College

Virginia Harvey, University of Massachusetts, Boston Margaret Hellie Huyck, Illinois Institute of Technology

Janice L. Hendrix, Missouri State University

Gertrude Henry, Hampton University

Rod Hetzel, Baylor University

Heather Hill, University of Texas, San Antonio

Elaine Hogan, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

Judith Holland, Hawaii Pacific University

Debra Hollister, Valencia Community College

Heather Holmes-Lonergan, *Metropolitan* State College of Denver

Rosemary Hornak, Meredith College

Suzy Horton, Mesa Community College

Rebecca Hoss, College of Saint Mary

Cynthia Hudley, University of California, Santa Barbara

Alycia Hund, Illinois State University

David P. Hurford, Pittsburgh State University

Elaine Ironsmith, East Carolina University

Jessica Jablonski, Richard Stockton College

Sabra Jacobs, Big Sandy Community and Technical College

David Johnson, John Brown University

Emilie Johnson, Lindenwood University

Mary Johnson, Loras College

Mike Johnson, Hawaii Pacific University

Peggy Jordan, Oklahoma City Community College

Lisa Judd, Western Wisconsin Technical College

Tracy R. Juliao, University of Michigan Flint

Elaine Justice, Old Dominion University

Steve Kaatz, Bethel University

Jyotsna M. Kalavar, Penn State New Kensington

Chi-Ming Kam, City College of New York, CUNY

Richard Kandus, Mt. San Jacinto College

Skip Keith, Delaware Technical and Community College

Michelle L. Kelley, Old Dominion University

Richie Kelley, Baptist Bible College and Seminary

Robert Kelley, Mira Costa College

Jeff Kellogg, Marian College

Colleen Kennedy, Roosevelt University

Sarah Kern, The College of New Jersey

Marcia Killien, University of Washington

Kenyon Knapp, Troy State University

Cynthia Koenig, Mt. St. Mary's College of Maryland

Steve Kohn, Valdosta State University

Holly Krogh, Mississippi University for Women

Martha Kuehn, Central Lakes College

Alvin Kuest, Great Lakes Christian College

Rich Lanthier, George Washington University

Peggy Lauria, Central Connecticut State University

Melisa Layne, Danville Community College

John LeChapitaine, University of Wisconsin, River Falls

Barbara Lehmann, Augsburg College

Rhinehart Lintonen, Gateway Technical College

Nancy Lobb, Alvin Community College

Martha V. Low, Winston-Salem State University

Carol Ludders, University of St. Francis

Dunja Lund Trunk, Bloomfield College

Vickie Luttrell, Drury University

Nina Lyon Jenkins, University of Maryland, Eastern Shore

Christine Malecki, Northern Illinois University

Marlowe Manger, Stanly Community College

Pamela Manners, Troy State University

Kathy Manuel, Bossier Parish Community College

Howard Markowitz, Hawaii Pacific University

Jayne D. B. Marsh, University of Southern Maine, Lewiston-Auburn College

Esther Martin, California State University, Dominguez Hills

Jan Mast, Miami Dade College, North Campus

Pan Maxson, Duke University

Nancy Mazurek, Long Beach City College

Christine McCormick, Eastern Illinois University Jim McDonald, California State University, Fresno

Clark McKinney, Southwest Tennessee Community College

George Meyer, Suffolk County Community College

Barbara J. Miller, Pasadena City College

Christy Miller, Coker College

Mary Beth Miller, Fresno City College

Al Montgomery, Our Lady of Holy Cross College

Robin Montvilo, Rhode Island College

Peggy Moody, St. Louis Community College

Michelle Moriarty, Johnson County Community College

Wendy Bianchini Morrison, Montana State University-Bozeman

Ken Mumm, University of Nebraska, Kearney

Joyce Munsch, Texas Tech University

Jeannette Murphey, Meridian Community College

Lori Myers, Louisiana Tech University

Lana Nenide, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Margaret Nettles, Alliant University

Gregory Newton, Diablo Valley College

Barbara Nicoll, University of La Verne

Nancy Nolan, Nashville State Community College

Harriett Nordstrom, University of Michigan, Flint

Wendy North-Ollendorf, Northwestern Connecticut Community College

Elizabeth O'Connor, St. Mary's College

Susan O'Donnell, George Fox University

Jane Ogden, East Texas Baptist University

Shirley Ogletree, Texas State University

Claudius Oni, South Piedmont Community College

Randall E. Osborne, Texas State University, San Marcos

John Otey, Southern Arkansas University

Carol Ott, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Patti Owen-Smith, Oxford College

Heidi Pasek, Montana State University

Margaret Patton, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Julie Hicks Patrick, West Virginia University

Evelyn Payne, Albany State University

Ian E. Payton, Bethune-Cookman University

Carole Penner-Faje, Molloy College

Michelle L. Pilati, Rio Hondo College

Meril Posy, Touro College, Brooklyn

Shannon M. Pruden, Temple University

Ellery Pullman, Briarcrest Bible College

Samuel Putnam, Bowdoin College

Jeanne Quarles, Oregon Coast Community College

Mark Rafter, College of the Canyons

Cynthia Rand-Johnson, Albany State University

Janet Rangel, Palo Alto College

Jean Raniseski, Alvin Community College

Frances Raphael-Howell, Montgomery College

Celinda Reese, Oklahoma State University

Ethan Remmel, Western Washington University

Paul Rhoads, Williams Baptist College

Kerri A. Riggs, Lourdes College

Mark Rittman, Cuyahoga Community College

Jeanne Rivers, Finger Lakes Community College

Wendy Robertson, Western Michigan University

Richard Robins, University of California, Davis

Millie Roqueta, Miami Dade College

June Rosenberg, Lyndon State College

Christopher Rosnick, University of South Florida

Trisha Rossi, Adelphi University

Rodger Rossman, College of the Albemarle

Lisa Routh, Pikes Peak Community College

Stephanie Rowley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Randall Russac, University of North Florida

Dawn Ella Rust, Stephen F. Austin State University

Tara Saathoff-Wells, Central Michigan University

Traci Sachteleben, Southwestern Illinois College

Douglas Sauber, Arcadia University

Chris Saxild, Wisconsin Indianhead Technical College

Barbara Schaudt, California State University, Bakersfield

Daniela E. Schreier, Chicago School of Professional Psychology

Pamela Schuetze, SUNY College at Buffalo

Donna Seagle, Chattanooga State Technical Community College

Bonnie Seegmiller, Hunter College, CUNY

Chris Seifert, Montana State University

Marianne Shablousky, Community College of Allegheny County

Susan Shapiro, Indiana University, East

Elliot Sharpe, Maryville University

Lawrence Shelton, University of Vermont

Shamani Shikwambi, University of Northern Iowa

Denise Simonsen, Fort Lewis College

Penny Skemp, Mira Costa College

Peggy Skinner, South Plains College

Barbara Smith, Westminster College

Valerie Smith, Collin County Community College

Edward Sofranko, University of Rio Grande

Joan Spiegel, West Los Angeles College

Jason S. Spiegelman, Community College of Baltimore County

Carolyn I. Spies, Bloomfield College

Scott Stein, Southern Vermont College

Stephanie Stein, Central Washington University

Sheila Steiner, Jamestown College

Jacqueline Stewart, Seminole State College

Robert Stewart, Jr., Oakland University

Cynthia Suarez, Wofford College

Joshua Susskind, University of Northern

Josephine Swalloway, Curry College

Emily Sweitzer, California University of Pennsylvania

Chuck Talor, Valdosta State University

Jamie Tanner, South Georgia College

Norma Tedder, Edison Community College

George Thatcher, Texas Tech University

Shannon Thomas, Wallace Community College

Donna Thompson, Midland College

Vicki Tinsley, Brescia University

Eugene Tootle, Barry University

David Tracer, University of Colorado, Denver

Stephen Truhon, Austin Peay Centre, Fort Campbell

Dana Van Abbema, St. Mary's College of Maryland

Mary Vandendorpe, Lewis University

Janice Vidic, University of Rio Grande

Steven Voss, Moberly Area Community College

William Walkup, Southwest Baptist University

Anne Weiher, Metropolitan State College of Denver

Robert Weis, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

Lori Werdenschlag, Lyndon State College

Noel Wescombe, Whitworth College

Andrea White, Ithaca College

Meade Whorton, Louisiana Delta Community College

Wanda A. Willard, Monroe Community College

Joylynne Wills, Howard University

Nancy A. Wilson, Haywood Community College

Steffen Wilson, Eastern Kentucky University

Bernadette Wise, Iowa Lakes Community College

Steve Wisecarver, Lord Fairfax Community College

Alex Wiseman, University of Tulsa

Rebecca Witt Stoffel, West Liberty State College

Nanci Woods, Austin Peay State University

Chrysalis L. Wright, University of Central Florida

Stephanie Wright, Georgetown University

David Yarbrough, Texas State University

Nikki Yonts, Lyon College

Ling-Yi Zhou, University of St. Francis

On the home front, I am indebted to my colleagues at Middle Tennessee State University and to my students over the years. As any teacher will tell you, I learn as much—or more—from you each semester as you do from me. I want to thank my incredibly competent reference checker, Jac Mitchell, for performing the difficult task of ferreting out the full source of every new citation in this book. I'm grateful to my baby, Thomas, for being born, and giving my life such meaning, and to Shelly for brightening my life since I moved to Chicago this past year. But the real credit for this book still belongs to my late husband David, for putting this book and my happiness center stage and for giving me the best possible life.

Janet Belsky August 25, 2015



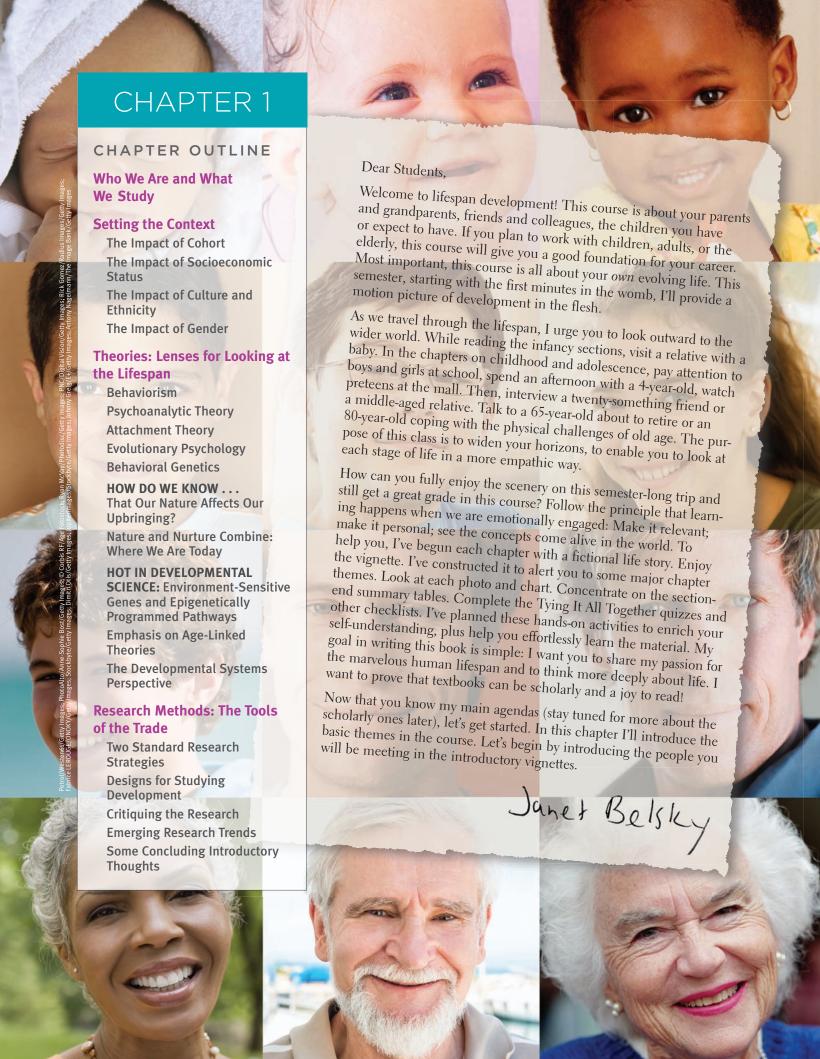
The Foundation

This two-chapter part offers you the foundations for understanding the lifespan journey.

Chapter 1-The People and the Field introduces *all* the major concepts and themes in this course. In this chapter, I'll describe our discipline's basic terminology, provide a bird's-eye view of the evolving lifespan, offer a framework for how to think about world cultures, and highlight some new twenty-first-century life stages. Most important, in this chapter you will learn about the themes, theories, and research strategies that have shaped our field. Bottom line: Chapter 1 gives you the tools you will need for understanding this book.

Chapter 2-Prenatal Development, Pregnancy, and Birth lays the foundation for our developing lives. Here, you will learn about how a baby develops from a tiny clump of cells, and get insights into the experience of pregnancy from the point of view of mothers and fathers. This chapter describes pregnancy rituals in different cultures, discusses the impact of prenatal issues such as stress and infertility, and offers an in-depth look at the miracle of birth.





The People and the Field

Susan is having a party to celebrate Carl's wonderful life. Losing her husband was tough, but Susan takes comfort in the fact that during their 50-plus-year-long marriage, she and her husband amassed so many friends—people of every age, ethnicity, and social group. After Carl's death, everyone flooded Susan's Facebook page with expressions of love. But, being from a different era, Susan craves having her friends physically close, to hug and reminisce about Carl.

First to arrive on Saturday were Maria and baby Josiah, whom Susan and Carl met on a cross-country trip to Las Vegas five years ago. Then, Mathew and Jamila, the lovely couple who were on last year's Alaskan cruise, knocked on the door. For Susan, bonding with her new 40-something friends on that 10-day trip through the Glaciers offered a lesson in how the world has changed. Susan and Carl married at age 21—at a time when middle-class women often stopped working after getting married, and gender roles were clearly defined. Jamila waited until she got her career in order at age 35 to get married, met Matt on-line, and even selected a husband of a different race. How, despite juggling step-kids and full-time jobs, have Matt and Jamila mastered the secret of staying in love for more than 10 years?

Finally, Kim, her husband Jeff, and baby Elissa drove up. Although Susan was devastated when this close neighborhood couple moved across the country 9 months ago, she has been thrilled to witness Elissa's transformations through the miracles of Skype. Now, it's time to (finally) envelope that precious 1-year-old in her arms and hear, in person, about everyone else's lives!

As they sit down to dinner, Kim reports that since Elissa began walking, she doesn't slow down for a minute. Actually, it's kind of depressing. Elissa used to go to Susan with a smile. Now, all she wants is Mom. The transformation in Josiah is even more astonishing. Now that he is 8, that precious child can talk to you like an adult!

Over the next hour, the talk turns to deeper issues: Kim shares her anxieties about putting Elissa in day care. Matt talks about the trials and joys of step-fatherhood. Maria opens up about the challenges of being a single parent, an immigrant, and ethnic minority in the United States. Jamila informs the group that she wants to make a difference. She is returning to school for a Ph.D. But can she make it academically at age 53?

Susan tells the group not to worry. The sixties and early seventies (until Carl's massive stroke) were the happiest time of their lives. Now, with her slowness, her progressing vision problems, and especially that frightening fall she took at Kroger's last week, the future looks bleaker. Susan knows that life is precious. She treasures every moment she has left. But the eighties won't be like the seventies. What will happen when she really gets old?

s Susan right that the sixties and early seventies are life's happiest stage? If you met Susan at age 30 or 50, would she be the same upbeat person as today? Are Jamila's worries about her mental abilities realistic, and what *are* some secrets for staying passionately in love with your spouse? Why do 1-year-olds such as Elissa get clingy just as they begin walking, and what mental leaps

make children at age 8, such as Josiah, seem so grown up? How has the social media revolution affected how we relate?

Developmentalists, also called **developmental scientists**—researchers who study the lifespan—are about to answer these questions and hundreds of others about our unfolding life.

developmentalists

Researchers and practitioners whose professional interest lies in the study of the human lifespan.

lifespan development

The scientific study of development through life.

child development The scientific study of development from birth through adolescence.

gerontology The scientific study of the aging process and older adults.

adult development The scientific study of the adult part of life.

normative transitions

Predictable life changes that occur during development.

non-normative transitions

Unpredictable or atypical life changes that occur during development.

Colin Cuthbert/Science Source

This researcher is among the thousands of developmental scientists whose mission is to decode the causes of that later life scourge, Alzheimer's disease.

Who We Are and What We Study

Lifespan development, the scientific study of human growth throughout life, is a latecomer to psychology. Its roots lie in **child development**, the study of childhood and the teenage years. Child development traces its origins back more than a century. In 1877, Charles Darwin published an article based on notes he had made about his baby during the first years of life. In the 1890s, a pioneering psychologist named G. Stanley Hall established the first institute in the United States devoted to research on the child. Child development began to take off between World Wars I and II (Lerner, 1998). It remains the passion of thousands of developmental scientists working in every corner of the globe.

Gerontology, the scientific study of aging—the other core discipline in lifespan development—had a slower start. Researchers began to really study the aging process only after World War II (Birren & Birren, 1990). Gerontology and its related field, adult development, underwent their phenomenal growth spurt during the final third of the twentieth century.

Lifespan development puts it all together. It synthesizes what researchers know about our unfolding life. Who works in this huge mega-discipline, and what passions drive developmentalists?

- Lifespan development is multidisciplinary. It draws on fields as different as neuroscience, nursing, psychology, and social policy to understand human development. A biologically oriented developmentalist might examine toddlers' output of salivary cortisol (a stress hormone) when they arrive at day care. An anthropologist might look at cultural values shaping the day-care choice. A social policy expert might explore the impact of offering universal government-funded day care in Finland and France. A biochemist who studies Alzheimer's disease might decode what produces the plaques and tangles that ravage the brain. A nurse might head an innovative Alzheimer's unit. A research-oriented psychologist might construct a scale to measure the impairments produced by this devastating disease.
 - Lifespan development explores the predictable milestones on our human journey, from walking to working, to Elissa's sudden shyness and attachment to her mother. Are people right to worry about their learning abilities in their fifties? What is physical aging, or puberty, or menopause all about? Are there specific emotions we feel as we approach that final universal milestone, death?
 - Lifespan development focuses on the individual differences that give spice to human life. Can we really see the person we will be at age 73, by age 50, or 30? How much does personality or intelligence change as we travel through life? Developmentalists want to understand what *causes* the striking differences between people in temper-

ament, talents, and traits. They are interested in exploring individual differences in the timing of developmental milestones, too; examining, for instance, why people reach puberty earlier or later or age more quickly or slowly than their peers.

Lifespan development explores the impact of life transitions and practices. It deals with normative, or predictable, transitions, such as retirement, becoming parents, or beginning middle school. It focuses on non-normative, or atypical, transitions, such as divorce, the death of a child, or how declines in the economy affect how we approach the world. It explores life practices, such as smoking, spanking, or sleeping in the same bed with your child.

Developmentalists realize that life transitions that we consider normative, such as retiring or starting middle school, are products of living in a particular time in

history. They understand that practices such as smoking or sleeping in bed with a child vary, depending on our social class and cultural background. They know that several basic markers, or overall conditions of life, affect our development.

Now it's time to introduce some **contexts of development**, or broad general influences, which I will be continually discussing throughout this book.

Setting the Context

How does being born in a particular historical time affect our lifespan journey? What about our social class, cultural background, or that basic biological difference, being female or male?

The Impact of Cohort

Cohort refers to our birth group, the age group with whom we travel through life. In the vignette, you can immediately see the heavy role our cohort plays in influencing adult life. Susan reached adult life in 1960, when women married in their early twenties and typically stayed married for life. Jamila came of age during the final decade of the twentieth century, when women began to feel they needed to get their careers together before

finding a mate. As an interracial couple, Matt and Jamila are taking a life path unusual even for today! Because they are in their late forties, this couple is at an interesting cutting point. They are traveling through life after that huge bulge in the population called the baby boom.

The baby boom cohort, defined as people born from 1946 to 1964, has made a huge impact on the Western world as it moves through society. The reason lies in size. When soldiers returned from World War II and got married, the average family size ballooned to almost four children. When this huge group was growing up during the 1950s, families were traditional, with the two-parent, stay-at-home-mother family being our national ideal. Then, as rebellious adolescents during the 1960s and 1970s, the baby boomers helped usher in a radical transformation in these attitudes and roles (more about this lifestyle revolution soon). Society, as we know, is now experiencing an old-age explosion as the baby boom cohort floods into later life.

The cohorts living in the early twenty-first century are part of an endless march of cohorts stretching back thousands of years. Let's now take a brief historical tour to get a sense of the dramatic changes in childhood, old age, and adulthood during just the past few centuries, and pinpoint what our lifespan looks like today.

Changing Conceptions of Childhood

At age ten he began his work life helping . . . manufacture candles and soap. He . . . wanted to go to sea, but his father refused and apprenticed him to a master printer. At age 17 he ran away from Boston to Philadelphia to search for work.

His father died when he was 11, and he left school. At 17 he was appointed official surveyor for Culpepper County in Virginia. By age 20 he was in charge of managing his family's plantation.

(Mintz, 2004)

Who were these boys? Their names were Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. Imagine being born in Colonial times. In addition to reaching adulthood at a much younger age, your chance of having *any* lifespan would have been far from secure. In seventeenth-century Paris, roughly 1 in every 3 babies died in early infancy (Ariès, 1962; Hrdy, 1999). As late as 1900, almost 3 of every 10 U.S. children did not live beyond age 5 (Konner, 2010; Mintz, 2004).



Our cultural background affects every aspect of development. So, culturally oriented developmentalists might study how this coming-of-age ritual expresses this society's messages about adult life.

contexts of development

Fundamental markers, including cohort, socioeconomic status, culture, and gender, that shape how we develop throughout the lifespan.

cohort The age group with whom we travel through life.

baby boom cohort The huge age group born between 1946 and 1964.

The incredible childhood mortality rates, plus poverty, may have partly explained why child-rearing practices that we would label as abusive used to be routine. Children were often beaten and, at their parents' whim, might be abandoned at birth (Konner, 2010; Pinker, 2011). In the early 1800s in Paris, about one in five newborns was "exposed"—placed in the doorways of churches, or simply left outside to die. In cities such as St. Petersburg, Russia, the statistic might have been as high as one in two (Ariès, 1962; Hrdy, 1999).

In addition, for most of history, people did not have our feeling that childhood is a special life stage (Ariès, 1962; Mintz, 2004). Children, as you saw above, began

to work at a young age. During the early industrial revolution, poor boys and girls made up more than a third of the labor force in British mills (Mintz, 2004).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, enlightenment philosophers such as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau spelled out a strikingly different vision of childhood and human life (Pinker, 2011). Locke believed that human beings are born a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate on which anything could be written, and that the way we treat children shapes their adult lives. Rousseau argued that babies enter life totally innocent; he felt we should shower these dependent creatures with love. However, this message could fully penetrate society only when the advances of the early twentieth century dramatically improved living standards, and we entered our modern age.

One force producing this kinder, gentler view of childhood was universal education. During the late nineteenth century in Western Europe and much of the United States, attendance at primary school became mandatory (Ariès, 1962). School kept children from working and insulated these years as a protected, dependent life phase. Still, as late as 1915, only 1 in 10 U.S. children attended high school; most people entered their work lives after seventh or eighth grade (Mintz, 2004).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the developmentalist G. Stanley Hall (1904/1969) identified a stage of "storm and stress," located between childhood and adulthood, which he named *adolescence*. However, it was during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when President Franklin Roosevelt signed a bill making high school attendance mandatory, that adolescence became a standard U.S. life stage (Mintz, 2004). Our famous teenage culture has existed for only 70 or 80 years!

In recent decades, with many of us going to college and graduate school, we have delayed the beginning of adulthood to an older age. Developmentalists (see Tanner & Arnett, 2010) have identified a new in-between stage of life in affluent countries. **Emerging adulthood,** lasting from age 18 to roughly the late twenties, is devoted to exploring our place in the world. One reason that we feel comfortable postponing marriage or settling down to a career is that we can expect to live an amazingly long time.

Changing Conceptions of Later Life

In every culture, a few people always lived to "old age." However, for most of history, largely due to the high rates of infant and childhood mortality, **average life expectancy**, our fifty-fifty chance at birth of living to a given age, was shockingly low. In Maryland during Colonial times, average life expectancy was only age 20, for both masters and their slaves (Fischer, 1977).

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, life expectancy in the United States rapidly improved. By 1900, it was 46. Then, in the next century, it shot up to 76.7. During the twentieth century, life expectancy in North America and Western Europe increased by almost 30 years! (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], Health United States, 2007.)



In the nineteenth century, if you visited factories such as this cannery, you would see many young children at work— showing how far we have come in just a bit more than a century in our attitudes about childhood.

emerging adulthood The phase of life that begins after high school, tapers off toward the late twenties, and is devoted to constructing an adult life.

average life expectancy A person's fifty-fifty chance at birth of living to a given age.

The twentieth-century life expectancy revolution may be the most important milestone in human history. The most dramatic increases in longevity occurred about 100 years ago, when public health improvements and medical advances, such as antibiotics, wiped out deaths from many infectious diseases. Since these illnesses, such as diphtheria, killed both the young and old, their conquest allowed us to live past midlife. In the last 50 years, our progress has been slower because the illnesses we now die from, called *chronic diseases*—such as heart disease, cancer, and stroke—are tied to the aging process itself.

As you can see in Figure 1.1, the outcome is that today, life expectancies have zoomed into the upper seventies in North America, Western Europe, New Zealand, Israel, and Japan. A baby born in affluent parts of the world, especially if that child is female, now has a good chance of making it close to our maximum lifespan, the biological limit of human life (about age 105).

This extension of the lifespan has changed how we think about *every* life stage. It has moved grandparenthood, once a sign of being "old," down into middle age. If you become a grandparent in your forties, expect to be called grandma or grandpa for half of your life! Women can start new careers in their early fifties, given that U.S. females at that age can expect to live on average for roughly 32 more years (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Most important, we have moved the beginning of old age beyond age 65.

Today, people in their sixties and even early seventies are often active and relatively healthy. But in our eighties, our chance of being disabled by disease increases dramatically. Because of this, developmentalists make a distinction between two groups of older adults. The young-old, defined as people in their sixties and early seventies, often look

and feel middle-aged. They reject the idea that they are old (Lachman, 2004). The old-old, people in their late seventies and beyond, seem in a different class. Since they are more likely to have physical and mental disabilities, they are more prone to fit the stereotype of the frail, dependent older adult. In sum, Susan in the vignette was right: Today the eighties are a different stage of life!

Changing Conceptions of Adult Life

If health-care strides during the early twentieth century allowed us to survive to old age, during the last third of the twentieth century, a revolution in lifestyles changed the way we live our adult lives. This transformation, in the West, which has now spread around the globe, began when the baby boomers entered their teenage years.

The 1960s "Decade of Protest" included the civil rights and women's movements, the sexual revolution, and the "counterculture" movement that emphasized liberation in every area of life (Bengtson, 1989). People could have sex without being married. Women could fulfill themselves in a career. We encouraged husbands to share the housework and child care equally with their wives. Divorce became an acceptable alternative to living in an unfulfilling marriage. To have a baby, women no longer needed to be married at all.

Today, with women making up more than half the U.S. labor force, only a minority of couples fit the traditional 1950s roles of breadwinner husband and homemaker wife (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). With roughly one out of two U.S. marriages ending in divorce, we can no longer be confident of staying together for life. While divorce rates are now declining, the Western trend toward having children without being married continues to rise. As of 2013, almost 48 percent of U.S. babies were born to single moms (Hymowitz and others, 2013).

twentieth-century life expectancy revolution The dramatic increase in average life expectancy that occurred during the first half of the

twentieth century in the developed world.

maximum lifespan The biological limit of human life (about 105 years).

young-old People in their sixties and seventies.

old-old People in their late seventies and older.

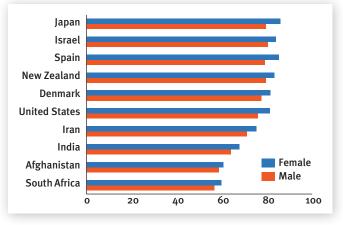


FIGURE 1.1: Average life expectancy of men and women in some selected nations, 2013: Notice the gap in life expectancy between the developed and developing worlds. Notice also the astonishingly high life expectancy for women in Spain, New Zealand, Israel, and Japan. Women today can expect to live close to the maximum lifespan in these developed countries. (As of 2007, the United States ranked forty-ninth globally in average life expectancy.) Data from: http://www.worldlifeexpectancy.com/ retrieved September 3,

The healthy, active couple in their sixties (left) have little in common with the disabled 90-year-old man living in a nursing home (right)—showing why developmentalists divide the elderly into the young-old and the old-old.





The timeline at the bottom of this page illustrates the twentieth-century shifts in life expectancy and family life, as well as charting the passage of the mammoth baby boom as it moves through life. In later chapters, I'll pay special attention to the late-twentieth-century lifestyle revolution—highlighting single parenthood, the trend toward having stepchildren, exploring gay and bisexual relationships, and shedding light on the changing family roles of women and men. While this text does divide development into its standard categories (infancy, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and later life), I'll also devote a chapter to emerging adulthood—that life stage many of you are in right now. In the later-life section, I'll continually emphasize the distinction between the young-old and old-old (being 60 is miles different physically and mentally from being 80 or 95) and focus on the issues we face as the baby boomers flood into their older years.

But, as history is always advancing, let's end this section by touching on two twenty-first-century transformations: The first is a permanent change in how we relate; the second temporarily affects the economic path we take as adults.

From Relating in the Real World to Residing in Cyberspace: On-line Relationships

Meet the Alvin family. . . . Sandra, a former journalist . . . has over 800 followers on twitter and keeps an elaborate . . . blog; their 16-year-old daughter Zara is a fanatic Facebook user—464 friends right now—and she also uses Pinterest for "pinning and sharing photos". . . .

(quoted in Van Dijck, 2013, p 3)

Julia, . . . a Sophomore at a . . . public high school turns texting into a kind of polling. After Julia sends out a text, she is uncomfortable until she gets one back: "I'm always looking for a text that says, "Oh I'm sorry" or "Oh that's great." Without this feedback, she says, "It's hard to calm down." Julia describes how painful it is to text about her feelings and get no response: "If . . . they don't answer me . . . I'll text them again "are you mad? . . . Is everything Ok?"

(adapted from Turkle, 2011, p. 175)

How many of you feel the urge to check Facebook or your cell phone as you are reading these lines? Perhaps, like Sandra, you have followers on Twitter or keep a

TIMELINE	Selected Twentieth-Century Milestones and the Progress of the Huge Baby Boom												
	1900 1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030
MAJOR SOCIETAL CHANGE	Life Expectancy Takes Off Deaths shift from infectious to chronic diseases							Lifestyle Revolution Women's movement/rise in divorce and single parenthood/more lifestyle freedom					
BABY BOOM COHORT					Borr	ı	Teen	agers			Young old	· ->	Old- old

personal blog, or can relate to Julia's anxiety when you text and don't get an immediate response.

Cell phones and texting instituted what one expert (Van Dijck, 2013) has labeled our twenty-first century "culture of connectivity," by tethering us to our significant others every moment of the day. Then that early-twentieth-century advance in technology, called Web 2.0, accelerated this revolution, by allowing us to interact 24/7 with strangers around the globe (Van Dijck, 2013). In particular, Web 2.0 fostered the development of **social networking sites**, such as Facebook, that permit us to broadcast every feeling to an expanding array of "friends."

How has Facebook transformed romantic relationships? Does bullying online differ from real-life bullying, and can texting (or sexting) reveal our inner lives? Stay tuned for subsequent chapters when I showcase studies delving into the impact of the on-line revolution on how we relate.

From Living in an Expanding Economy, to Facing Financial Hardship: The Great Recession

I was laid off from my job on April 1st. I've used up all my retirement funds and savings. I have never seen anything this bad in this country.

(Sandra K, Cleveland Heights, Ohio)

Welcome to the **Great Recession of 2008**, which began with the bursting of an 8-trillion-dollar-housing bubble, producing sharp cutbacks in U.S. consumer spending, followed by a loss of 8.4 million jobs within the following two years (Economic Policy Institute [EPI], 2011). The Great Recession has caused us to rethink standard adult markers, from retirement to leaving home for college (see Chapters 10 and 13). It has weakened our historic American faith in constructing a secure middle-class life. As this storm rolled in, it uncovered a festering problem called **income inequality**—the widening gap between the superrich and everyone else (EPI, 2011; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

As I'm writing this chapter (in early 2015), the economy has improved in the United States and many European nations. Will the economic landscape turn truly sunny as you are reading these pages? Whatever the answer, our economic situation has an important impact on our journey through life. How *exactly* does being affluent or poor affect how we develop and behave?

The Impact of Socioeconomic Status

This question brings up the role of **socioeconomic status** (**SES**)—a term referring to our education and income—on our unfolding lives. As you will see throughout this book, living in poverty makes people vulnerable to a cascade of problems—from being born less healthy, to attending lower-quality schools; from living in more dangerous neighborhoods, to dying at a younger age. Not only do developmentalists rank individuals by socioeconomic status, but they rank nations, too.

Developed-world nations are defined by their wealth, or high median per-person incomes. In these countries, life expectancy is high (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2007). Technology is advanced. People have widespread access to education and medical care. Traditionally, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, as well as every Western European nation, have been classified in this "most affluent" category, although its ranks *may* be expanding as the economies of nations such as China and India explode.

Developing-world countries stand in sharp contrast to these most affluent world regions. Here people may not have indoor plumbing, clean running water, or access to education. They even may die at a young age from "curable" infectious disease. Babies born in the poorest regions of the globe face a twenty-first-century lifespan that has striking similarities to the one developed-world children faced more than a century ago.



This consequence of the social-media revolution is all too familiar. In Chapter 6, you will learn what forces might make cyberbullying more distressing than bullying of the face-to-face kind

social networking sites

Internet sites whose goal is to forge personal connections between users.

Great Recession of 2008

Dramatic loss of jobs (and consumer spending) that began with the bursting of the U.S. housing bubble in late 2007.

income inequality The gap between the rich and poor within a nation. Specifically, when income inequality is wide, a nation has a few very affluent residents and a mass of disadvantaged citizens.

socioeconomic status (SES)

A basic marker referring to status on the educational and—especially—income rungs.

developed world The most affluent countries in the world.

developing world The more impoverished countries of the world.