

# Lifespan development

FOURTH AUSTRALASIAN EDITION

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## **BEGINNINGS**

One of the most influential thinkers of the twentieth century, Albert Einstein, is reputed to have said 'all that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity for the development accorded the individual'. Development from infancy into childhood, childhood into adolescence, adolescence into adulthood, and throughout the adult years depicts how individuals change in some ways while remaining the same in others. Some changes may be small and fleeting, whereas others are profound and longlasting. We continue to grow, develop and change as we encounter new experiences, which serve as stimuli for greater understanding of ourselves and others. Change and constancy are the subjects of life and they are part of a larger interdisciplinary field known as developmental science which encompasses all changes we experience throughout the lifespan (Lerner, 2011). Among the constancies, some (such as your shoe size) matter little to personal identity, whereas others (such as your gender) matter a lot. The mix of change and constancy is the subject of this text and of the field known as *lifespan development or developmental psychology*.

The study of lifespan development offers much insight into human nature — why we are what we are and how we became that way. Because describing development is a complex task, this text begins with three chapters that orient you to what lies ahead. The first two chapters explain the concept of development and describe some of the important tools of lifespan development and developmental psychology, namely the methods and theories that guide our understanding of the developmental changes that occur from conception through to old age. The third chapter describes the genetic basis of human life and the three major events that occur at the beginning of the lifespan: conception, prenatal development and birth. After completing these three chapters, you will be ready to begin exploring the main focus of lifespan development: people changing and growing throughout their lives.

## CHAPTER 1

# Studying development

#### **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

After studying this chapter, you should be able to:

- **1.1** describe what is meant by the term 'development'
- 1.2 clarify the reasons why development is studied, and its importance for teachers, nurses, midwives, early childhood educators, social workers and psychologists
- 1.3 compare how society's view of infancy, childhood and adolescence has changed over time
- 1.4 evaluate the general issues that are important in developmental psychology
- 1.5 explain how developmental psychologists study development
- 1.6 identify and explain the ethical considerations that should guide the study of development.

#### **OPENING SCENARIO**

How many childhood memories can you recall? Do you remember your preschool years where playtime seemed endless? Can you remember your primary school years where friends were important? Can you categorise your memories into family, schools and friends? What percentage make up each group and why? When thinking back, each of us remembers different details of our life and development, but we all experience a paradoxical quality about personal memories: when comparing the past and the present, we feel as though we have changed, yet also stayed the same. As a schoolchild, perhaps you loved spelling bees or contests. Now, as an adult, you no longer participate in spelling contests and have lost some of your childhood ability to figure out and remember truly unusual spellings. But perhaps you note, too, that you can still spell better than many adults of your age, and you seem to have a general knack for handling verbal information of



Change and continuity are both integral to the experience of life.

This young girl's love for the outdoors may be motivated by a passion for nature that stays with her throughout her life. As an adult, she may choose an outdoors job, and at an older age, she may enjoy walks in her local neighbourhood with her partner and

other kinds - perhaps computer languages - without getting mixed up. Imagine another example. As an adolescent you may have constantly wondered whether you would ever overcome shyness and be truly liked and respected by peers. As an adult, in contrast, you finally believe you have good, special friends, but maybe you also have to admit that it took effort to become sociable enough to acquire them.

Continuity in the midst of change marks every human life. Sometimes changes seem more obvious than continuities, such as when a speechless infant becomes a talkative preschooler, or when a child reaches puberty and becomes an adolescent. At other times, continuities seem more obvious than changes, such as when a 60 year old still feels like a 10 year old whenever he visits his elderly parents. But close scrutiny of examples like these suggests both factors may be operating, even when one of them is partially hidden. The 60 year old feels like a child again, but, at the same time, feels different from that child. The 50-year-old professional who is now preoccupied with her job still cares deeply about her family. Although the adolescent has reached puberty they are still searching for a sense of identity. It takes both continuity and change to be fully human. We are linked to our past as part of our historical connectedness, but we are neither locked into it nor fully determined by it.

## 1.1 The nature of development

**LEARNING OUTCOME 1.1** Describe what is meant by the term 'development'.

The processes of continuity and change throughout the lifespan are called human development, a concept that explores both changes and constancies in physical growth, feelings and ways of thinking. As we will see in later chapters, a focus on change may be appropriate at certain points in a person's life. A girl undergoing her first menstrual period, for example, may experience a number of important and sudden changes at the same time: her body begins looking different, she begins thinking of herself differently, and other people begin treating her differently. But at other times of life, continuity dominates over change. As a young adult settles into a job and family, life may seem rather stable from day to day, month to month, or even year to year. However, with the birth of a child, this stability can suddenly change and take on different dimensions. Lifespan development is the field of study that explores these patterns of stability, continuity, growth and change that occur throughout a person's life, from birth to death. Although this

definition seems simplistic, we need to look deeper at the intricacies and complexities of human life to fully understand lifespan development.

Both continuities and changes can take many forms. Changes can be relatively specific, such as when an infant takes their first unassisted step. Others can be rather general and unfold over a long time, such as when an older middle-aged adult gradually becomes more aware of their growing wisdom. The same can be said of continuities. Some last for only a short time compared to the decades-long span of life: a 12 year old who enjoys a certain style of rock music, for example, is likely to become a 16 year old who enjoys the same style of music; but not necessarily a 30 year old who does. Other continuities seemingly last a lifetime: an extroverted teenager — one who seeks and enjoys social companionship — is likely to still seek and enjoy companionship as a 40 year old and as an 80 year old.

These examples may make the notion of *lifespan development* seem very broad, but note that not every change or continuity is truly 'developmental'. Think about the impact of the weather. A sudden cold snap makes us behave differently: we put on warmer clothing and select indoor activities over outdoor ones. A continuous spell of cold weather, on the other hand, creates constancy in behaviour: we wear the same type of clothing for a period of time and engage in the same (indoor) set of activities repeatedly. In each case, our behaviour is triggered by relatively simple external events and has no lasting impact on other behaviours, feelings or thinking and so does not qualify as 'development'.

Conversely, sometimes aspects of development can occur, yet be overlooked or dismissed as something other than development. Personal identity or sense of self is an example. For each of us, our identity evolves and changes as we grow older and the changes affect our actions and feelings differently when they occur. So, our identity is undergoing patterns of growth, stability and change throughout our lives

Lifespan development researchers methodically apply scientific methods to develop theories about development, validate the accuracy of assumptions, and systematically investigate human development. A *theory* is a set of ordered, integrated statements that seek to explain, describe and predict human behaviour. *Developmentalists* are interested in how people grow and change, focusing on stability, continuity and consistency. They view development as a continuing process of growth, constancy and change.

## **Multiple domains of development**

As we have seen, human development can take many forms. For convenience of discussion, this text distinguishes among three major types, or **domains**, of development: physical, cognitive, and psychosocial. The organisation of the text reflects this division by alternating chapters about physical and cognitive changes with chapters about psychosocial changes. The domain of **physical development**, or biological change, includes changes in the body itself and how a person uses their body. Some of these changes may be noticeable to a casual observer, such as the difference in how a person walks when they are two, twenty and eighty years of age. Others may be essentially invisible without extended observation or even medical investigation, such as the difference in the ability to hear between a 40-year-old man and his 75-year-old father. Like other forms of development, physical changes can span very long periods — years or even decades — or very short periods. For example, changes in height and weight occur rather rapidly during the early teenage years but extremely slowly during middle age.

Cognitive development involves changes in methods and styles of thinking, language ability and language use, and strategies for remembering and recalling information. We tend to think of these abilities and skills as somewhat isolated within individuals; a person is said to 'have' a good memory, for example, as if he or she carries that skill around all the time and can display it anywhere with equal ease, no matter what the situation. As later chapters will discuss, these conceptions of cognitive development may be more convenient than accurate: memory, language and thinking are all heavily dependent on supports (and impediments) both from other people and from circumstances. A child

learns to read more easily, for example, if parents and teachers give lots of personal support for their efforts. In this sense, cognitive changes of reading 'belong' to the helpful adults as well as to the child who acquires them, and the changes are best understood as partially physical and social in nature, and not merely cognitive.





Changes happen in all domains at once - physical, cognitive and psychosocial. As this baby learns to walk, walking will become less of a goal as such and more of a means to other ends, as it is for this elderly man.

**Psychosocial development** is about changes in feelings or emotions as well as changes in relations with other people. It includes interactions with family, peers, classmates and coworkers, but it also includes a person's personal identity or sense of self. Because identity and social relationships evolve together, we often discuss them together in this text, and, as already pointed out, they also evolve in combination with physical and cognitive changes. A widower who forms satisfying friendships is apt to feel more competent than one who has difficulty doing so, and he is likely to stay healthier as well. Each domain — physical, cognitive and psychosocial — influences and relates to each of the others. The Multicultural view feature offers a cross-cultural perspective on parental acceptance and rejection, and shows how relationships can affect identity development.

#### **MULTICULTURAL VIEW**

#### Cross-cultural parental acceptance and rejection

Cross-cultural studies worldwide have confirmed the belief that children need acceptance - namely, love from parents and other attachment persons (Ali, Khaleque, & Rohner, 2015; Chyung & Lee, 2008; Khaleque, 2017; Khaleque & Rohner, 2002; Ripoll-Nunez & Alvarez, 2008; Rohner, 2014;

Rohner & Britner, 2002; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2012; Rohner, Melendez, & Kraimer-Rickaby, 2008). Regardless of age, gender or ethnicity, individuals report specific forms of psychological maladjustment. Perceiving themselves to be rejected, individuals are more inclined to develop depression, substance abuse, behaviour and mental health-related issues. Also, investigations have found that universally the perceptions of acceptance and rejection by adults and children are organised around four aspects of behaviour: warmth/affection (coldness/lack of affection), hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect and undifferentiated rejection.



Findings across cultures show that parental acceptance is strongly associated with high self-esteem, independence and emotional stability in children throughout the lifespan.

Parents can vary across and within cultures in the way in which they are accepting or rejecting of their children, particularly when resettling and parenting in a different environment or context (Deng, 2016; Deng & Marlowe, 2013; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2012). Parents can express acceptance verbally through praise, compliments and support, or non-verbally through hugging, approving glances and smiling. Like acceptance, parents can express rejection verbally (bullying or harsh criticism) or non-verbally (hitting, smacking, shaking or simply neglecting). Worldwide interest in this phenomenon had led to the development of the parental acceptance—rejection theory (PART).

Parental acceptance-rejection theory (PART) is a socialisation theory that attempts to predict major psychological and environmental conditions whereby parents worldwide are likely to accept or reject their children (Rohner, 1980, 2014, 2016; Rohner, Khalegue, & Cournoyer, 2012; Rohner, Melendez, & Kraimer-Rickaby, 2008). This theory focuses mainly on the expressions, impact and origins of parental love. Parental acceptance and rejection were once considered polar opposites of a single dimension, and they are clearly related. However, like positive and negative affect, they can be measured independently and have somewhat independent effects. A parent who is often loving can also sometimes be harsh or even abusive (Pettit, 1997). However, in a recent study Tu, Gregson, Erath, and Pettit (2017) investigated whether parenting behaviours influenced adolescent adjustment to their peers and their peer status. The parenting behaviours studied included facilitating peer interactions, coaching on how to handle peer issues and suggesting strategies to adjust to peers. Results showed that parents facilitating in this way predicted enhanced friendship quality and lower levels of loneliness among adolescents with high peer acceptance but not among adolescents with low peer acceptance. In contrast, parental social coaching predicted better friendship quality among adolescents with low peer acceptance, but lower friendship quality among adolescents with high peer acceptance. This study concluded that not all forms of positive peer-related parenting are beneficial for all adolescents.

In general, findings both within the West and across cultures show that parental acceptance is quite consistently associated with high self-esteem, independence and emotional stability, whereas the opposite is true of parental rejection (MacKinnon-Lewis, Starnes, Volling, & Johnson, 1997; Rohner & Britner, 2002; see also Caspi & Barrios, 2016; Erkman & Rohner, 2006; Muñoz et al., 2017). One longitudinal study with a Western sample found that individuals who had a warm or affectionate parent are more likely, 35 years later, to have a long and happy marriage, children and close friendships in middle age (Franz, Carol, McClelland, David, & Weinberger, 1991; see also Waldinger & Schulz, 2016).

A converging body of data suggests that parents (particularly mothers) who interact with their infants and preschoolers in ways that show mutual responsiveness and 'connectedness' tend to have children with better peer relationships, greater empathy for others and accelerated moral development (Clark & Ladd, 2000; Ferreira, Cadima, Matias, Vieira, Leal, & Matos, 2016; Kochanska, Murray, & Harlan, 2000). Conversely, multiple studies find that abused children and adults with childhood histories of abuse are more likely than their non-abused peers to view the world as a dangerous place, have poor self-esteem and have difficulty maintaining close relationships (see Bolger & Patterson, 2001; Bolger, Patterson, & Kupersmidt, 1998; Finkelhor, 1994; Gelinas, 1983; Jud, Fegert, & Finkelhor, 2016).

A large cross-cultural study correlating parental acceptance-rejection with personality traits in children and adults demonstrated that these patterns are indeed universal (Khaleque, 2017; Rohner, 1975).

Cultures in which parents were more rejecting (as rated from anthropological reports) produced children who were more hostile and dependent and adults who were less emotionally stable than cultures with more benign parenting practices.

Table 1.1 shows some major landmarks of development in each of the three domains. It also hints at some of the connections among specific developments, both between domains and within each single domain. Gender role awareness, for example, is noted as emerging in early childhood; it sets the stage for gender segregation in middle childhood and identity in adolescence. Retirement is noted as happening in late adulthood. Declines in health or physical strength often accompany this change in social circumstances.

Development is a continual unfolding and integration of changes in all domains, beginning at birth. Changes in one domain often affect those in another domain. In addition to the examples from table 1.1, numerous other relationships exist between and within domains of development. We will discuss these relationships in later chapters. Meanwhile, to obtain a better concept of what development from a lifespan perspective means, consider a more extended, complete example.

TABLE 1.1	Selected landmarks of development
-----------	-----------------------------------

	Domain		
	Physical	Cognitive	Psychosocial
Birth	<ul><li>Startle reflex</li><li>Grasping</li><li>Sucking</li></ul>	<ul><li> Visual</li><li> Auditory</li><li> Tracking</li></ul>	<ul><li> Cries</li><li> Soothes at feeding</li></ul>
Infancy (ages 0–2)	<ul><li>Walking</li><li>Standing</li><li>Reaching and grasping</li></ul>	Language acquisition     Searches for lost objects	Becomes attached to caregiver(s)
Early childhood (ages 2-5)	<ul><li>Climbing stairs</li><li>First throw of a ball</li><li>Simple drawings</li><li>Writing</li></ul>	Vocabulary grows     Dramatic play	<ul><li>Preferred playmates</li><li>Gender role awareness</li><li>Racial awareness</li></ul>
Middle childhood (ages 6–12)	<ul><li>Skilful running</li><li>Throwing</li><li>Special skills (e.g. riding a bicycle)</li></ul>	<ul><li> Problem solving</li><li> Reading</li><li> Writing</li></ul>	<ul><li>Friendships</li><li>Gender segregation</li></ul>
Adolescence (ages 12–18)	<ul><li>Puberty</li><li>Growth spurt</li></ul>	Some abstract thinking     Development of     adultlike interests	<ul><li>Interest in sexual relations (for most)</li><li>Dating (for some)</li><li>First job</li></ul>
Early adulthood (ages 20–40)	Peak of fertility, strength and speed	Development of postformal thought	<ul><li>Finding a mate</li><li>Earning a living</li><li>Making a home</li></ul>
Middle adulthood (ages 40–60)	Decline in fertility	Expertise and practical intelligence	<ul><li>Family changes</li><li>Death of parents</li></ul>
Late adulthood (ages 60 and beyond)	Decline in physical strength	Achievement of wisdom	Retirement     Death of spouse/partner

## Development from a lifespan perspective: voices across the lifespan

Throughout the lifespan, individuals are trying to make sense of what it means to become a child, adolescent or adult and how at each stage their development changes or remains constant. What particular developmental issues are they facing at each stage and how are they influenced by differing contexts of development? To understand these developmental changes, we interviewed individuals at different developmental periods and asked them what being a child, adolescent, parent or adult meant to them. Watch the video to hear their voices across the lifespan!

The voices across the lifespan reveal several things about human development. The voices show that the domains of development unfold continuously across the lifespan and are influenced by differing contexts and environments, according to ages and stages. The voices of children, teenagers, adults and older adults depict the importance of unique, personal experiences when exploring human development. Some aspects of development may be unique to the individual, but other experiences can be understood as examples of human changes that are universal or nearly universal. From the point of view of lifespan development, these voices raise questions about continuity, change, developmental context and stages over time. To help organise thinking about the developmental questions expressed by these voices, developmental psychologists such as Bronfenbrenner, Baltes, and Ford and Lerner have investigated development from an ecological systems model, normative and non-normative development, and a dynamic systems perspective.



#### **Developmental perspectives**

Developmental psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner has created a widely used framework for thinking about the multiple influences on individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1989, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Evans, 2000;

Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Garbarino, 1992, 2014) to help organise thinking about developmental questions such as 'What are some of the influences on human development?' and 'In making us who we are today, what do we owe to family, peers, societal values and attitudes?' Bronfenbrenner's framework depicts the individual as developing within a complex system of relationships and contexts — described as ecological systems — which are sets of people, settings, recurring events, cultural values and programs that are related to one another, have stability and influence the person over time. Table 1.2 and figure 1.1 illustrate Bronfenbrenner's four ecological systems.

TABLE 1.2 Bronfenbrenner's model of ecological system levels			
Ecological level	Definition	Examples	Issues affecting the individual
Microsystem	Situations in which the person has face-to-face contact with influential others. 'A pattern of activities, social roles, interpersonal relationships experienced by the developing person in a given face to face setting with particular physical, social and symbolic features that invite, permit, more complex interaction.' (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p.1649)	Family, school, peer group, church, workplace	Is the person regarded positively? Is the person accepted? Is the person reinforced for competent behaviour? Is the person exposed to enough diversity in roles and relationships? Is the person given an active role in reciprocal relationships?
Mesosystem	Relationships between microsystems; the connections between situations	Home-school, workplace-family, school-neighbourhood	Do settings respect each other?  Do settings present basic consistency in values?
Exosystem	Settings in which the person does not participate but in which significant decisions are made affecting the individuals who do interact directly with the person	Spouse's place of employment, local school board, local government	Are decisions made with the interests of the person in mind? How well do social supports for families balance stresses for parents?
Macrosystem	'Blueprints' for defining and organising the institutional life of the society	Ideology, social policy, shared assumptions about human nature, the 'social contract'	Are some groups valued at the expense of others (e.g. sexism, racism)? Is there an individualistic or a collectivistic orientation? Is violence a norm?

Source: Adapted from Garbarino (1992).

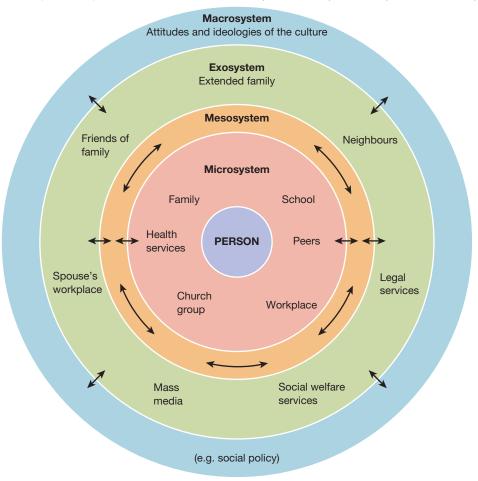
- 1. The *microsystem* refers to situations in which the person has face-to-face contact with influential others.
- 2. The mesosystem refers to the connections and relationships that exist between two or more microsystems and that influence the person because of their relationships.
- 3. The exosystem consists of settings in which the person does not participate but still experiences decisions and events that affect them indirectly.

4. The *macrosystem* is the overarching institutions, practices and patterns of belief that characterise society as a whole and take the smaller micro-, meso- and exosystems into account.

#### FIGURE 1.1

#### Bronfenbrenner's four ecological settings for developmental change

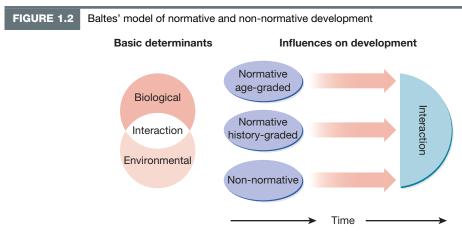
As shown here, Bronfenbrenner describes human development as a set of overlapping ecological systems. All of these systems operate together to influence what a person becomes as they grow and develop. In this sense, development is not exclusively 'within' the person but is also 'within' the person's environment. The *chronosystem*, not included in the diagram, is part of the dynamic ever-changing environment of the individual that produces new conditions affecting development. The prefix 'chrono' means 'time'. In this temporal dimension, life changes can be imposed on the individual or they can arise from within the individual. For example, as children grow and develop, they select, create and modify many of their own experiences and settings. Therefore, time has a prominent place in each of the levels of microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem.



Source: Adapted from Garbarino (1992).

Recently, Bronfenbrenner characterised his model as the *bioecological* model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The bioecological model represents non-human interaction. The interaction is with objects and symbols, and the model has evolved as a theoretical system for the scientific study of human development over time. As Bronfenbrenner and Morris state, 'the new model is not a paradigm shift, but rather represents a transition from a focus on the environment to a focus on *proximal processes* as engines of development ... (process, person, context and time), and the dynamic, interactive relationships among them' (Abstract, p. 1).

Similarly to Bronfenbrenner, German-born psychologist Paul Baltes provides an important perspective through his emphasis on the nature of development and important historical influences on development. Baltes and Nesselroade (1979; Baltes, 2014) identified three influences that are determined by the interaction of biological and environmental factors. These three influences are normative age-graded, normative history-graded and non-normative (see figure 1.2). Normative age-graded influences have a strong relationship with chronological age. For example, the onset of puberty during adolescence is influenced by biological determinants, whereas beginning school at 5 or 6 years of age is an example of a normative age-graded influence with environmental, rather than biological, determinants. Normative history-graded influences are associated with historical time, such as plague and famine, which are examples of strong biological determinants of development. Historical events such as the introduction of television or changes in family size and composition have little biological determinants. Non-normative events do not occur in any normative age-graded or history-graded manner. The effects of brain damage after a car accident have strong biological determinants; however, the effects of divorce upon development have less strong biological determinants.



Source: Baltes and Nesselroade (1979).

Two leading developmentalists, Ford and Lerner, present yet another perspective of development the developmental systems perspective. Through this perspective, Ford and Lerner (1992; Lerner, 2015) investigate how an individual carries out transactions with their environment and how, through these transactions, their biological, psychological behavioural and environmental elements change or remain constant. Developmental systems theory attempts to understand how multiple elements interact and shape a person's life. This theory played an important role in the shaping of developmentalists' research agendas in the 1990s, and more recently in the 2000s.

Through these perspectives in developmental psychology, researchers also acknowledge consistency and variability in development. The dynamic systems approach to studying and explaining lifespan development views the individual's mind, body, physical and social worlds, and experiences as constantly in motion, creating an integrated system that is dynamic, constantly evolving and moving. The dynamic systems perspective actively reorganises and modifies the components of the system, responding to environmental and biological changes. The Focusing on feature looks at the critical disadvantages that Indigenous Australians today confront in relation to life expectancy, infant and child mortality, education, and employment.