

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

A CULTURAL APPROACH



JEFFREY JENSEN ARNETT
SECOND EDITION

Human Development

A Cultural Approach

SECOND EDITION

Jeffrey Jensen Arnett

Clark University

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PEARSON

*To my mom, who loved it all,
from start to finish.*



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Preface

Welcome to the second edition of *Human Development: A Cultural Approach!* This edition features updated coverage and current research throughout, as well as an increased focus on the cultural diversity that exists within the United States. During the revision process, I have worked closely with the Pearson team to develop a wide range of interactive features that make the content and cultural approach even more engaging. Throughout the book, you'll see exciting new videos, interactive maps and figures, and self-assessments that will allow students to become more active and enthusiastic learners.

I think you will find that the interactive resources for this edition are unmatched by any other human development textbook. However, what sets this book apart more than anything else is that it presents a portrayal of development that covers the whole amazing range of human cultural diversity. As someone who has taught human development courses for years and was familiar with the available textbooks, I was struck by how narrow all of them seemed to be. They focused on human development in the United States as if it were the typical pattern for people everywhere, with only the occasional mention of people in other parts of the world. If you knew nothing about human development except what you read in a standard textbook, you would conclude that 95% of the human population must reside in the United States. Yet the United States makes up actually less than 5% of the world's population, and there is an immense range of patterns of human development in cultures around the globe, with most of those patterns strikingly different than the mainstream American model. And even within the United States, cultural diversity is much greater than what is found in the typical textbook.

So, in writing this textbook, I decided to take a cultural approach. I set out to portray human development as it takes place across all the different varieties of cultural patterns that people have devised in response to their local conditions and the creative inspiration of their imaginations. My goal was to teach students to *think culturally*, so that when they apply human development to the work they do or to their own lives, they understand that there is, always and everywhere, a cultural basis to development. The cultural approach also includes learning how to critique research for the extent to which it does or does not take the cultural basis of development into account. I provide this kind of critique at numerous points throughout the book, with the intent that students will learn how to do it themselves by the time they reach the end.



I know from my experience as a teacher that students find it fascinating to learn about the different forms that human development takes in various cultures, but there are also practical benefits to the cultural approach. It is more important than ever for students to have knowledge of the wider world because of the increasingly globalized economy and because so many problems, such as disease and climate change, cross borders. Whether they travel the globe or remain in their home towns, in a culturally diverse and globalized world, students will benefit from being able to apply the cultural approach and think culturally about development, whether in social interactions with friends and neighbors, or in their careers, as they may have patients, students, or coworkers who come from different cultures.

Did you notice that the design on the cover is in the shape of a frog? The Chinese have an expression that loosely translates as “the frog in the well knows not of the great ocean,” and it is often used as a cautionary reminder to look beyond our own experience and not to assume that what is true for ourselves is true for everyone else as well. I think all of us are like that frog, in a way. We’ve grown up in a certain cultural context. We’ve learned to think about life in a certain way. And most of us don’t realize how broad and diverse our world really is. My hope is that this book will help more students lift themselves out of the well and appreciate the wonderful diversity of human development.

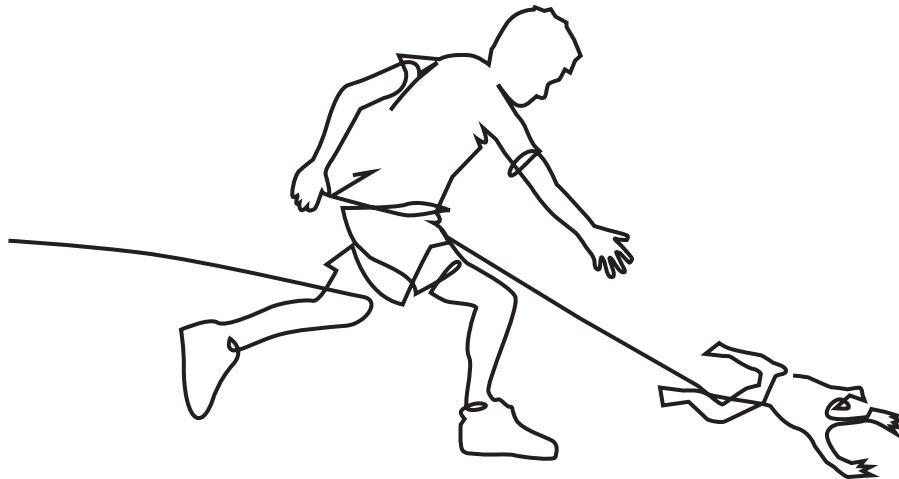
The cultural approach makes this textbook much different from other life-span textbooks, but there are other features that make this textbook distinct. This is the only major textbook to include a separate chapter on toddlerhood, the second and third years of life. I have always been puzzled by the way other textbooks gloss over toddlerhood, usually including the second year of life as part of “infancy” and the third year of life as part of “early childhood.” Yet any parent knows that years 2 and 3 are a lot different from what comes before or after, and I remember this well from my own experience as a father of twins. Infants cannot walk or talk, and once toddlers learn to do both in years 2 and 3, their experience of life—and their parents’ experiences—change utterly. Toddlers are also different from older children, in that their ability for emotional self-regulation and their awareness

of what is and is not acceptable behavior in their culture is much more limited.

This textbook is also alone among major textbooks in dividing the adult life span into stages of emerging adulthood, young adulthood, middle adulthood, and late adulthood. Emerging adulthood, roughly ages 18–29, is a new life stage that has arisen in developed countries over the past 50 years, as people have entered later into the commitments that structure adult life in most cultures: marriage, parenthood, and stable work. Other textbooks either call the whole period from age 18 through 40 “young adulthood” (which makes little sense, in that for most people in developed countries the ages 18–29 are vastly different than the ages 30–40), or they have an emerging adulthood chapter and then lump young and middle adulthood together as “adulthood” (which also makes little sense, given that it means applying one life stage term to ages

25–60). I originally proposed the theory of emerging adulthood in 2000, and it has now become widely used in the social sciences. I think it is a fascinating and dynamic time of life, and I know students enjoy learning about it, as many of them are in that life stage or have recently passed through it.

This textbook is somewhat shorter than most other texts on human development. There is one chapter devoted to each phase of life, for a total of 13 chapters. Each chapter is divided into three major sections, which correspond to the physical, the cognitive, and the emotional and social domains of development. This is an introductory textbook, and the goal is not to teach students everything there is to know about every aspect of human development, but rather to provide them with a foundation of knowledge on human development that hopefully will inspire them to learn more, in other courses and throughout life.



What's New in the Second Edition?

Broader Emphasis on Cultural Diversity

New “Chapter Introduction” Videos begin each chapter and provide an overview of the developmental stage being covered. The videos feature Americans from diverse backgrounds discussing their lives, experiences, and the role that culture has played in their development.

ACROSS CULTURES, THE TRANSITION FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD TO MIDDLE CHILDHOOD IS RECOGNIZED AS AN IMPORTANT SHIFT IN CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT, WHEN THEY BECOME CAPABLE OF GREATER COGNITIVE CHALLENGES AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY (SAMEROFF & HAITH, 1996).

In developing countries, middle childhood is often the age when children are first given important family duties, such as taking care of younger siblings, buying or selling goods, maintaining a fire, or caring for domestic animals (Gaskins, 2015; Weisner, 1996). According to Roy D'Andrade (1987), middle childhood is when children first show a grasp of **cultural models**, which are cognitive structures pertaining to common activities, for example buying something at the market, herding cattle, taking care of an infant, making bread, or delivering a message to a relative's house. Children in both developed and developing countries begin formal schooling in middle childhood, which includes cultural models of “listen to

the teacher,” “wait your turn,” and “do your homework.” Children begin to grasp cultural models as early as toddlerhood, but during middle childhood their understanding of cultural models acquires greater complexity, so that they become capable of taking on a much broader range of tasks (Gaskins, 2015; Weisner, 1996).

Here as elsewhere in the human life span, how we experience a given stage of life depends greatly on cultural context. Children in all cultures become more capable of useful work in middle childhood, but the nature of their work varies greatly. For many children throughout human history it has been mainly farm work—tending the fields, herding the cows, and feeding the chickens. For today's children, it might be school work or household work in developed countries, and any of a wide range of work in developing countries, from household work to factory work to feeding domestic animals. In this chapter we explore a wide range of cultural variations in children's experiences of middle childhood.

Watch CHAPTER INTRODUCTION: MIDDLE CHILDHOOD



Cultural Focus: Adolescent Conflict with Parents

In traditional cultures, it is rare for parents and adolescents to engage in the kind of frequent conflicts typical of parent-adolescent relationships in Western cultures (Larson et al., 2010). The role of parent carries greater authority in traditional cultures than in the West, and this makes it less likely that adolescents in such cultures will express disagreements and resentments toward their parents (Phinney et al., 2005). Even when they disagree with their parents, they are unlikely to express it because of their feelings of duty and respect (Phinney & Ong, 2002). Outside of the West, interdependence is a higher value than independence, not only during adolescence but throughout adulthood (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Phinney et al., 2005). Just as a dramatic increase in autonomy during adolescence prepares Western adolescents for adult life in an individualistic culture, learning to submit to the

authority of one's parents prepares adolescents in traditional cultures for an adult life in which interdependence is among the highest values and each person has a clearly designated position in a family hierarchy.

In this video, adolescents from a variety of cultures are interviewed as they discuss their changing relationships with their parents as well as with their friends.

Review Question:

The narrator tells us that interdependence is valued in the Mexican village where one of the female teens is from. What are the economic reasons why interdependence might be more adaptive in this Mexican village than in the American family also shown in the video?

Watch ADOLESCENT CONFLICT WITH PARENTS ACROSS CULTURES



Updated “Cultural Focus” Features highlight how culture impacts various aspects of development, such as breast-feeding practices, gross motor development, marriage and family relationships, and work and retirement. Students read an overview of the topic, watch a cross-cultural video with footage from the United States, Mexico, and Botswana, and then answer a review question.

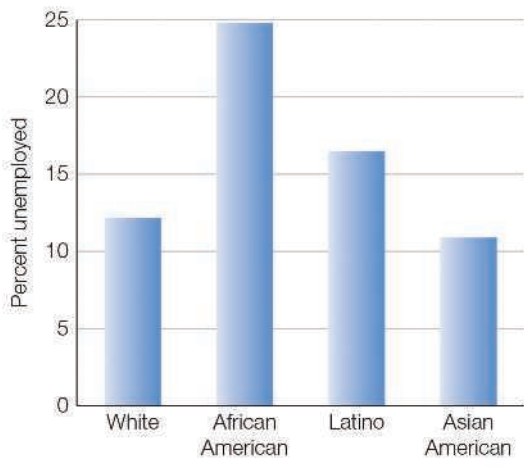


Figure 9.9 U.S. Unemployment Rates for Emerging Adults (Ages 16–24)

What explains the differences among ethnic groups?
SOURCE: Based on Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014)

New Research and Artwork have been incorporated to help students appreciate the diversity that exists within the United States, and understand the role of culture, ethnicity, SES, and other factors in human development.

Increased Attention to Research Methodology

Updated “Research Focus” Features offer a detailed description of a research study, including its premises, methods, results, and limitations. New to this edition, each feature is available in both a traditional narrative format and as a sketch-art style video. Multiple-choice review questions appear at the end of the feature to ensure that students have a solid understanding of the research study and methodology.

Research Focus: Early Child Care and Its Consequences

The “NICHD Study of Early Child Care” began in 1991 with over 1,300 young children (from infancy through early childhood) at 10 sites around the United States.

The children and their families were followed longitudinally for 7 years (NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2005). The sample was diverse in socioeconomic (SES) background, ethnicity, and geographical region. Multiple methods were used to assess the children and their families, including observations, interviews, questionnaires, and standardized tests.

Multiple aspects of the care children received were also assessed, including quantity, stability, quality, and type of care. A wide range of children’s developmental domains were examined, including physical, social, emotional, cognitive, and language development.

There were many notable and illuminating findings in the study. About three-fourths of the children in the study began nonmaternal child care by the age of 4 months. During infancy and toddlerhood most of the care was provided by relatives, but enrollment in child-care centers increased during toddlerhood, and beyond age 2 most children receiving nonmaternal care were in centers. Infants and toddlers averaged 33 hours a week in nonmaternal care. African American infants and toddlers experienced the highest number of hours per week of nonmaternal care and White infants and toddlers the lowest, with Latinos in between.

For infants and toddlers, the focus of the study was on how child-care arrangements might be related to attachment. The observations measured how sensitive and responsive caregivers were with the children, the two most important determinants of attachment quality according to attachment theory.

As measured by the Strange Situation, attachments to mothers were no different for toddlers receiving nonmaternal

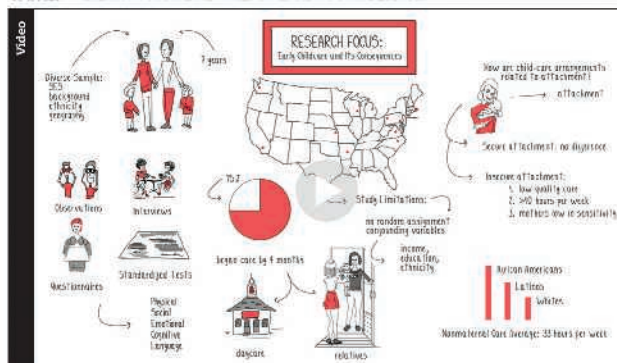
care than for toddlers receiving only maternal care. However, insecure attachments were more likely if the nonmaternal care was low in quality, for more than 10 hours per week, or if mothers were low in sensitivity.

This was an impressively ambitious and comprehensive study, but even this study has limitations. Most notably, the children were not randomly assigned into child-care groups. The choices about the care they received and how many hours per week they were in care were made by their parents, not the researchers. Consequently, the outcomes of the children’s child-care experiences were interwoven with many other variables, such as parents’ income, education, and ethnicity. This is an example of how social scientists are rarely able to create an ideal experimental situation in their research, but must usually take human behavior as they find it and do their best to unravel the daunting complexity of real life.

Review Questions:

- Which of the following was NOT one of the research methods used in the study?
 - questionnaires
 - neurological exams
 - interviews
 - observations
- Which of the following factors was related to insecure attachment in the toddlers?
 - low-quality non-maternal care
 - greater than 10 hours a week in non-maternal care
 - low sensitivity in maternal care
 - all of the above

Watch RESEARCH FOCUS: EARLY CHILD CARE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES



New Opportunities to Apply Knowledge

New **“Career Focus” Videos** are offered in every chapter, allowing students to learn about a wide variety of career paths. In the videos, career professionals describe their jobs and explain how a knowledge of human development and culture influence their work on a daily basis. Over 30 careers are profiled, including a genetic counselor, a pediatric nurse practitioner, a counselor, a middle school teacher, a community organizer, an advertising executive, and a hospice worker.

Applying Your Knowledge as a Professional

The topics covered in this chapter apply to a wide variety of career professions. Watch these videos to learn how they apply to an advertising executive, a senior care worker, and a board member at a senior center.

Watch CAREER FOCUS: SENIOR CARE WORKER



New **“Critical Thinking Questions”** encourage students to think more deeply and critically about a developmental topic. These questions appear in every major section and often focus on the role of culture in human development.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTION

How might a culture's values of individualism or collectivism influence toilet-training practices?

Teaching and Learning Aids

Learning Objectives

Learning objectives for each chapter are listed at the start of each section as well as alongside every section heading. Based on Bloom's taxonomy, these numbered objectives help students better organize and understand the material. The end-of-section summary is organized around these same objectives, as are all of the supplements and assessment material.

Neonatal Sleeping Patterns

LO 3.9 Describe neonates' patterns of waking and sleeping, including how and why these patterns differ across cultures.

As discussed in Chapter 2, even in the womb there are cycles of waking and sleeping, beginning at about 28 weeks gestation. Once born, most neonates spend more time asleep than awake. The average for neonates is 16 to 17 hours of sleep a day, although there is great variation, from about 10 hours to about 21 (Peirano et al., 2003).

Summary: Physical Development

LO 5.1 Describe the typical changes in physical growth that take place in toddlerhood and explain the harmful effects of nutritional deficiencies on growth.

Toddlers' physical growth continues at a pace that is slightly reduced from infancy but is nevertheless faster than at any later time of life. Toddlers in developing countries often suffer protein and micronutrient deficiencies that impede their physical and cognitive development.

LO 5.2 Describe the changes in brain development that take place during toddlerhood, and identify the two most common methods of measuring brain activity.

The brain's synaptic density peaks at the end of toddlerhood, followed by many years of synaptic pruning. The two most common methods of measuring brain activity are the EEG and the fMRI.

LO 5.4 Describe the advances in motor development that take place during toddlerhood.

In their gross motor development, toddlers learn to walk, run, climb, and kick a ball. Toddlers in traditional cultures are often restricted in their movements to protect them from danger—especially cooking fires. Advances in fine motor development include holding a cup and building a tower of blocks. In their third year, toddlers may be able to brush their teeth, with some assistance.

LO 5.5 Compare and contrast the process and timing of toilet training in developed countries and traditional cultures.

Children vary widely in the timing of learning toilet training, but most are toilet trained by the end of toddlerhood. In traditional cultures, toddlers usually learn controlled elimination through observing and imitating older children.

Section Summaries

Organized by learning objective, a summary now appears at the end of each major section.

Practice Quizzes and Chapter Quiz

New multiple-choice practice quizzes appear after each section to help students assess their comprehension of the material. A cumulative multiple-choice test appears at the end of every chapter.

Practice Quiz

ANSWERS AVAILABLE IN ANSWER KEY.

- The heritability of intelligence _____ from childhood to adulthood.
 - decreases
 - increases
 - stays the same
 - has not been calculated in this area of research
- The higher the concordance rate, _____.
 - the more similar the two persons are
 - the more different the two persons are
 - the higher the person's chances of having twins
 - The higher the person's quality of life is likely to be
- Girls normally begin menstruating around age 11–16, toward the lower end of this range under healthy conditions and toward the higher end when nutrition is insufficient. This is an example of _____.
 - polygenic inheritance
 - incomplete dominance
 - a self-fulfilling prophecy
 - niche picking
- In recent decades in Western countries, there has been little change in average height, indicating that the populations of these countries have reached the upper boundary of _____ for height.
 - their concordance rate
 - their heritability
 - their reaction range
 - their polygenic inheritance
- A toddler from the Hamar tribe in Ethiopia was adopted by an American couple who described themselves as "non-athletes." This tribe was known for having members who are exceptionally tall. Once she started school, she asked to play in the after-school basketball program, tried out for the team in middle school and high school and eventually went on to earn a scholarship to play in college. This is an example of _____.
 - polygenic inheritance
 - incomplete dominance
 - a self-fulfilling prophecy
 - niche picking

Chapter Quiz

- Keisha has inherited one recessive gene for the sickle-cell trait along with one normal dominant gene. As a result of this _____, she is resistant to malaria and does not have sickle-cell anemia.
 - dominant-recessive inheritance
 - incomplete dominance
 - polygenic inheritance
 - reaction range
- Who has the greatest risk of developing hemophilia, which is an X-linked recessive disorder?
 - A female who has one X chromosome that contains the gene for this disorder
 - A male who has one X chromosome that contains the gene for this disorder
 - Males and females with one X chromosome that contains the gene for the disorder will have equal risk.
 - Only Native Americans, due to their unique genetic makeup
- As a result of the process of crossing over _____.
 - the risk of Down syndrome is increased
 - boys are more likely to be born with a learning disability
 - women are at increased risk for infertility
 - each child born to a set of parents is genetically unique (with the exception of identical twins)
- S.J. is most likely to have DZ twins if _____.
 - she has Asian biological parents
 - she is in her late teens
 - she is concerned about gaining too much weight and severely restricts her caloric intake
 - her mother had DZ twins
- If Susan learns that her infertility problem is due to a problem with the _____ successfully implanting, something went wrong during the germinal period.
 - zygote
 - blastocyst



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In developed countries, too, peer relations expand in toddlerhood, often in the form of some kind of group child care (Rubin et al., 2006). Research observing toddlers in these settings has found that their peer play interactions are more advanced than early studies had reported. One influential early study reported that toddlers engaged exclusively in *solitary play*, all by themselves, or *parallel play*, in which they would take part in the same activity but without acknowledging each other (Parten, 1932). However, more recent studies have found that toddlers engage in not only solitary and parallel play but in *simple social play*, where they talk to each other, smile, and give and receive toys, and even in *cooperative pretend play*, involving a shared fantasy such as pretending to be animals (Howes, 1996; Hughes & Dunn, 2007). Watch the video *Styles of Play* for examples of toddlers engaging in various types of play.

Watch STYLES OF PLAY



The Second Edition includes integrated videos and media content throughout, allowing students to explore topics more deeply at the point of relevancy.

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- **Media assignments** for each chapter—including videos with assignable questions—feed directly into the gradebook, enabling instructors to track student progress automatically.
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With assessment tied to every video, application, and chapter, students get immediate feedback, and instructors can see what their students know with just a few clicks. Instructors can also personalize MyPsychLab to meet the needs of their students.

Teaching and Learning Package

A textbook is but one component of a comprehensive learning package. The author team that prepared the teaching and learning package had as its goal to deliver the most comprehensive and integrated package on the market. All supplements were developed around the textbook's carefully constructed learning objectives. The authors are grateful to reviewers and focus group members who provided invaluable feedback and suggestions for improving various elements of the program.

TEST BANK Revised by David Hurford (Pittsburg State University), Dorothy Marsil (Kennesaw State University), and Nicole Martin (Kennesaw State University), the Test Bank contains over 4,000 questions, many of which were class-tested in multiple classes at both 2-year and 4-year institutions across the country prior to publication. Item analysis is provided for all class-tested items. All conceptual and applied multiple-choice questions include rationales for each correct answer and the key distracter. The item analysis helps instructors create balanced tests, while the rationales serve both as an added guarantee of quality and as a time-saver when students challenge the keyed answer for a specific item. Each chapter of the test bank includes a Total Assessment Guide, an easy-to-reference grid that organizes all test items by learning objective and question type.

TOTAL ASSESSMENT GUIDE		Chapter 2 Genetics and Prenatal Development				
Learning Objectives	Factual (Multiple Choice)	Conceptual (Multiple Choice)	Applied (Multiple Choice)	True/False Questions	Short Answer Questions	Essay Questions
QUICK QUIZ 1	1-3, 5-89, 10	4	9			
QUICK QUIZ 2	1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9	2, 7, 10	4			
2.1 Distinguish between genotype and phenotype and identify the different forms of genetic inheritance.	1, 3, 12	2, 4, 7, 9, 11	5, 6, 8, 10	1, 2		1
2.2 Describe the sex chromosomes and identify what makes them different from other chromosomes.	13, 18	16	14, 15, 17	3, 4	1	
2.3 Describe how behavior geneticists use heritability estimates and concordance rates in their research.	19-27, 30, 34, 35, 37, 39-43, 46, 49-51	28, 29, 33, 38, 45, 47, 48	31, 32, 36, 44	5-11		2, 3

The test bank comes with Pearson MyTest, a powerful test generation program that helps instructors easily create and print quizzes and exams. Questions and tests can be authored online, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility and the ability to efficiently manage assessments wherever and whenever they want. Instructors can easily access existing questions and then edit, create, and store using simple drag-and-drop and Word-like controls. Data on each question provides information relevant to difficulty level and page number. In addition, each question maps to the text's major section and learning objective. For more information go to www.PearsonMyTest.com.

The screenshot displays the Pearson MyTest software interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the Pearson MyTest logo and a user welcome message: "Welcome, excelprodpsych01 excelprodpsy... MyTest for Arnett, Human Development". Below the navigation bar, there are several tabs: "Today's View", "MyTest", "Course Content", "Gradebook", "Communicate", "Preferences", and "Search". The main content area is divided into two sections. On the left, under "Testbank: MyTest for Arnett, Human Development", there is a tree view showing "Chapter 04: Infancy" with sub-items: "Chapter 04: Quick Quiz 1", "Chapter 04: Quick Quiz 2", and "Chapter 04: Multiple-Choice Questions". The "Multiple-Choice Questions" section is expanded, showing two questions. Question 1 asks about the human brain's size at birth compared to other animals, with options: a) Well developed, b) Malformed, c) Relatively immature (checked), and d) Nearly adultlike. Question 2 asks about nutrients infants need more of in their diets, with options: a) fluoride, b) fat (checked), c) folic acid, and d) iron. On the right, under "Manage Your Tests", there is a "Create New Test" button and a table with columns: "Options", "Name", "# of Questions", "Created Date", and "Modified Date". The table contains one row with the text "To create your first test, click Create New Test."

ENHANCED LECTURE POWERPOINT SLIDES WITH EMBEDDED VIDEOS Written by Marvin Tobias (St. Charles Community College), the Enhanced Lecture PowerPoints offer detailed outlines of key points for each chapter supported by selected visuals from the textbook, and include the videos from the human development video

series featured in the text. Standard Lecture PowerPoints without embedded videos are also available. A separate *Art and Figure* version of these presentations contains all art from the textbook for which Pearson has been granted electronic permissions.



INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL Written and compiled by Dorothy Marsil (Kennesaw State University), the Instructor's Manual includes suggestions for preparing for the course, sample syllabi, and current trends and strategies for successful teaching. Each chapter offers integrated teaching outlines and a list of the key terms for quick reference, and includes an extensive bank of lecture launchers, handouts, and activities, and suggestions for integrating third-party videos and web resources. Answers to the in-text features are provided. Detailed critical-thinking problems with accompanying rubrics were written by Diana Joy of the Community College of Denver. A set of questions for using MyVirtualChild with the cultural approach, written by Guyla Davis of Ouachita Baptist University, is also included. The electronic format features click-and-view hotlinks that allow instructors to quickly review or print any resource from a particular chapter. This tool saves prep work and helps you maximize your classroom time.

ACCESSING ALL RESOURCES For a list of all student resources available with *Human Development: A Cultural Approach*, Second Edition, go to www.mypearsonstore.com, enter the text ISBN (0133792420) and check out the "Everything That Goes with It" section under the book cover.

For access to all instructor supplements for *Human Development: A Cultural Approach*, Second Edition, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/irc and follow the directions to register (or log in if you already have a Pearson user name and password). Once you have registered and your status as an instructor is verified, you will be e-mailed a log-in name and password. Use your log-in name and password to access the catalog.

You can request hard copies of the supplements through your Pearson sales representative. If you do not know your sales representative, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/replocator and follow the directions. For technical support for any of your Pearson products, you and your students can contact <http://247.pearsoned.com>.

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Finally, I would like to thank the hundreds of reviewers who reviewed chapters, sections, and other materials in the course of the development of the book. I benefited greatly from their suggestions and corrections, and now instructors and students reading the book will benefit, too.

The Development of Human Development: A Cultural Approach

This textbook is the product of the most extensive development effort this market has ever witnessed. *Human Development: A Cultural Approach* reflects the countless hours and extraordinary efforts of a team of authors, editors, and reviewers that shared a vision for not only a unique human development textbook, but also the most comprehensive and integrated supplements program on the market. Over 250

manuscript reviewers provided invaluable feedback for making this text as accessible and relevant to students as possible. Each chapter was also reviewed by a panel of subject-matter experts to ensure accuracy and currency. Dozens of focus-group participants helped guide every aspect of the program, from content coverage to the art style and design to the configuration of the supplements. In fact, some of those focus-group participants were so invested in the project that they became members of the supplements author team themselves. Dozens of students compared the manuscript to their current textbooks and provided suggestions for improving the prose and design. We thank everyone who participated in ways great and small, and hope that you are as pleased with the finished product as we are!

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His primary scholarly interest for the past 20 years has been in emerging adulthood. He coined the term, and he has conducted research on emerging adults concerning a wide variety of topics, involving several different ethnic groups in American society. He is the Founding President and Executive Director of the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA; www.ssea.org). From 2005 to 2014 he was the editor of the *Journal of Adolescent Research*, and currently he is on the Editorial Board of *JAR* and five other journals. He has published many theoretical and research papers on emerging adulthood in peer-reviewed journals, as well as the books *Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood: A Cultural Approach* (2015, 6th edition, Pearson), and *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens Through the Twenties* (2015, 2nd edition, Oxford University Press).

He lives in Worcester, Massachusetts, with his wife Lene Jensen and their twins, Miles and Paris. For more information on Dr. Arnett and his research, see www.jeffreyarnett.com.



Chapter 1

A Cultural Approach to Human Development

Section 1 Human Development Today and Its Origins

A Demographic Profile of Humanity Today

- Population Growth and Change
- Variations Across Countries
- Variations Within Countries

Human Origins and the Birth of Culture

- Our Evolutionary Beginnings
- The Origin of Cultures and Civilizations
- Human Evolution and Human Development Today

Section 2 Theories of Human Development

Ancient Conceptions

Scientific Conceptions

- Freud's Psychosexual Theory
- Erikson's Psychosocial Theory
- Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory
- A Cultural-Developmental Model for This Book

Section 3 How We Study Human Development

The Scientific Method

- The Five Steps of the Scientific Method
- Ethics in Human Development Research

Research Methods and Designs

- Research Methods
- Research Designs

THE CHINESE HAVE AN EXPRESSION FOR THE LIMITED WAY ALL OF US LEARN TO SEE THE WORLD: *jing di zhi wa*, meaning “frog in the bottom of a well.” The expression comes from a fable about a frog that has lived its entire life in a small well. The frog assumes that its tiny world is all there is, and it has no idea of the true size of the world. It is only when a passing turtle tells the frog of the great ocean to the east that the frog realizes there is much more to the world than it had known.

All of us are like that frog. We grow up as members of a culture and learn, through direct and indirect teaching, to see the world from the perspective that becomes most familiar to us. Because the people around us usually share that perspective, we seldom have cause to question it. Like the frog, we rarely suspect how big and diverse our human species really is.

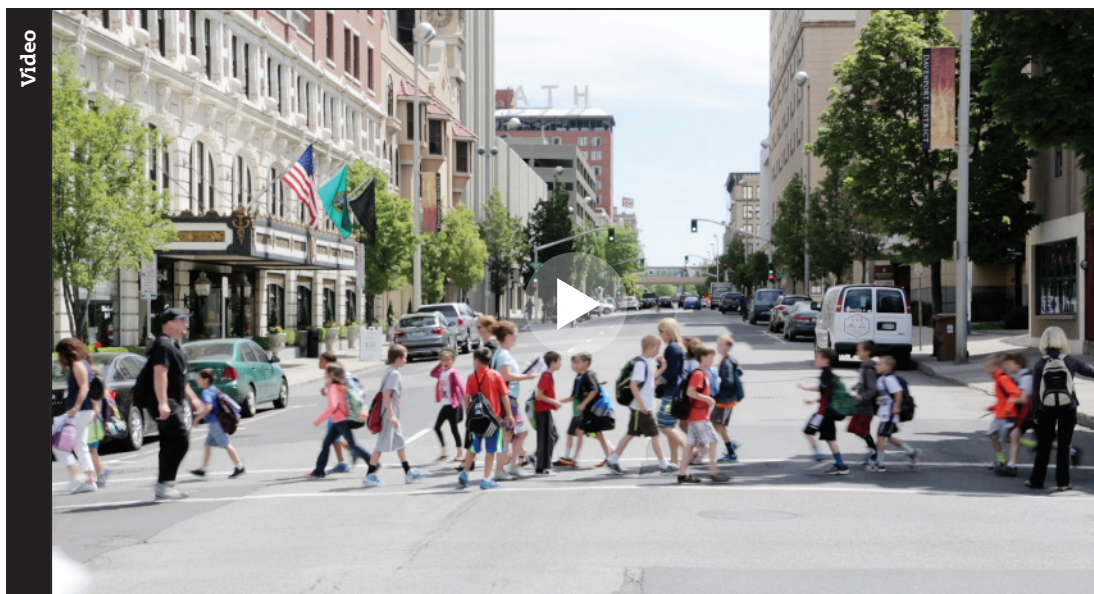
The goal of this book is to lift you out of the well, by taking a cultural approach to understanding **human development**, the ways people grow and change across the life span. This means that the emphasis of the book is on how persons develop as members of a culture. **Culture** is the total pattern of a group’s customs, beliefs, art, and technology. In other words, a culture is a group’s common way of life, passed on from one generation to the next. From the day we are born, all of us experience our lives as members of a culture (sometimes more than one), and this profoundly influences how we develop, how we behave, how we see the world, and how we experience life.

Biology is important, too, of course, and at various points we will discuss the interaction between biological and cultural or social influences. However, human beings everywhere have essentially the same biological constitution, yet their paths through the life span are remarkably varied depending on the culture in which their development takes place.

In the course of this book I will be your fellow frog, your guide and companion as we rise together out of the well to gaze at the broad, diverse, fascinating cultural panorama of the human journey. The book will introduce you to many variations in human development and cultural practices you did not know about before, which may lead you to see your own development and your own cultural practices in a new light. We’ll also learn to analyze and critique research based on whether it does or does not take culture into account. By the time you finish this book, you should be able to *think culturally*.

In this chapter we set the stage for the rest of the book. The first section provides a broad summary of human life today around the world as well as an examination of how culture developed out of our evolutionary history. In the second section, we look at the history of theoretical conceptions of human development along with a new cultural-developmental theory that will be the framework for this book. Finally, the third section provides an overview of human development as a scientific field.

Watch CHAPTER INTRODUCTION: A CULTURAL APPROACH TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT



Section 1 Human Development Today and Its Origins



Learning Objectives

- 1.1 Describe how the human population has changed over the past 10,000 years and explain why the United States is following a different demographic path from other developed countries.
- 1.2 Distinguish between the demographic profiles of developed countries and developing countries in terms of cultural values, income, and education.
- 1.3 Define the term *socioeconomic status* (SES) and explain why SES, gender, and ethnicity are important aspects of human development within countries.
- 1.4 Explain the process of natural selection and trace the evolutionary origins of the human species.
- 1.5 Summarize the major changes in human cultures since the Upper Paleolithic period.
- 1.6 Apply information about human evolution to how human development takes place today.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT TODAY AND ITS ORIGINS: A Demographic Profile of Humanity Today

Since the goal of this book is to provide you with an understanding of how human development takes place in cultures all around the world, let's begin with a demographic profile of the world's human population in the early 21st century.

Population Growth and Change

LO 1.1 Describe how the human population has changed over the past 10,000 years and explain why the United States is following a different demographic path from other developed countries.

Perhaps the most striking demographic feature of the human population today is the sheer size of it. For most of history the total human population was under 10 million (McFalls, 2007). Women typically had from four to eight children, but most of the children died in infancy or childhood and never reached reproductive age. The human population began to increase notably around 10,000 years ago, with the development of agriculture and domestication of animals (Diamond, 1992).

Population growth in the millennia that followed was very slow, and it was not until about 400 years ago that the world population reached 500 million persons. Since that time, and especially in the past century, population growth has accelerated at an astonishing rate (see **Figure 1.1**). It took just 150 years for the human population to double

human development

ways people grow and change across the life span; includes people's biological, cognitive, psychological, and social functioning

culture

total pattern of a group's customs, beliefs, art, and technology

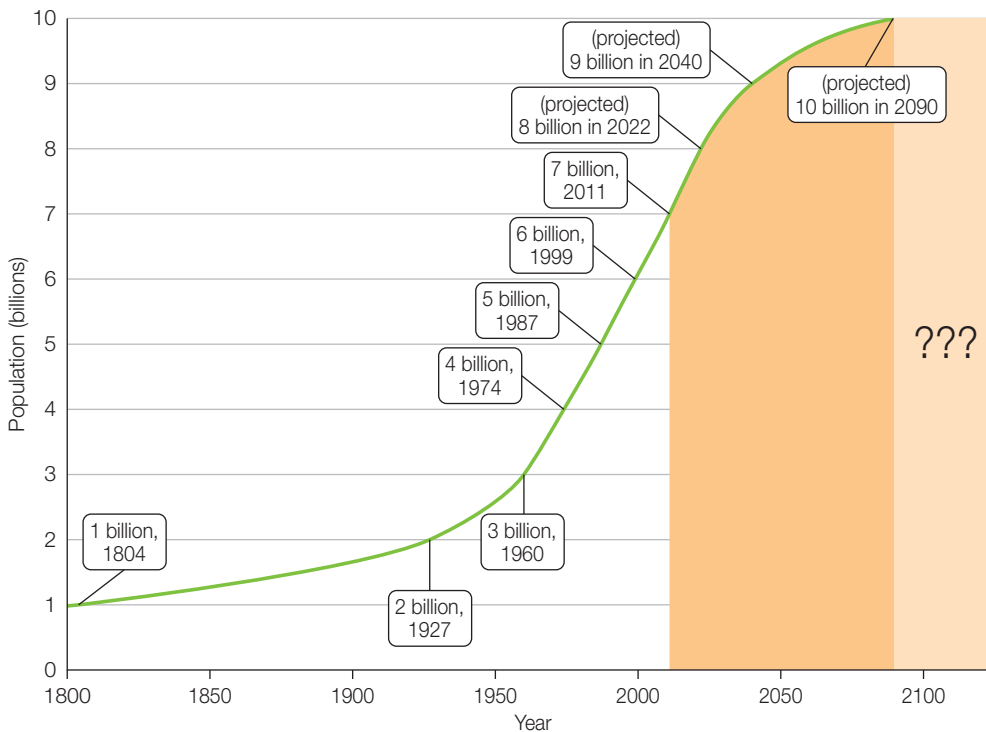


Figure 1.1 World Population Growth

What happened in recent human history to cause population to rise so dramatically?

SOURCE: Based on Population Reference Bureau (2014).

from 500 million to 1 billion, passing that threshold around the year 1800. Then came the medical advances of the 20th century, and the elimination or sharp reduction of deadly diseases like smallpox, typhus, diphtheria, and cholera. Subsequently, the human population reached 2 billion by 1930, then tripled to 6 billion by 1999. The 7-billion threshold was surpassed just 12 years later, in early 2011.

How high will the human population go? This is difficult to say, but most projections indicate it will rise to 10 billion by about 2090 and thereafter stabilize and perhaps slightly decline. This forecast is based on the worldwide decline in birthrates that has taken place in recent years. The **total fertility rate (TFR)** (number of births per woman) worldwide is currently 2.5, which is substantially higher than the rate of 2.1 that is the *replacement rate* of a stable population. However, the TFR has been declining sharply for over a decade and will decline to 2.1 by 2050 if current trends continue (Population Reference Bureau, 2014).

The population increase from now to 2090 will not take place equally around the world. On the contrary, there is a stark “global demographic divide” between the wealthy, economically developed countries that make up less than 20% of the world’s population, and the economically developing countries that contain the majority of the world’s population (Kent & Haub, 2005). Nearly all the population growth in the decades to come will take place in the economically developing countries. In contrast, nearly all wealthy countries are expected to decline in population during this period and beyond, because they have fertility rates that are well below replacement rate.

For the purposes of this text, we’ll use the term **developed countries** to refer to the most affluent countries in the world. Classifications of developed countries vary, but usually this designation includes the United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, and nearly all the countries of Europe (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2014). (The term “Western countries” is sometimes used to refer to most developed countries, because they are in the Western hemisphere, except Japan and South Korea, which are considered Eastern countries.) For our discussion, developed countries will be contrasted with **developing countries**,

total fertility rate (TFR)

in a population, the number of births per woman

developed countries

world’s most economically developed and affluent countries, with the highest median levels of income and education

developing countries

countries that have lower levels of income and education than developed countries but are experiencing rapid economic growth



Nearly all the world population growth from now to 2050 will take place in developing countries. Pictured here is a busy street in Jodhpur, India.

which have less wealth than the developed countries but are experiencing rapid economic growth as they join the globalized economy. Many developing countries are changing rapidly today. For example, India is a developing country, and most of its people live on an income of less than two dollars a day (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2014). About half of Indian children are underweight and malnourished (World Bank, 2011). Less than half of Indian adolescents complete secondary school. Only about half of adult women are literate, and about three-fourths of adult men. About two-thirds of India's population lives in rural villages, although there is a massive migration occurring from rural to urban areas, led mostly by young people. However, India's economy has been booming for the past 2 decades, lifting hundreds of millions of Indians out of poverty (UNDP, 2014). India is now a world leader in manufacturing, telecommunications, and services. If the economy continues to grow at its present pace India will lead

the world in economic production by 2050 (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011). Life is changing rapidly for Indians, and children born today are likely to experience much different economic and cultural contexts than their parents or grandparents have known.

The current population of developed countries is 1.3 billion, about 18% of the total world population, and the population of developing countries is about 6 billion, about 82% of the world's population (Population Reference Bureau, 2014). Among developed countries, the United States is one of the few likely to gain rather than lose population in the next few decades. Currently there are about 316 million persons in the United States, but by 2050 there will be 400 million. Nearly all the other developed countries are expected to decline in population between now and 2050. The decline will be steepest in Japan, which is projected to drop from a current population of 120 million to just 97 million by 2050, due to a low fertility rate and virtually no immigration (Population Reference Bureau, 2014).

There are two reasons why the United States is following a different demographic path than most other developed countries. First, the United States has a total fertility rate of 1.9, which is slightly below the replacement rate of 2.1 but still higher than the TFR in most other developed countries (Population Reference Bureau, 2014). Second, and more importantly, the United States allows more legal immigration than most other developed countries do, and there are millions of undocumented immigrants as well (Suarez-Orozco, 2015). The increase in population in the United States between now and 2050 will result entirely from immigration (Martin & Midgley, 2010). Both legal and undocumented immigrants to the United States come mainly from Mexico and Latin America, although many also come from Asia and other parts of the world. Consequently, as **Figure 1.2** shows, by 2050 the proportion of the U.S. population that is Latino is projected to rise from 16% to 30%. Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia also have relatively open immigration policies, so they, too, may avoid the population decline that is projected for most developed countries (DeParle, 2010).

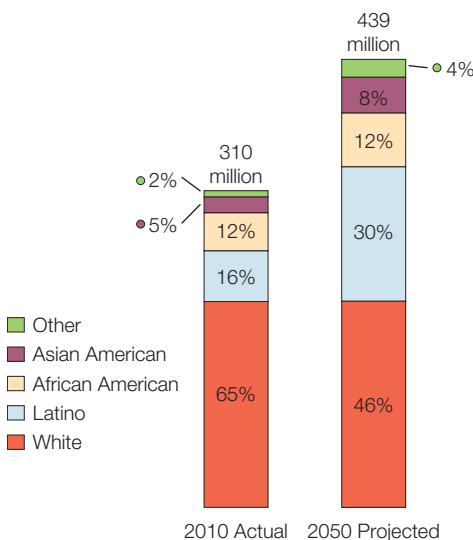


Figure 1.2 Projected Ethnic Changes in the U.S. Population to 2050

Which ethnic group is projected to change the most in the coming decades, and why?

SOURCE: Based on Kaiser Family Foundation (2013).

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTION

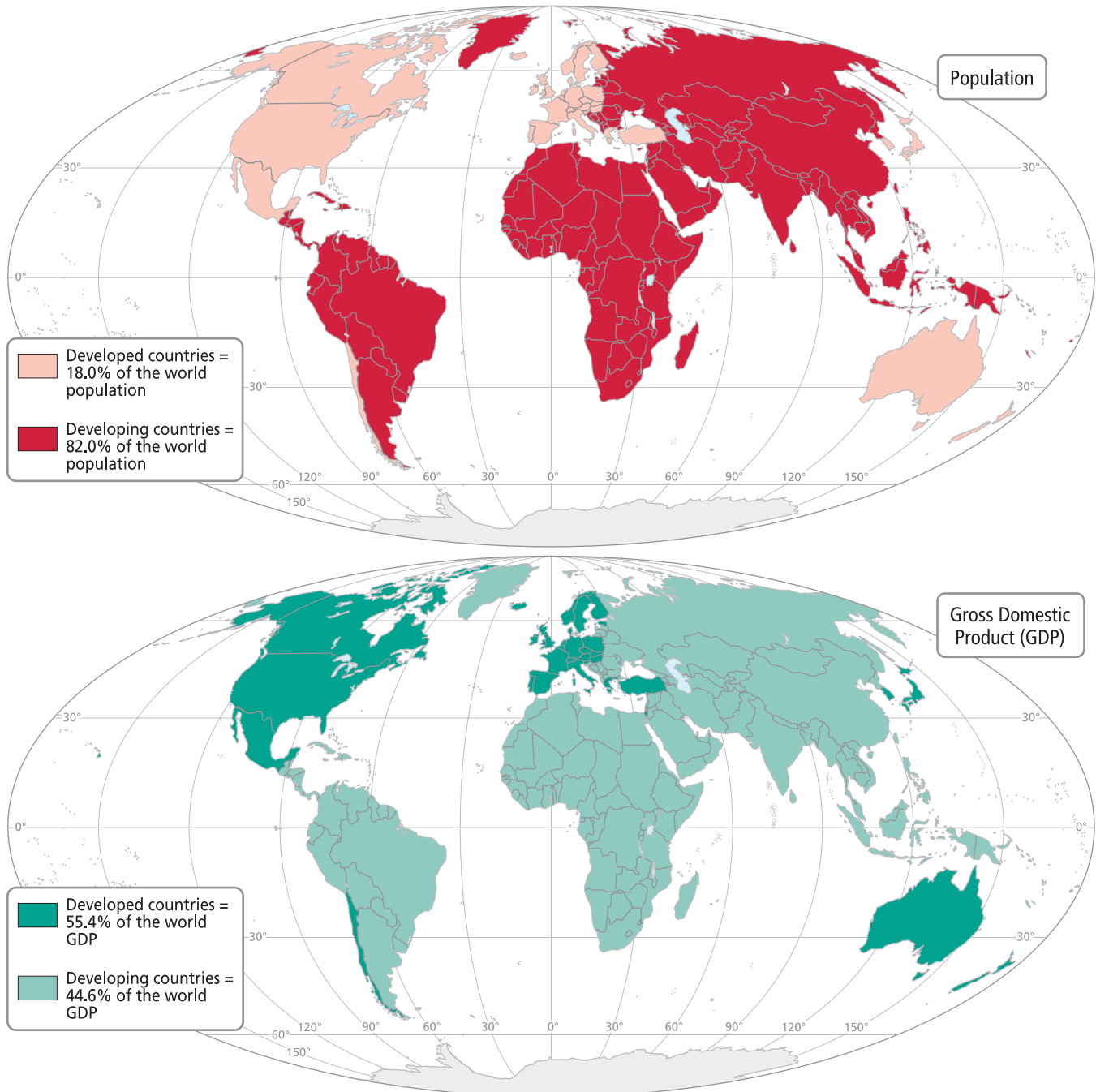
What kinds of public policy changes might be necessary in the United States between now and 2050 to adapt to nearly 100 million more immigrants and a rise in the proportion of Latinos to 30%?

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Variations Across Countries

LO 1.2 Distinguish between the demographic profiles of developed countries and developing countries in terms of cultural values, income, and education.

The demographic contrast of developed countries compared to the rest of the world is stark not only with respect to population but also in other key areas, such as income and education (see **Map 1.1**). With respect to income, about 40% of the world's population lives on less than two dollars per day, and 80% of the world's population lives on a family income of less than \$6,000 per year (Population Reference Bureau, 2014). At one extreme are the



Map 1.1 Worldwide Variations in Population and Income Levels

Developed countries represent only 18% of the world population yet they are much wealthier than developing countries. At what point in its economic development should a developing country be reclassified as a developed country?



By age 10, many children in developing countries are no longer in school. Here, a child in Cameroon helps his mother make flour.

developed countries, where 9 of 10 persons are in the top 20% of the global income distribution, and at the other extreme is southern Africa, where half of the population is in the bottom 20% of global income. Africa's economic growth has been strong for the past decade, but it remains the poorest region in the world (McKinsey Global Institute, 2010; UNDP, 2015).

A similar contrast between rich and poor countries exists regarding education. Your experience as a college student is a rare and privileged status in most of the world. In developed countries, virtually all children obtain primary and secondary education, and about 50% go on to tertiary education (college or other postsecondary training). However, in developing countries about 20% of children do not complete primary school and only about half are enrolled in secondary school (UNDP, 2014). College and other tertiary education is only for the wealthy elite.

There are also some broad cultural differences between developed and developing countries, even though each category is very diverse. One important difference is that the cultures of developed countries tend to be based on **individualistic** values such as independence and self-expression, especially in Western developed countries (Greenfield, 2005). In contrast, developing countries tend to prize **collectivistic** values such as obedience and group harmony (Sullivan & Cottone, 2010). These are not mutually exclusive categories and each country has some balance between individualistic and collectivistic values. Furthermore, most countries contain a variety of cultures, some of which may be relatively individualistic whereas others are relatively collectivistic. Nevertheless, the overall distinction between individualism and collectivism is useful for describing broad differences between human groups.

Within developing countries there is often a sharp divide between rural and urban areas, with people in urban areas having higher incomes and receiving more education and better medical care. Often, the lives of middle-class persons in urban areas of developing countries resemble the lives of people in developed countries in many ways, yet they are much different than people in rural areas of their own countries (UNDP, 2014). In this book, the term **traditional cultures** will be used to refer to people in the rural areas of developing countries, who tend to adhere more closely to the historical traditions of their culture than people in urban areas do. Traditional cultures tend to be more collectivistic than other cultures are, in part because in rural areas close ties with others are often an economic necessity (Sullivan & Cottone, 2010).

This demographic profile of humanity today demonstrates that if you wish to understand human development, it is crucial to understand the lives of people in developing countries, who comprise the majority of the world's population. The tendency in most social science research, especially in psychology, has been to ignore or strip away culture in pursuit of universal principles of development (Jensen, 2011; Rozin, 2006). Most research on human development is on the 18% of the world's population that lives in developed countries—especially the 5% of the world's population that lives in the United States—because research requires money and developed countries can afford more of it than developing countries can (Arnett, 2008). This is changing, and in recent years there has been increasing attention paid in psychology and other social science fields to the cultural context of human development (Jensen, 2015; Shweder, 2011). By now, researchers have presented descriptions of human development in places all over the world, and researchers studying American society have increased their attention to cultures within the United States that are outside of the White middle class.

Expanding our awareness of the other 95% of humanity also has many practical applications. Increasingly the world is approaching the *global village* that the social

individualistic

cultural values such as independence and self-expression

collectivistic

cultural values such as obedience and group harmony

traditional culture

in developing countries, a rural culture that adheres more closely to cultural traditions than people in urban areas do

philosopher Marshall McLuhan (1960) forecast over half a century ago. In recent decades there has been an acceleration in the process of **globalization**, which refers to the increasing connections between different parts of the world in trade, travel, migration, and communication (Arnett, 2002; Jensen et al., 2012; Hermans, 2015). Consequently, wherever you live in the world, in the course of your personal and professional life you are likely to have many contacts with people of other cultures. Those of you going into the nursing profession may one day have patients who have a cultural background in various parts of Asia or South America. Those of you pursuing careers in education will likely teach students whose families emigrated from countries in Africa or Europe. Your coworkers, your neighbors, possibly even your friends and family members may include people from a variety of different cultural backgrounds. Through the Internet you may have contact with people all over the world, via e-mail, Facebook and other social media, YouTube, and new technologies to come. Thus, understanding the cultural approach to human development is likely to be useful in all aspects of life, helping you to communicate with and understand the perspectives of others in a diverse, globalized world.

Variations Within Countries

LO 1.3 Define the term *socioeconomic status* (SES) and explain why SES, gender, and ethnicity are important aspects of human development within countries.

The contrast between developed countries and developing countries will be used often in this book, as a general way of drawing a contrast between human development in relatively rich and relatively poor countries. However, it should be noted that there is substantial variation within each of these categories. All developed countries are relatively wealthy, but human development in Japan is quite different from human development in France or Canada. All developing countries are less wealthy than developed countries, but human development in China is quite different than human development in Brazil or Nigeria. Throughout the book we will explore variations in human development within the broad categories of developed countries and developing countries.

Not only is there important variation in human development within each category of “developed” and “developing” countries, but there is additional variation within each country. Most countries today have a **majority culture** that sets most of the norms and standards and holds most of the positions of political, economic, intellectual, and media power. In addition, there may be many minority cultures defined by ethnicity, religion, language, or other characteristics.

Variations in human development also occur due to differences within countries in the settings and circumstances of individual lives. The settings and circumstances that contribute to variations in pathways of human development are called **contexts**. Contexts include environmental settings such as family, school, community, media, and culture, all of which will be discussed in this book. Three other important aspects of variation that will be highlighted are socioeconomic status, gender, and ethnicity.

The term **socioeconomic status (SES)** is often used to refer to a person's *social class*, which includes educational level, income level, and occupational status. For children and adolescents, because they have not yet reached the social-class level they will have as adults, SES is usually used in reference to their parents' levels of education, income, and occupation. In most countries, SES is highly important in shaping human development. It influences everything from the risk of infant mortality to the quality and duration of children's education to the kind of work adults do to the likelihood of obtaining health care in late adulthood. Differences in SES are especially sharp in developing countries (UNDP, 2014). In a country such as India or Saudi Arabia or Peru, growing up as a member of the upper-class SES elite is very different from growing up as a member of the relatively poor majority, in terms of access to resources such as health care and education. However, even in developed countries there are important

globalization

increasing connections between different parts of the world in trade, travel, migration, and communication

majority culture

within a country, the cultural group that sets most of the norms and standards and holds most of the positions of political, economic, intellectual, and media power

contexts

settings and circumstances that contribute to variations in pathways of human development, including SES, gender, and ethnicity, as well as family, school, community, media, and culture

socioeconomic status (SES)

person's social class, including educational level, income level, and occupational status