

84% of students responding to a national user survey believe MyDevelopmentLab helped them understand more of the material presented in class.

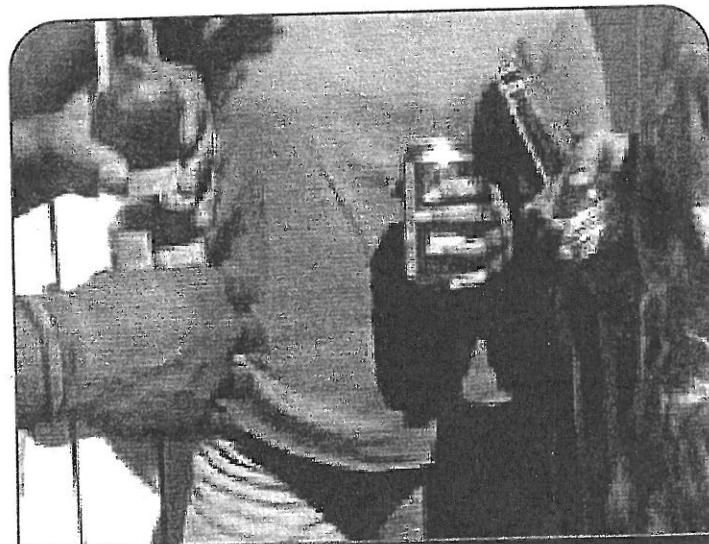
Watch: Sexuality in Adolescence: Pregnant Teen

Learning Objective 11.5
Which teenaged girls are most likely to get pregnant?



I wouldn't - I wouldn't recommend this teen mom stuff just to anybody because it's-it's

Watch: Teen Drinking



Some parents think that a couple of drinks won't harm their kids. But often teens don't

Learning Objective 11.8
What patterns of drug, alcohol, and tobacco use have been found among adolescents in the United States?

Step 3

Take the chapter post-test and compare your results against the pre-test.

The second brain growth spurt that occurs late in adolescence affects the

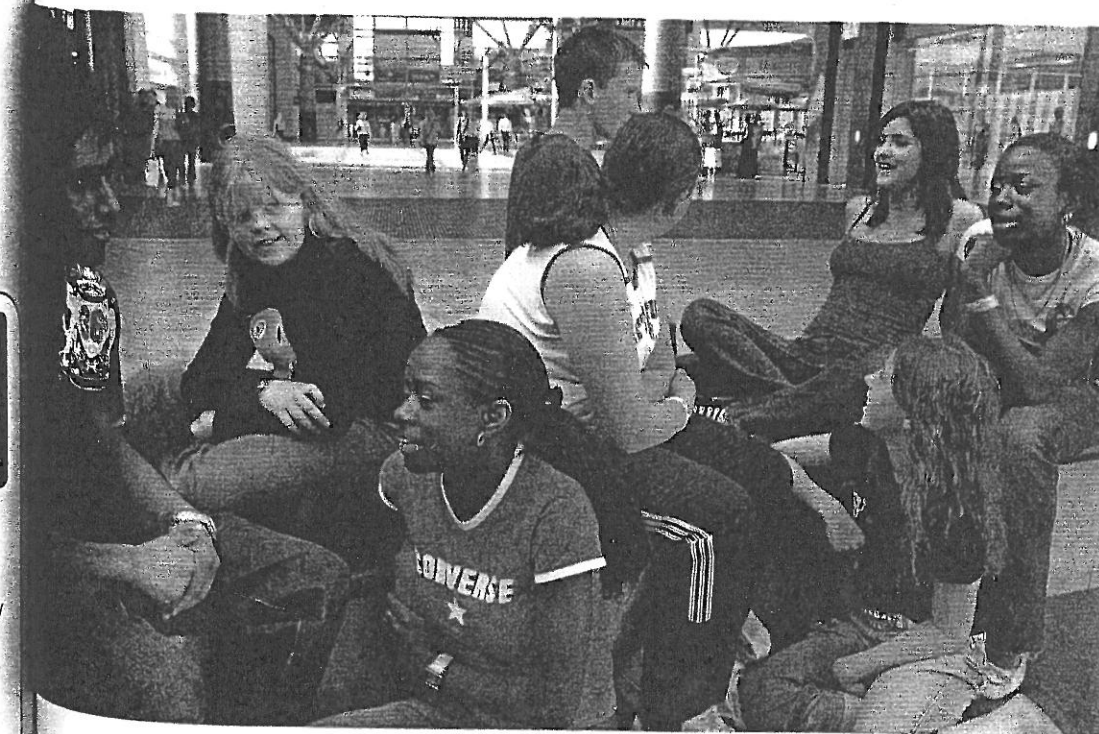
- parietal lobes, which improves processing of sensory inputs.
- cerebral cortex, which controls spatial perception and motor functions.
- corpus callosum, which improves the efficiency of memory processing.
- frontal lobes of the cerebral cortex, which control logic and planning.



Social and Personality Development in Adolescence

An expression of intense concentration appeared on 13-year-old Tanya's face as she stood before a mirror wrapping a brightly colored cloth around her head. She had learned the art of Gele headwrapping just a few hours earlier and wanted to demonstrate it for her mother and younger sister. Headwrapping was just one of many traditional African skills Tanya had learned in the rites of passage program she was attending at a local community college. The purpose of the program, one of hundreds like it across the United States, was to help Tanya and other African American teens develop a sense of ethnic heritage and to provide them with critical social support as they enter the teen years. Programs such as the one Tanya attends have arisen out of concern about the lack of formal rites of passage in Western society. How important are such rites?

In traditional cultures, rites of passage mark the transition of an individual from childhood to adulthood. For example, among the !Kung



12

THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Psychoanalytic Perspectives
Marcia's Theory of Identity Achievement
Critical Thinking

SELF-CONCEPT

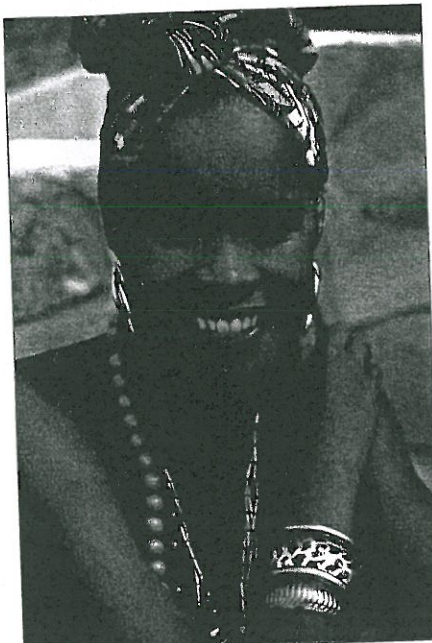
Self-Understanding
Research Report: The Effects of Teenaged Employment
Self-Esteem
Gender Roles
Ethnic Identity
The Real World: Role Models in Life and in the Media

MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Reasoning
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SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships with Parents
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Summary
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In rites of passage programs, African American girls learn about the traditional styles of dress among African women.

people who inhabit the Kalahari desert in southern Africa, boys and girls are wed in arranged marriages in early childhood. However, these young couples are not allowed to live together until they reach puberty and are formally initiated into the adult community. These initiation rites require boys to learn hunting skills and, at 13, to kill an antelope. Girls must have had two menstrual periods before they are welcomed into the adult community. During each of these periods, they are sent to a menarcheal hut while the women of the group perform ritual dances to celebrate their coming of age.

Taking their cue from the pioneering work of psychoanalytic theorist Erik Erikson (1969), some developmentalists believe that the absence of formal rites of passage in industrialized societies makes adolescents more vulnerable to risky behaviors such as alcohol use, unprotected sex, and aggression. Teens who become involved in these activities, say some observers, are attempting to invent their own rites of passage. How adolescents accomplish this goal depends on the peer group with which they identify. For one teenager, the rite may involve preparing for a standardized test such as the PSAT that may win her a college scholarship. For another adolescent, it may involve joining a street gang.

Some developmentalists say that the fuzziness of the adolescent-to-adult transition in U.S. culture is more problematic for African American teens than for members of other minority groups who continue to practice the ancient rites of passage that are specific to their culture, such as the Jewish *bar mitzvah* and *bat mitzvah* and the Hispanic *quinceanera*. These rites help adolescents in these groups maintain a sense of pride in their cultural heritage that insulates them against the sometimes prejudicial attitudes of the dominant majority group. African Americans, argue some developmentalists, lost touch with these rites when the institution of slavery separated them from the traditions of their ancestors.

To fill the perceived need for a formal rite of passage for African American teenagers, many churches and other institutions have developed programs such as the one that Tanya attends. The goal of these programs is to enhance African American teens' sense of connection to the cultures from which their ancestors were taken through instruction in African history, values, and traditional practices such as Gele headwrapping. Research shows that passage programs help to promote resilience among African American teens that help them resist negative peer pressure and prevent them from internalizing negative stereotypes about their ethnic group (Harvey & Hill, 2004).

Consideration of rites of passage brings to mind Vygotsky's concept of scaffolding. Adolescents are conscious of the need to transition to adulthood, and they take many steps toward this goal on their own. But they need adults to lead the way and to support them when their steps toward maturity turn out to be missteps, whether that support occurs in the context of formal rites of passage or in more informal ways. This chapter begins with an examination of the aspects of the transition to adulthood that occur within adolescents themselves followed by a discussion of how the social world supports them.

Theories of Social and Personality Development

Thirteen-year-old Brendon took a deep breath to steady his nerves and punched in Melissa's cell phone number. He continued to breathe deeply as he waited for her to answer. Over the past few minutes, he had attempted to call her three times. However, the fear of rejection overcame him each time, and he punched the "hang-up" button before she could answer. This time he was determined to at least say "Hi."

Such dramas are played out every day in the world of young adolescents, and there is no denying the fact that the emergence of romantic interests is a prominent feature of this period of development. For Freud, these interests were the central theme of adolescence. Erikson and other theorists proposed models of adolescent development that were much broader in scope.

Psychoanalytic Perspectives

According to Freud, the post-pubertal years constitute the last stage of personality development; so both adolescents and adults are in what Freud called the *genital stage*, the period during which psychosexual maturity is reached. Freud believed that puberty awakens the sexual drive that has lain dormant during the latency stage. Thus, for Freud, the primary developmental task of adolescence is to channel the libido into a healthy sexual relationship.

Erikson, though not denying the importance of achieving sexual maturity, proposed that achievement of a sense of personal *identity* is a far more important developmental task faced by adolescents. He described *identity* as a sense of self-continuity (Erikson, 1969). More recent theorists, elaborating on his idea, define *identity* as an understanding of one's unique characteristics and how they are manifested across ages, situations, and social roles. Thus, in Erikson's model, the central crisis of adolescence is **identity versus role confusion**.

Erikson argued that the child's early sense of identity comes partly "unglued" in early adolescence because of the combination of rapid body growth and the sexual changes of puberty. Erikson claimed that during this period the adolescent's mind is in a kind of moratorium between childhood and adulthood. The old identity will no longer suffice; a new identity must be forged, one that will equip the young person for the myriad roles of adult life—occupational roles, sexual roles, religious roles, and others.

Confusion about all these role choices is inevitable and leads to a pivotal transition Erikson called the *identity crisis*. The **identity crisis** is a period during which an adolescent is troubled by his lack of an identity. Erikson believed that adolescents' tendency to identify with peer groups was a defense against the emotional turmoil engendered by the identity crisis. In a sense, he claimed, teens protect themselves against the unpleasant

Learning Objective 12.1

What happens during Erikson's identity versus role confusion stage?

identity an understanding of one's unique characteristics and how they have been, are, and will be manifested across ages, situations, and social roles

identity versus role confusion in Erikson's theory, the stage during which adolescents attain a sense of who they are

identity crisis Erikson's term for the psychological state of emotional turmoil that arises when an adolescent's sense of self becomes "unglued" so that a new, more mature sense of self can be achieved

emotions of the identity crisis by merging their individual identities with that of a group (Erikson, 1980a). The teenaged group thus forms a base of security from which the young person can move toward a unique solution of the identity crisis. Ultimately, however, each teenager must achieve an integrated view of himself, including his own pattern of beliefs, occupational goals, and relationships.

Learning Objective 12.2

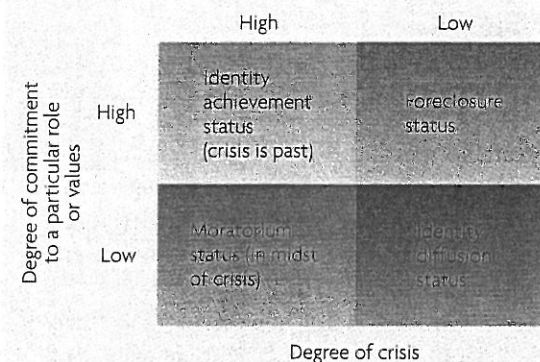
How does Marcia explain identity development?

Marcia's Theory of Identity Achievement

Nearly all the current work on the formation of adolescent identity has been based on James Marcia's descriptions of *identity statuses*, which are rooted in Erikson's general conceptions of the adolescent identity process (Marcia, 1966, 1980). Following one of Erikson's ideas, Marcia argues that adolescent identity formation has two key parts:

a crisis and a commitment. By a *crisis*, Marcia means a period of decision-making when old values and old choices are reexamined. This may occur as a sort of upheaval—the classic notion of a crisis—or it may occur gradually. The outcome of the reevaluation is a *commitment* to some specific role, value, goal, or ideology.

If you put these two elements together, as shown in Figure 12.1, you can see that four different *identity statuses* are possible.



- **Identity achievement:** The person has been through a crisis and has reached a commitment to ideological, occupational, or other goals.
- **Moratorium:** A crisis is in progress, but no commitment has yet been made.
- **Foreclosure:** The person has made a commitment without having gone through a crisis. No reassessment of old positions has been made. Instead, the young person has simply accepted a parentally or culturally defined commitment.
- **Identity diffusion:** The young person is not in the midst of a crisis (although there may have been one in the past) and has not made a commitment. Diffusion may thus represent either an early stage in the process (before a crisis) or a failure to reach a commitment after a crisis.

The whole process of identity formation may occur later than Erikson and Marcia thought, perhaps because cognitive development is more strongly related to identity formation than either believed. Research suggests that teens who are most advanced in the development of logical thinking and other information-processing skills are also the most likely to have attained Marcia's status of identity achievement (Klaczynski, Fauth, & Swanger, 1998).

There is also evidence that the quest for personal identity continues throughout the lifespan, with alternating periods of instability and stability (Marcia, 2002). For example, a person's sense of being "young" or "old" and her integration of that idea into a sense of belonging to a particular generation appear to change several times over the course of the adolescent and adult years (Sato, Shimonska, Nakazato, & Kawaai, 1997). Consequently, adolescence may be only one period of identity formation among several.

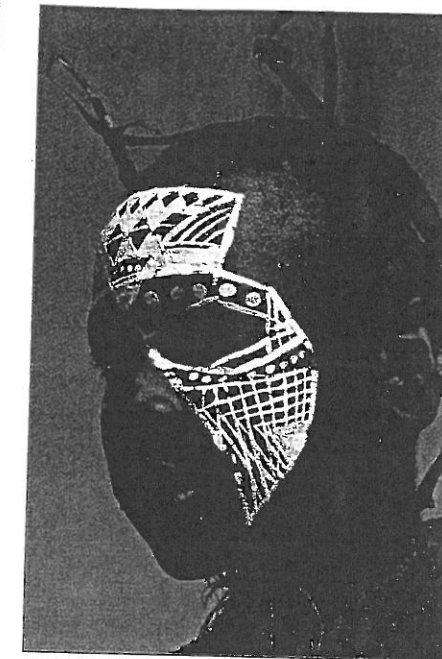
Some research suggests that individuals who have attained Marcia's identity achievement status sometimes regress to other categories (Berzonsky, 2003). This may happen because the achievement status may not be the most adaptive one in every situation. For example, teenagers facing extreme stressors, such as life-threatening illnesses, seem to be most optimally adjusted when they adopt the status of foreclosure (Madan-Swain et al., 2000). Accept-

identity achievement in Marcia's theory, the identity status achieved by a person who has been through a crisis and reached a commitment to ideological or occupational goals

moratorium in Marcia's theory, the identity status of a person who is in a crisis but who has made no commitment

foreclosure in Marcia's theory, the identity status of a person who has made a commitment without having gone through a crisis; the person has simply accepted a parentally or culturally defined commitment

identity diffusion in Marcia's theory, the identity status of a person who is not in the midst of a crisis and who has made no commitment



In the Jewish ceremony called bar mitzvah (for boys) or bat mitzvah (for girls), 13-year-olds read from the Torah in Hebrew and are admitted to full adult status in the congregation. The Tanzanian boy has had his face painted with white clay as part of an adolescent rite of passage.

ing others' goals for them, at least temporarily, seems to protect these teens against some of the negative emotional effects of the difficulties they must face. Thus, the idea that progression to identity achievement is the most psychologically healthy response to the identity crisis clearly doesn't apply to some adolescents.

As you might suspect, ideas about adolescent identity development and the kinds of experiences that drive it are firmly rooted in cultural assumptions. For example, in the United States, both parents and teenagers tend to believe that paid employment during adolescence helps adolescents sort out the career-selection aspects of identity development (Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986). Predictably, cross-cultural studies show that teens in the United States spend a great deal more time working than do their peers in other industrialized nations (Larson & Verma, 1999) (see the Research Report on page 345). Such cultural beliefs and the experiences that flow from them are likely to affect the process of identity development.

Clearly, too, the whole concept of an adolescent identity crisis has been strongly influenced by current cultural assumptions in Western societies, in which full adult status is postponed for almost a decade after puberty. In such cultures, young people do not normally or necessarily adopt the same roles or occupations as their parents. Indeed, they are encouraged to choose for themselves. These adolescents are faced with what may be a bewildering array of options, a pattern that might well foster the sort of identity crisis Erikson described. In less industrialized cultures, there may well be a shift in identity from that of child to that of adult, but without a crisis of any kind. Further, adolescents' search for identity in other cultures may be better supported by cultural initiation rites that clearly, at least in a symbolic sense, separate childhood from adulthood.

Critical Thinking

1. The implication in Marcia's formulation is that foreclosure is a less developmentally mature status—that one must go through a crisis in order to achieve a mature identity. Does this make sense to you? What is your current identity status? Has it changed much over the past few years?

Self-Concept

In Chapter 11, you read that thinking becomes more abstract in adolescence. Thus, you shouldn't be surprised to find that teenagers' self-concepts are a lot more complex than those of younger children.

In what way does self-understanding in adolescence differ from that in childhood?

Self-Understanding

You should remember that, through the elementary school years, the child's self-concept becomes more focused on enduring internal characteristics—the psychological self. This trend continues in adolescence, with self-definition becoming more abstract. Advances in self-understanding among adolescents are both facilitated by and contribute to the increasing stability of the Big Five personality traits during this period. As a result, enduring traits such as shyness, or *introversion* in Big Five terminology, show up in adolescents' self-descriptions far more often than they do in those of younger children. This change was evident in the replies of a 9-year-old and an 11-year-old to the question "Who am I?" that you may recall from Chapter 10. Internal traits are even more pronounced in this 17-year-old's answer to the same question:

I am a human being. I am a girl. I am an individual. I don't know who I am. I am a Pisces. I am a moody person. I am an indecisive person. I am an ambitious person. I am a very curious person. I am not an individual. I am a loner. I am an American (God help me). I am a Democrat. I am a liberal person. I am a radical. I am a conservative. I am a pseudoliberal. I am an atheist. I am not a classifiable person (i.e., I don't want to be). (Montemayor & Eisen, 1977, p. 318)

Clearly, this girl's self-concept is even less tied to her physical characteristics or even her abilities than are those of younger children. She is describing abstract traits or ideology.

You can see the change very graphically in Figure 12.2, which is based on the answers of all 262 participants in Montemayor and Eisen's study. Each of the answers to the "Who am I?" question was categorized as a reference either to physical properties ("I am tall," "I have blue eyes") or to ideology ("I am a Democrat," "I believe in God"). As you can see, appearance was a highly prominent dimension in the preteen and early teen years but became less dominant in late adolescence, a time when ideology and belief became more important. By late adolescence, most teenagers think of themselves in terms of enduring traits, beliefs, personal philosophy, and moral standards (Damon & Hart, 1988).

At the same time, the adolescent's self-concept becomes more differentiated, as she comes to see herself somewhat differently in each of several roles: as a student, with friends, with parents, and in romantic relationships (Harter & Monsour, 1992). Once these self-concepts are formed, they begin to influence adolescents' behavior. For example, teens whose academic self-concepts are strong take more difficult courses in high school than do teens who believe themselves to be less academically able. Further, they tend to select courses in disciplines in which they believe they have the greatest ability and to avoid courses in perceived areas of weakness (Marsh & Yeung, 1997).

Adolescents' academic self-concepts seem to come both from internal comparisons of their performance to a self-generated ideal and from external comparisons to peer performance (Bong, 1998). It also appears that perceived competency in one domain affects how a

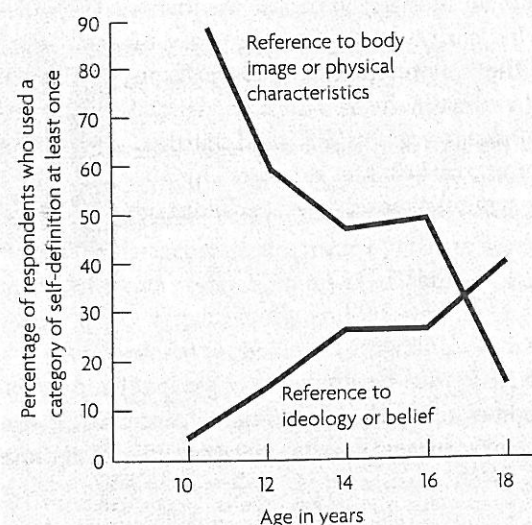
teenager feels about his ability in other areas. For example, if a high school student fails a math course, it is likely to affect his self-concept in other disciplines as well as in math. This suggests that teens' self-concepts are hierarchical in nature: Perceived competencies in various domains serve as building blocks for creating a global academic self-concept (Cheng, Xiaoyan, Dajun, 2006; Yeung, Chui, & Lau, 1999).

Social self-concepts also predict behavior. For example, a teenager's family self-concept reflects his beliefs about the likelihood of attaining and/or maintaining satisfactory rela-

Figure 12.2
Changes in Teens' Self-Descriptions

As they get older, children and adolescents define themselves less and less by what they look like and more and more by what they believe or feel.

(Source: Montemayor & Eisen, 1977, from Table 1, p. 316.)



The Effects of Teenaged Employment

In the United States, surveys of teenagers suggest that deciding on a career is one of the central themes of adolescent identity development (Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, Holmes, & Shanahan, 2002). Moreover, many teens believe that engaging in part-time work during high school will help them with this aspect of identity achievement. Parents, too, often encourage their adolescent children to obtain part-time employment on the grounds that it "builds character" and teaches young people about "real life."

Are American teens and parents right about such beneficial effects of work? Research involving individuals who graduated from high school in the late 1980s and 1990s revealed that the more hours participants worked during high school, the more likely they were to use drugs (alcohol, cigarettes, marijuana, cocaine), to display aggression toward peers, to argue with parents, to get inadequate sleep, and to be dissatisfied with life. (Bachman & Schulenberg, 1993; Bachman, Safran, Sy, & Schulenberg, 2003). Moreover, as adults, indi-

viduals who worked while in high school were less likely than peers who did not work to go to college. Thus working may actually decrease teens' chances for successful careers during adulthood, precisely the opposite of what many adolescents and parents believe.

A quite different answer to the question of the impact of teenaged employment comes from studies that take into consideration the kind of work teenagers do, as well as how many hours they spend on the job (Mortimer & Finch, 1996; Mortimer, Finch, Dennehy, Lee, & Beebe, 1995; Mortimer & Harley, 2002). These findings indicate that unskilled work is much more likely to be associated with poor outcomes than is complex, skilled work. They also suggest that adolescents who have skill-based work experiences develop increased feelings of competence. In addition, those students who see themselves as gaining useful skills through their work also seem to develop confidence in their ability to achieve economic success in adulthood (Grabowski, Call, & Mortimer, 2001).

It is not clear how we should add up the results of these several studies. At the very least, this mixture of results should make parents think twice before encouraging teenagers to work. However, parents need to consider the quality of work a teen will do before assuming that a job will negatively affect his or her development.

Questions for Critical Analysis

1. Teen employment may be correlated with developmental outcomes because teens who work differ from those who do not in ways that are also related to such outcomes. What variables do you think might distinguish teens who choose to work from their peers who don't have jobs?
2. Are there developmental outcomes that have not been addressed by the research described in this discussion that you think might be positively affected by teen employment?

tionships with family members. Developmentalists have found that adolescents who are estranged from their families, such as runaways, perceive themselves to be less competent in the give-and-take of family relations than teens who are close to parents and siblings (Swaim & Bracken, 1997). Indeed, the perceived lack of competency in family relations appears to be distinct from other components of self-concept.

Girls and boys also appear to construct the various components of self-concept somewhat differently. For example, a study of teens' evaluations of their own writing abilities found that boys and girls rated themselves as equally capable writers (Pajares & Valiante, 1999). However, the girls scored higher on objective tests of writing ability. In addition, the girls were more likely to describe themselves as being better writers than their peers of both genders. The boys, by contrast, seemed to perceive few ability differences in their peers. In other words, the boys believed they were good writers, but they also thought that their classmates were as good as they were.

Such findings are predictable, given the information in the previous section about girls being influenced by both internal and external comparisons while boys attend more to internal, self-defined standards. The findings also raise interesting questions about the degree to which self-concept development is influenced by cultural ideas about sex roles. Perhaps girls pay more attention to their own and others' writing skills because they know that girls are supposed to be better at language skills than boys.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem shows some interesting shifts during the teenaged years. The overall trend is a steady rise in self-esteem through the years of adolescence. The average 19- or 20-year-old has a considerably more positive sense of her global self-worth than she did at age 8 or 11 (Diehl, Vicary, & Deike, 1997; Harter, 1990; Wigfield, Eccles, MacIver,

How does self-esteem change across the teenage years?

Reuman, & Midgley, 1991). However, the rise to higher self-esteem during adolescence is not continuous. At the beginning of adolescence, self-esteem very often drops rather abruptly. In one study, developmentalists followed a group of nearly 600 Hispanic American, African American, and white youngsters over the 2 years from sixth grade to junior high (Seidman, Allen, Aber, Mitchell, & Feinman, 1994). Researchers found a significant average drop in self-esteem over that period, a decline that occurred in each of the three ethnic groups.

To study the relationship of self-esteem to important developmental outcomes, such as school achievement, researchers often divide teens into four groups based on the stability of their self-esteem ratings across adolescence (Diehl et al., 1997; Zimmerman, Copeland, Shope, & Dielman, 1997). The largest group, about half in most studies, displays consistently high self-esteem throughout adolescence. The self-esteem of those in the second group steadily increases, and the self-esteem ratings of those in the third group are consistently low. Teens in the fourth group enjoy moderate to high self-esteem at the beginning of the period, but it declines steadily as adolescence progresses. One finding of concern is that girls outnumber boys in the third and fourth groups (Zimmerman et al., 1997). In addition, several studies have found that high self-esteem is correlated with positive developmental outcomes. For example, teens with high self-esteem are better able to resist peer pressure, get higher grades in school, and are less likely to be depressed (Repetto et al., 2004). You may also remember from Chapter 11 that such teens are less likely to become involved in substance abuse or early sexual intercourse.

Learning Objective 12.5

What are the gender role concepts of adolescents?

Gender Roles

Developmentalists use the term **gender role identity** to refer to gender-related aspects of the psychological self. In contrast to younger children, adolescents understand that gender roles are social conventions, so their attitudes toward them are more flexible (Katz & Ksansnak, 1994). Parental attitudes and parental behavior become increasingly important in shaping teens' ideas about gender and sex roles (Castellino, Lerner, Lerner, & von Eye, 1998; Ex & Janssens, 1998; Jackson & Tein, 1998; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). In addition, concepts that were largely separate earlier in development, such as beliefs about gender roles and sexuality, seem to become integrated into a conceptual framework that teens use to formulate ideas about the significance of gender in personal identity and social relationships (Mallet, Apostolidis, & Paty, 1997).

In the early days of research on gender role identity, psychologists conceived of masculinity and femininity as polar opposites. A person could be masculine or feminine, but couldn't be both. However, theories first advanced in the 1970s by Sandra Bem and others have resulted in a large body of research in support of the notion that masculinity and femininity are separate dimensions and each may be found in varying quantities in the personalities of both men and women (Bem, 1974; Spence &

Helmreich, 1978). A male or a female can be high or low on masculinity, femininity, or both. Indeed, if people are categorized as high or low on each of these two dimensions, based on their self-descriptions, four basic gender role types emerge: *masculine*, *feminine*, *androgynous*, and *undifferentiated* (see Figure 12.3).

The masculine and feminine types are the traditional categories; a person in either of these categories sees himself or herself as high in one and low in the other. A "masculine" teenager or adult, according to this view, is thus one who perceives himself (or herself) as having many traditional masculine qualities and few traditional feminine qualities. A feminine teenager or adult shows the reverse pattern. In contrast, androgynous individuals see themselves as having

both masculine and feminine traits; undifferentiated individuals describe themselves as lacking both.

Interestingly, research suggests that either an androgynous or a masculine gender role identity is associated with higher self-esteem among both boys and girls (Gurnáková & Kusá, 2004; Woo & Dei, 2006). This finding makes sense in light of the existence of a "masculine bias" in American and other Western societies, which causes both men and women to value traditionally masculine qualities such as independence and competitiveness more than many traditionally female qualities.

However, cross-cultural research suggests that adoption of an androgynous or masculine orientation by a girl can lead to lower self-esteem. For example, one study of Israeli girls found that pre-teens who were tomboys and who rated themselves high on masculine personality traits were less popular and had lower self-esteem than their more feminine peers (Lobel, Slone, & Winch, 1997). Consequently, when considering gender roles and gender role identity, it is important to remember that both are very strongly tied to culture. A particular society may value the masculine role more highly but also actively discourage girls from adopting it. Thus, it may not be universally true that teens who adopt the more highly valued gender role identity gain self-esteem.



Teenaged boys like these may have an easier time achieving high self-esteem than girls of the same age, because both boys and girls seem to place a higher value on certain traditionally "masculine" qualities than on traditionally "feminine" qualities.

Ethnic Identity

Minority teenagers, especially those of color in a predominantly White culture, face the task of creating two identities in adolescence. Like other teens, they must develop a sense of individual identity that they believe sets them apart from others. In addition, they must develop an **ethnic identity** that includes self-identification as a member of their specific group, commitment to that group and its values and attitudes, and some attitudes (positive or negative) about the group to which they belong. Many minority families support children's ethnic identity development by providing them with specific teaching about how their group differs from the dominant one. Similarly, some families who speak a language different from that of the dominant group support children's ethnic identity development by teaching them the language of their home country. Researchers have found that minority teenagers whose families engage in such practices are likely to develop a strong sense of ethnic identity (Davey, Fish, Askew, & Robila, 2003; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001).

Psychologist Jean Phinney has proposed that, in adolescence, the development of a complete ethnic identity moves through three stages (Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). The first stage is an *unexamined ethnic identity*. For some subgroups in U.S. society, such as African Americans and Native Americans, this unexamined identity typically includes the negative images and stereotypes common in the wider culture (see The Real World on page 349). Indeed, it may be especially at adolescence, with the advent of the cognitive ability to reflect and interpret, that the young person becomes keenly aware of how his own group is perceived by the majority.

Phinney's second stage is the *ethnic identity search*. This search is typically triggered by some experience that makes ethnicity relevant—perhaps an example of blatant prejudice or merely the widening experience of high school. At this point, the young person begins to compare his own ethnic group with others, to try to arrive at his own judgments.

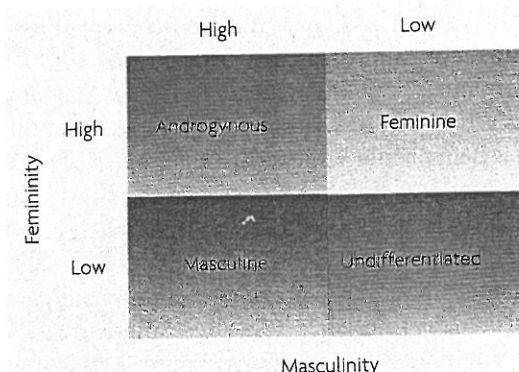
This exploration stage is eventually followed by the *ethnic identity achievement* stage in which adolescents develop strategies for solving conflicts between the competing demands of the dominant culture and those of the ethnic group with which they identify. Most deal with such conflicts by creating two identities, one that they display when they are in the presence of members of the dominant group and another that they exhibit when they are with members of their own group.

Learning Objective 12.6

How do minority, biracial, and immigrant teens develop a sense of ethnic identity?

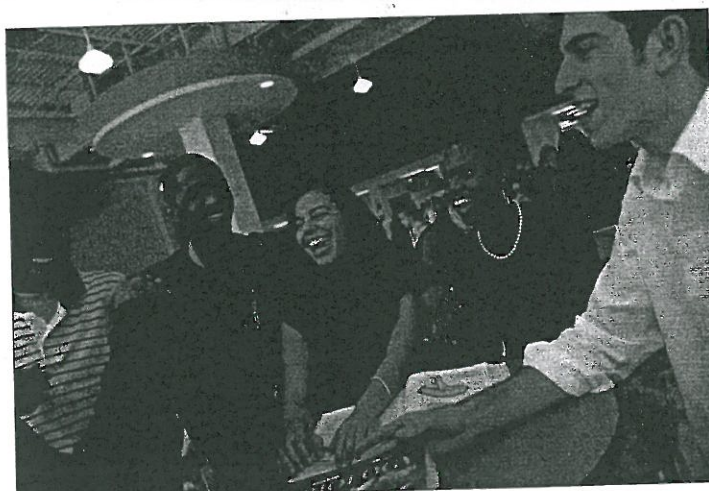
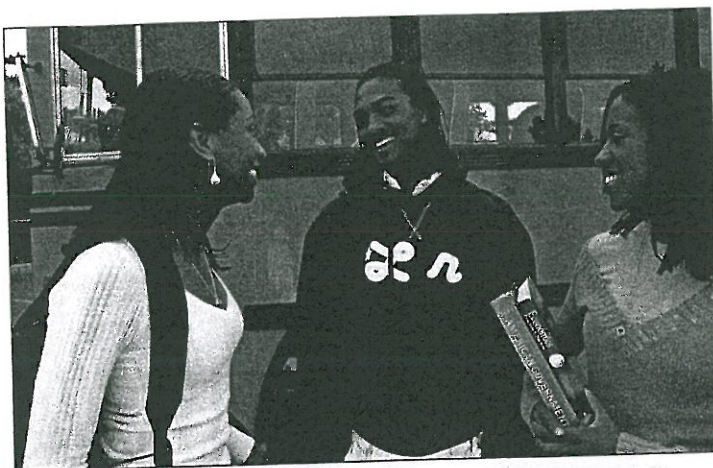
Figure 12.3
Bem's Gender Role Categories

This diagram illustrates how the dimensions of masculinity and femininity interact to produce four types of sex-role orientation.



gender role identity the gender-related aspects of the psychological self

ethnic identity a sense of belonging to an ethnic group



Young people of color often develop two identities: a psychological sense of self and an ethnic identity. Those who succeed at both tasks often think of themselves as "bicultural" and have an easier time relating to peers of the same and other ethnicities.

In both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies, Phinney has found that African American teens and young adults do indeed move through these steps or stages toward a clear ethnic identity. The "bicultural" orientation of the last stage has been found to be a consistent characteristic of adolescents and adults who have high self-esteem and enjoy good relations with members of both the dominant culture and their own ethnic group (Yamada & Singelis, 1999).

Biracial Adolescents Biracial adolescents experience a different pathway to ethnic identity, one that highlights the difference between the biological aspects of race and the psychosocial nature of ethnic identity. Studies showing that biracial siblings often develop different ethnic identities highlight this distinction. To explain these surprising findings, psychologist Maria Root, who has studied identity development in biracial teens for two decades, has proposed a theoretical model that includes four sets of factors that interact with a biracial adolescent's personality to shape the development of her ethnic identity.

Hazing and the emotional trauma that it engenders represent one factor. Often, Root says, biracial teens are challenged to prove their "authenticity" by the racial group of one parent. Such challenges force them to adopt new music and clothing preferences, change their speech patterns, and reject peers who represent their other parent's group. This kind of hazing, says Root,

leads biracial teens to reject the group by whom they are hazed, even if, for the sake of social survival, they outwardly appear to have conformed to it.

Family and neighborhood variables constitute the second and third factors. If a biracial teen is abused or rejected by a parent, she tends to reject the ethnicity of that parent. Moreover, if a biracial adolescent grows up in a neighborhood in which the ethnic group of one of her parents is highly dominant, she is likely to adopt the ethnicity of that dominant group. The fourth factor that influences ethnic identity development in biracial teens is the presence of other salient identities. For example, for teens growing up in military families, the identity of "Army brat" or "Air Force brat" supersedes ethnic identity.

Immigrant Teens Adolescents in immigrant families often feel caught between the culture of their parents and that of their new homes. For example, cultures that emphasize the community rather than the individual view teens' acceptance of family responsibilities as a sign of maturity. A question such as whether a teen should get a job is decided in terms of family needs. If the family needs money, the adolescent might be encouraged to work. However, if the family needs the teenager to care for younger siblings while the parents work, then a part-time job is likely to be forbidden. By contrast, most American parents think that part-time jobs help teens mature and allow their children to work even if their doing so inconveniences the parents in some way. As a result, the immigrant teen feels that his parents are preventing him from fitting in with his American peers.

Research involving Asian American teenagers helps to illustrate this point. Psychologists have found that first-generation Asian American teens often feel guilty about responding to the individualistic pressures of North American culture. Their feelings of guilt appear to be based on their parents' cultural norms, which hold that the most mature adolescents are those who take a greater role in the family rather than trying to separate from it (Chen, 1999). Thus, for many Asian American adolescents, achievement of personal and ethnic identity involves balancing the individualistic demands of North American culture against the familial obligations

THE REAL WORLD

Role Models in Life and in the Media

Like many youngsters, Chérie idolizes professional athletes. Her current heroine is professional tennis star Serena Williams. Like her idol, Chérie is African American, and she is inspired not only by Williams's dynamic style of play, but also by the fact that Williams has become a star in what was once an all-White sport. Interestingly, Chérie's uncle is a professor of English literature at an ethnically diverse private college. He, too, has achieved success in a profession that was at one time closed to minorities. So, why does Chérie idolize Serena Williams and other professional athletes rather than her own uncle and others like him? This question has been examined by researchers who are concerned about the ways in which media portrayals of African Americans in various occupational roles influence children's career aspirations.

A good illustration of the complex nature of the influence of models comes from research examining African American children's ideas about which adults they consider to be their role models. Researchers conducted a survey in which 4,500 African American boys aged 10 to 18 were

asked to name an important role model outside their own families (Assibey-Mensah, 1997). Investigators thought that these boys would name teachers as important role models because of their frequent interactions with them. However, a large majority of the boys named a professional athlete, and not a single boy named a teacher as an important personal role model (which is astounding when you think of the number of boys who participated in the study). These findings suggest that entertainment media are a more important source of role models for these youths than their real-life experiences with adults. Clearly, neither frequency of interaction with a model nor similarity between the observer and the model explain these findings. However, comparisons of portrayals of teachers to those of athletes in media may help explain why these boys responded as they did.

News reports about public education often characterize schools with large proportions of minority students as failures. The implication is that teachers in such schools are ineffective. Fictional teachers are often portrayed as inept, and

many popular TV programs geared to young audiences (for example, "South Park" and "The Simpsons") depict teachers and other school officials as buffoons who are not respected by their students. In contrast, stories about both real and fictional athletes are dominated by themes of fame, wealth, popularity, and achievements such as league championships and record-breaking statistics. Considering the contrast between the two, it isn't surprising that African American boys prefer athletes as role models rather than teachers, even though they know many teachers and most likely have themselves no personal interactions with professional athletes.

Questions for Reflection

1. How might frequent interaction make it less likely that someone would be viewed by a child as a role model?
2. In your opinion, to what extent are the concerns highlighted by these researchers equally true for children of other ethnicities?

of their parents' cultures. Consequently, many teens in immigrant families develop a bicultural identity (Farver, Bradha, & Narang, 2002; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

Moral Development

As you read in Chapter 10, theorists representing various orientations think differently about moral development. However, the theorist whose work has had the most powerful impact has been psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg (Bergman, 2002; Colby et al., 1983; Kohlberg, 1976, 1981). Moreover, theories of moral reasoning have been important in explanations of adolescent antisocial behavior.

Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Reasoning

You may recall from Chapter 10 that Piaget proposed two stages in the development of moral reasoning. Working from Piaget's basic assumptions, Kohlberg devised a way of measuring moral reasoning based on research participants' responses to moral dilemmas such as the following:

In Europe, a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the druggist was charging ten times what the drug cost him to make. He paid \$200 for the radium and charged \$2000 for a small dose of the drug. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about \$1000. . . . He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said, "No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it." So Heinz got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife. (Kohlberg & Elfenbein, 1975, p. 621)

Learning Objective 12.7

What are the features of moral reasoning at each of Kohlberg's stages?

Table 12.1 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development

Level	Stages	Description
Level I: Preconventional	Stage 1: Punishment and Obedience Orientation	The child or teenager decides what is wrong on the basis of what is punished. Obedience is valued for its own sake, but the child obeys because the adults have superior power.
	Stage 2: Individualism, Instrumental Purpose, and Exchange	Children and teens follow rules when it is in their immediate interest. What is good is what brings pleasant results.
Level II: Conventional	Stage 3: Mutual Interpersonal Expectations, Relationships, and Interpersonal Conformity	Moral actions are those that live up to the expectations of the family or other significant group. "Being good" becomes important for its own sake.
	Stage 4: Social System and Conscience (Law and Order)	Moral actions are those so defined by larger social groups or the society as a whole. One should fulfill duties one has agreed to and uphold laws, except in extreme cases.
Level III: Postconventional	Stage 5: Social Contract or Utility and Individual Rights	This stage involves acting so as to achieve the "greatest good for the greatest number." The teenager or adult is aware that most values are relative and laws are changeable, although rules should be upheld in order to preserve the social order. Still, there are some basic absolute values, such as the importance of each person's life and liberty.
	Stage 6: Universal Ethical Principles	The small number of adults who reason at stage 6 develop and follow self-chosen ethical principles in determining what is right. These ethical principles are part of an articulated, integrated, carefully thought-out, and consistently followed system of values and principles.

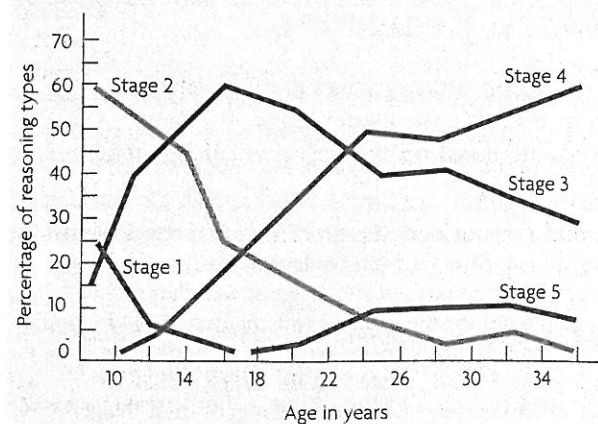
(Sources: Kohlberg, 1976; Lickona, 1978.)

Kohlberg analyzed participants' answers to questions about such dilemmas (for example, "Should Heinz have stolen the drug? Why?") and concluded that there were three levels of moral development, each made up of two substages, as summarized in Table 12.1. It is important to understand that what determines the stage or level of a person's moral judgment is not any specific moral choice but the form of reasoning used to justify that choice. For example, either response to Kohlberg's dilemma—that Heinz should steal the drug or that he should not—could be justified with logic at any given stage.

Figure 12.4
Colby and Kohlberg's
Longitudinal Study of
Moral Reasoning

These findings are from Colby and Kohlberg's long-term longitudinal study of a group of boys who were asked about Kohlberg's moral dilemmas every few years from age 10 through early adulthood. As they got older, the stage or level of their answers changed, with conventional reasoning appearing fairly widely at high school age. Postconventional, or principled, reasoning was not very common at any age.

(Source: Figure of "longitudinal study of moral judgement" by A. Colby et al., Figure 1, p. 46, © The Society for Research in Child Development. Reprinted by permission.)



Age and Moral Reasoning

The stages are correlated somewhat loosely with age. Very few children reason beyond stage 1 or 2, and stage 2 and stage 3 reasoning are the types most commonly found among adolescents (Walker, de Vries, & Trevethan, 1987). Among adults, stages 3 and 4 are the most common (Gibson, 1990). Two research examples illustrate these overall age trends. The first, shown in Figure 12.4, comes from Kohlberg's own longitudinal study of 58 boys, first interviewed when they were

10 and then followed for more than 20 years (Colby et al., 1983). Figure 12.5 shows cross-sectional data from a study by Lawrence Walker and his colleagues (1987). They studied 10 boys and 10 girls at each of four ages, interviewing the parents of each child as well. The results of these two studies, although not identical, point to remarkably similar conclusions about the order of emergence of the various stages and about the approximate ages at which they predominate. In both studies, stage 2 reasoning dominates at around age 10, and stage 3 reasoning is most common at about age 16.

Preconventional Reasoning At level I, **preconventional morality**, the child's judgments are based on sources of authority who are close by and physically superior—usually the parents. Just as descriptions of others are largely external at this level, so the standards the child uses to judge rightness or wrongness are external rather than internal. In particular, it is the outcome or consequence of an action that determines the rightness or wrongness of the action.

In stage 1 of this level—*punishment and obedience orientation*—the child relies on the physical consequences of some action to decide whether it is right or wrong. If he is punished, the behavior was wrong; if he is not punished, it was right. He is obedient to adults because they are bigger and stronger.

In stage 2—*individualism, instrumental purpose, and exchange*—the child or adolescent operates on the principle that you should do things that are rewarded and avoid things that are punished. For this reason, the stage is sometimes called *naive hedonism*. If it feels good or brings pleasant results, it is good. Some beginning of concern for other people is apparent during this stage, but only if that concern can be expressed as something that benefits the child or teenager himself as well. So he can enter into agreements such as "If you help me, I'll help you."

To illustrate, here are some responses to variations of the Heinz dilemma, drawn from studies of children and teenagers in a number of different cultures, all of whom were at stage 2:

He should steal the [drug] for his wife because if she dies he'll have to pay for the funeral, and that costs a lot. [Taiwan]

[He should steal the drug because] he should protect the life of his wife so he doesn't have to stay alone in life. [Puerto Rico] (Snarey, 1985, p. 221)

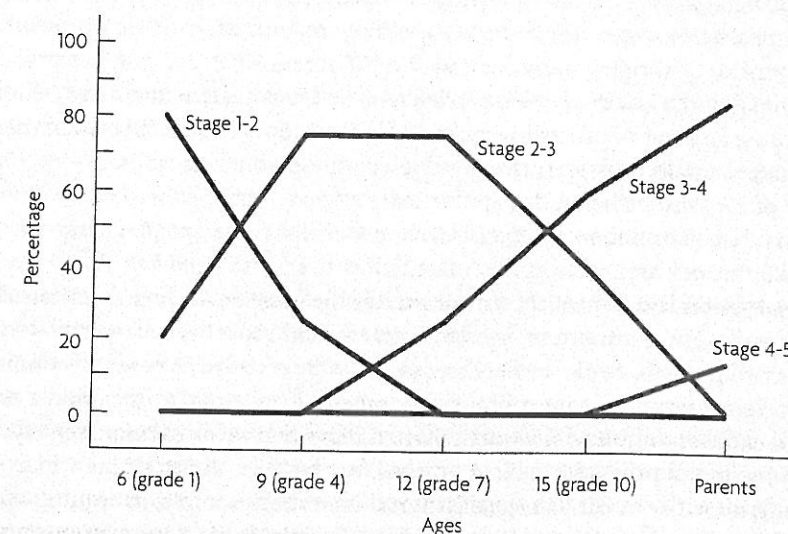
Conventional Reasoning At the next major level, the level of **conventional morality**, rules or norms of a group to which the individual belongs become the basis of moral judgments, whether that group is the family, the peer group, a church, or the nation. What the chosen reference group defines as right or good is right or good in the individual's view. Again, very few children exhibit conventional thinking, but many adolescents are capable of this kind of moral reasoning.

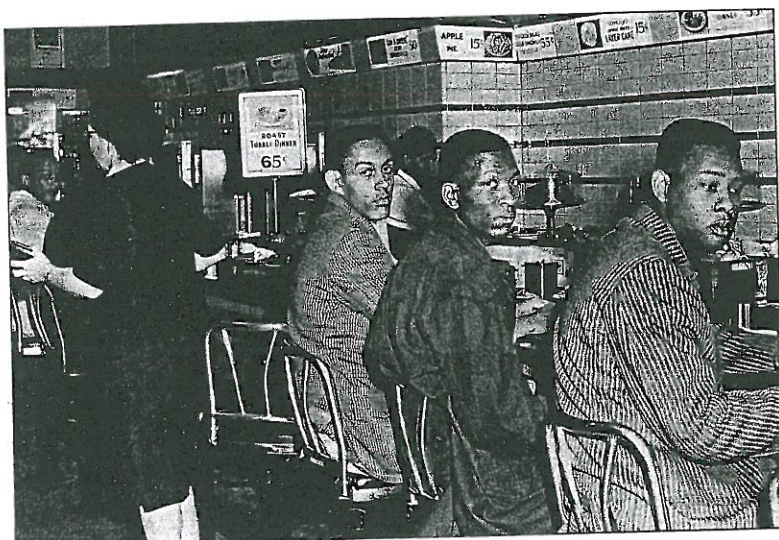
preconventional morality in Kohlberg's theory, the level of moral reasoning in which judgments are based on authorities outside the self

conventional morality in Kohlberg's theory, the level of moral reasoning in which judgments are based on rules or norms of a group to which the person belongs

Figure 12.5
Percentages of Children
and Parents Who Show
Moral Reasoning at Each
of Kohlberg's Stages

(Source: Walker et al., from Table 1, p. 849, "Moral stages and moral orientations in real-life and hypothetical dilemmas," *Child Development*, 60 [1987], 842–858. By permission of the Society for Research in Child Development.)





Civil disobedience involves intentionally breaking laws one believes to be immoral. For example, in the early years of the U.S. civil rights movement, African Americans broke laws that excluded them from certain sections of restaurants by "sitting in" at Whites-only lunch counters. Practitioners of civil disobedience do not try to evade the consequences of their actions, because they believe in upholding the law as a general principle even though they may view some specific laws as immoral. Thus, the thinking that underlies acts of civil disobedience represents Kohlberg's postconventional level of moral reasoning.

postconventional morality in Kohlberg's theory, the level of moral reasoning in which judgments are based on an integration of individual rights and the needs of society

Stage 3 (the first stage of level II) is the stage of *mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships, and interpersonal conformity* (sometimes also called the *good boy/nice girl stage*). Regardless of age, individuals who reason at this stage believe that good behavior is what pleases other people. They value trust, loyalty, respect, gratitude, and maintenance of mutual relationships. Andy, a boy Kohlberg interviewed who was at stage 3, said:

I try to do things for my parents, they've always done things for you. I try to do everything my mother says, I try to please her. Like she wants me to be a doctor and I want to, too, and she's helping me get up there. (Kohlberg, 1964, p. 401)

Another mark of this third stage is that the individual makes judgments based on intentions as well as on outward behavior. If someone "didn't mean to do it," the wrongdoing is seen as less serious than if the person did it "on purpose."

Stage 4, the second stage of the conventional morality level, incorporates the norms of a larger reference group into moral judgments. Kohlberg labeled this the stage of social system and conscience. It is also sometimes called the *law-and-order orientation*. People reasoning at this stage focus on doing their duty, respecting authority, following rules and laws. The emphasis is less on what is pleasing to particular people (as in stage 3) and more on adhering to a complex set of regulations. However, the regulations themselves are not questioned, and morality and legality are assumed to be equivalent. Therefore, for a person at stage 4, something that is legal is right, whereas something that is illegal is wrong. Consequently, changes in law can effect changes in the moral views of individuals who reason at stage 4.

Postconventional Reasoning The transition to level III, *postconventional morality*, is marked by several changes, the most important of which is a shift in the source of authority. Individuals who reason at level I see authority as totally outside of themselves; at level II, the judgments or rules of external authorities are internalized, but they are not questioned or analyzed; at level III, a new kind of personal authority emerges, in which an individual makes choices and judgments based on self-chosen principles or on principles that are assumed to transcend the needs and concerns of any individual or group. Postconventional thinkers represent only a minority of adults and an even smaller minority of adolescents.

In stage 5 at this level, which Kohlberg called the *social contract orientation*, such self-chosen principles begin to be evident. Rules, laws, and regulations are not seen as irrelevant; they are important ways of ensuring fairness. But people operating at this level also acknowledge that there are times when the rules, laws, and regulations need to be ignored or changed.

The American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s is a good example of stage 5 reasoning in action. *Civil disobedience*—deliberately breaking laws that were believed to be immoral—arose as a way of protesting racial segregation. For example, in restaurants, African Americans intentionally took seats that were reserved for Whites. It is important to note that the practice of civil disobedience does not usually involve avoiding the penalties that accompany criminal behavior. Indeed, some of the most effective and poignant images from that period of U.S. history are photographs of individuals who surrendered and were jailed for breaking segregation laws. This behavior illustrates the stage 5 view that, as a general principle, upholding the law is important, even though a specific law that is deemed to be immoral can—or even should—be broken when breaking it will serve to promote the common good.

In his original writing about moral development, Kohlberg also included a sixth stage, *the universal ethical principles orientation*. Stage 6 reasoning involves balancing equally valid, but conflicting, moral principles against one another in order to determine which should be given precedence with respect to a specific moral issue. For example, in arguing against capital punishment, some people say that an individual's right to life is more important than society's right to exact justice from those who are convicted of heinous crimes. Such a claim

might or might not be an example of stage 6 reasoning. Remember, the key to assessing an individual's stage of moral development is to fully probe the reasoning behind his or her answer to a question about a moral dilemma. Sometimes this kind of probing reveals that arguments that, on first glance, appear to represent stage 6 thinking are actually based on the authority of a religious tradition or a highly respected individual, in which case the reasoning is conventional rather than postconventional. Occasionally, though, the individual making such an argument is able to explain it in terms of a universal ethical principle that must always be adhered to regardless of any other considerations. In the case of opposition to the death penalty, the universal ethical principle would be the idea that the maintenance of human life is the highest of all moral principles. Note, however, that a person reasoning at stage 6 would not argue that society has no right to punish criminals. Instead, he or she would say that, in situations where upholding such rights involves termination of a human life, the right to life of the person whose life would be ended takes precedence.

Kohlberg argued that this sequence of reasoning is both universal and hierarchically organized. That is, each stage grows out of the preceding one. Kohlberg did not suggest that all individuals eventually progress through all six stages—or even that each stage is tied to specific ages. But he insisted that the order is invariant and universal. He also believed that the social environment determines how slowly or rapidly individuals move through the stages.

The evidence seems fairly strong that the stages follow one another in the sequence Kohlberg proposed. Long-term longitudinal studies of teenagers and young adults in the United States, Israel, and Turkey show that changes in participants' reasoning nearly always occur in the hypothesized order (Colby et al., 1983; Nisan & Kohlberg, 1982; Snarey et al., 1985; Walker, 1989). People do not skip stages, and movement down the sequence rather than up occurs only about 5–7% of the time.

Variations of Kohlberg's dilemmas have been used with children in a wide range of countries, including both Western and non-Western, industrialized and non-industrialized (Snarey, 1985). In every culture, researchers find higher stages of reasoning among older children, but cultures differ in the highest level of reasoning observed. In urban cultures (both Western and non-Western), stage 5 is typically the highest stage observed; in agricultural societies and those in which there is little opportunity for formal education, stage 4 is typically the highest. Collectively, this evidence seems to provide quite strong support for the universality of Kohlberg's stage sequence.

Causes and Consequences of Moral Development

The most obvious reason for the general correlations between Kohlberg's stages and chronological age is cognitive development. Specifically, it appears that children must have a firm grasp of concrete operational thinking before they can develop or use conventional moral reasoning. Likewise, formal operational thinking appears to be necessary for advancement to the postconventional level.

To be more specific, Kohlberg and many other theorists suggest that the decline of egocentrism that occurs as an individual moves through Piaget's concrete and formal operational stages is the cognitive-developmental variable that matters most in moral reasoning. The idea is that the greater a child's or adolescent's ability to look at a situation from another person's perspective, the more advanced she is likely to be in moral reasoning. Psychologists use the term **role-taking** to refer to this ability (Selman, 1980). Research has provided strong support for the hypothesized link between role-taking and moral development (Kuhn, Kohlberg, Langer, & Haan, 1977; Walker, 1980).

Nevertheless, cognitive development isn't enough. Kohlberg thought that the development of moral reasoning also required support from the social environment. Specifically, he claimed that in order to foster mature moral reasoning, a child's or teenager's social environment must provide him with opportunities for meaningful, reciprocal dialogue about moral issues.

Learning Objective 12.8

What are some important causes and effects in the development of moral reasoning?

role-taking the ability to look at a situation from another person's perspective