chapter 4

Becoming an Adult

KEY TERMS

anticipatory socialization
autonomous self
cohort effect
crisis
Dream
ego
identity
individuation
life structure
resocialization
rites of passage
self-esteem

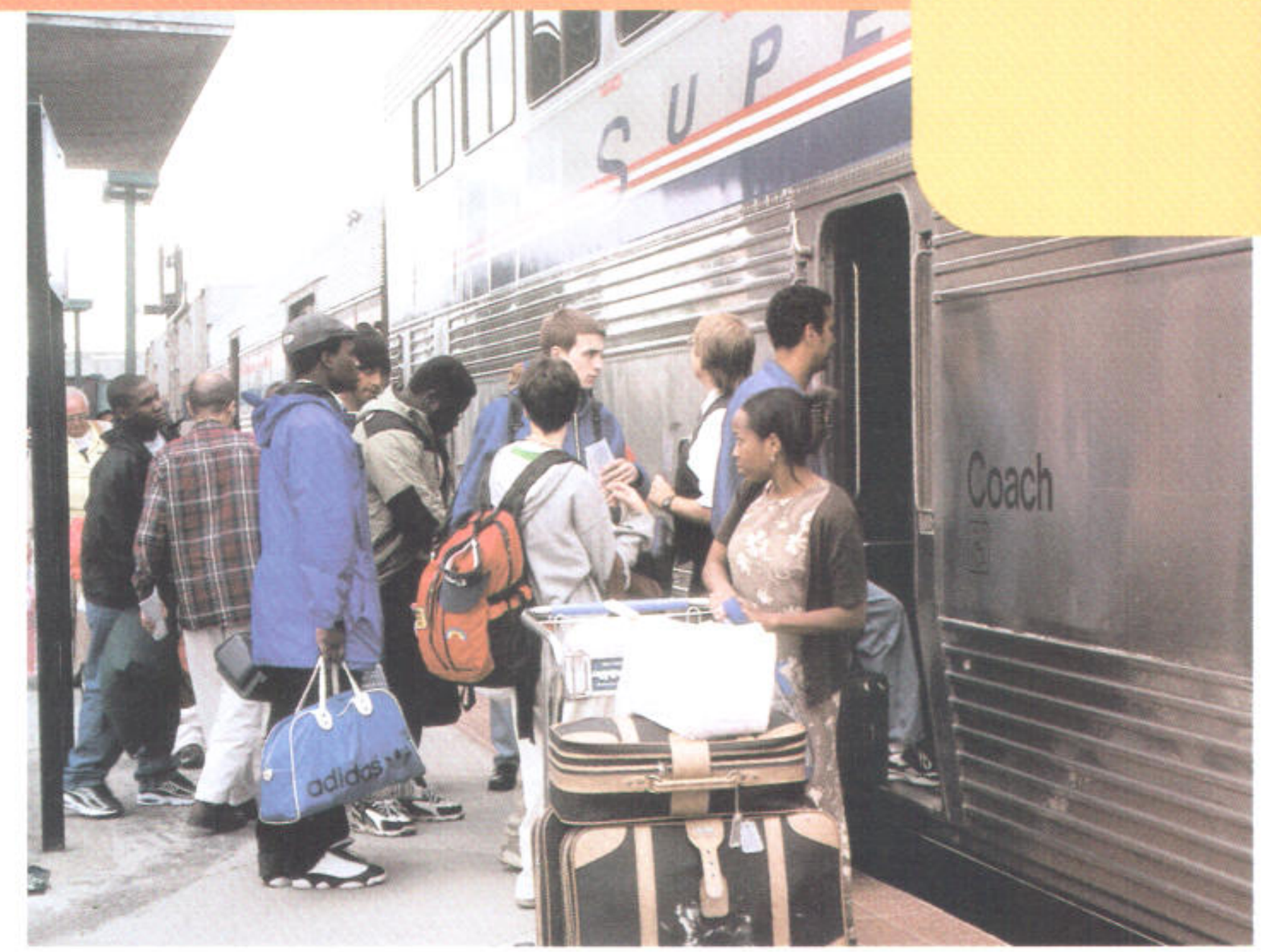
CHAPTER EXPECTATIONS

While reading this chapter, you will:

- describe the development of individuals in early adulthood, drawing on a variety of developmental theories
- analyze several viewpoints on similarities and differences in male and female development and on the impact of those differences on the roles individuals play
- evaluate emerging research and theories explaining the developmental tasks of individuals in early adulthood
- summarize the factors that influence decisions about educational and occupational choices
- demonstrate an understanding of research methodologies, appropriate research ethics, and specific theoretical perspectives for conducting primary research
- select and access secondary sources reflecting a variety of viewpoints
- identify and respond to the theoretical viewpoints, the thesis, and the supporting arguments of materials found in a variety of secondary sources

RESEARCH SKILLS

- developing and conducting interviews
- using in-text citations
- selecting reliable academic sources



In early adulthood, you will leave your adolescent life behind and begin to build a unique adult life for yourself.

CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

Becoming an adult is a complex personal process that no longer follows the timetable set by physical maturity. In this chapter, a psychological approach will be used to examine the transition to adulthood using contemporary developmental theories. These will be compared with traditional views of the life span in other societies to determine some life patterns of men and women in Canada's post-industrial society. How individuals interact with families and other groups in society to learn who they will become in adulthood will also be investigated. Finally, the ways that individuals make decisions as they prepare for their roles in early adulthood will be explored.

The Transition to Adulthood

Becoming an adult is a process that begins in childhood and continues until you are an adult in your own eyes, in the eyes of your parents, the law, and the society in which you live. Does becoming an adult occur in predictable stages regardless of the society in which you live? Is the process unique for each individual, or does development occur in patterns for all individuals living at the same time and in the same place? The behavioural norms in early adulthood in Canada have changed, but is the process of becoming an adult changing for individuals living in Canada? To answer these research questions, various developmental theories will be studied first, followed by a study of how individuals change in the transition to adulthood.

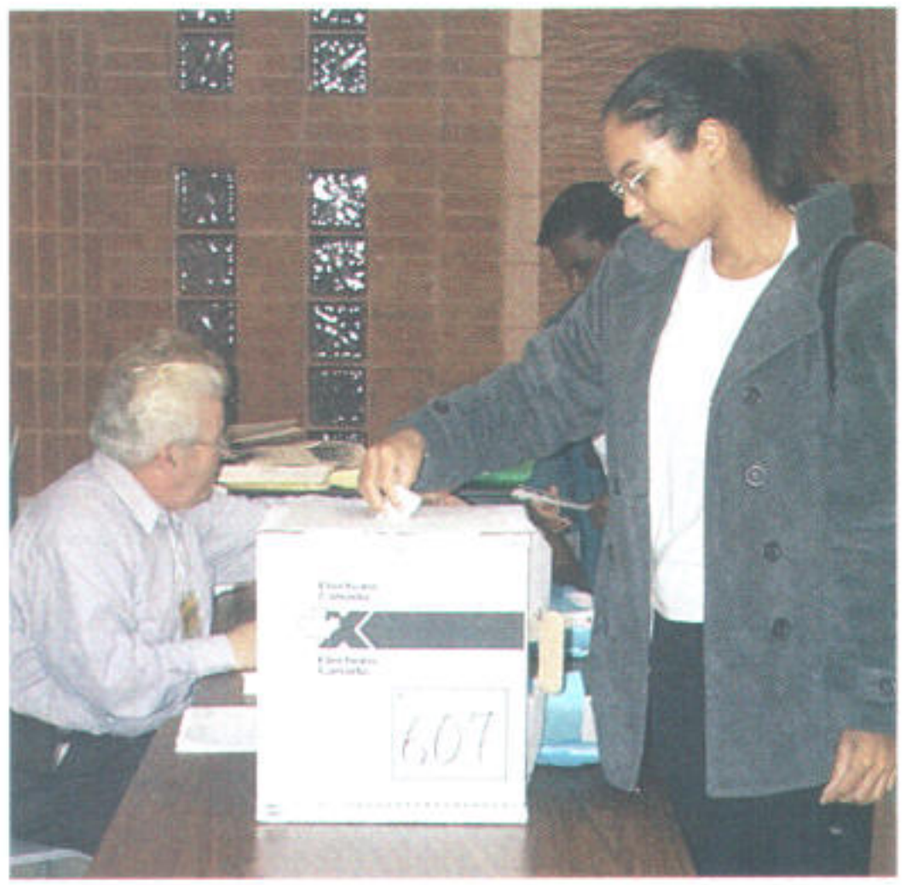
Although an individual's development is a very gradual process, it is marked by very distinct and significant turning points, such as puberty, graduation, obtaining a driver's licence, marriage, and parenthood. All known human societies have recognizable stages of life that are distinguished by societal rituals called **rites of passage**. However, stages of development are not exactly alike in all societies, nor are the celebrations of these rites of passage.

In traditional Hindu society, for example, four stages of life are recognized.

- The first stage is youth, or *brahmacharya*, which begins at about the age of ten and lasts for about ten years. Before then, a Hindu child is not considered to be fully formed yet. During this first stage, the primary expectations of the individual are to remain celibate and to become educated, particularly in religious matters.
- The second stage of life, called *grihastha*, is marked by marriage. During this stage, Hindu men and women are expected to raise and care for their family and to do what is economically necessary to ensure that their children prosper.
- Once the children have become established, marked by reaching the second stage themselves, Hindu parents are free to enter the third stage of life, *vanaprastha*. In this stage, they are expected to focus more on religious beliefs and rituals and to begin to separate themselves from their families. During this stage, they gradually give away their material wealth and worldly possessions to prepare for the next stage.
- During *sannyas*, the fourth and final stage of life, some Hindus live as religious mendicants or *sadhus*, dependent on the charity of others in the community and without any personal attachment to family or friends (Turnbull, 1985).

The Pace of Development

It is difficult to define when you will be considered an adult in Canadian society. When you achieve the chronological age of 18, you reach the age of majority and acquire the legal responsibilities and privileges of adulthood. You can vote and sign contracts. You can also get married. When the age of majority was reduced to the age of 18 from 21 years, young adults were leaving school, working, getting married, and having children in their early twenties. By the end of the twentieth century, the usual signs of adulthood—leaving home and becoming self-reliant—appeared to be occurring later. Most 18-year-olds in Canada are still attending school, and many will continue to be dependent on their parents for several years. Marriage and parenthood usually occur six to eight years later. This inconsistency among legal, social, and economic statuses reflects the changing pattern of becoming an adult in Canada.



When young Canadians become 18 years of age, they acquire the right to make their own decisions, including the right to vote for the candidate of their choice.

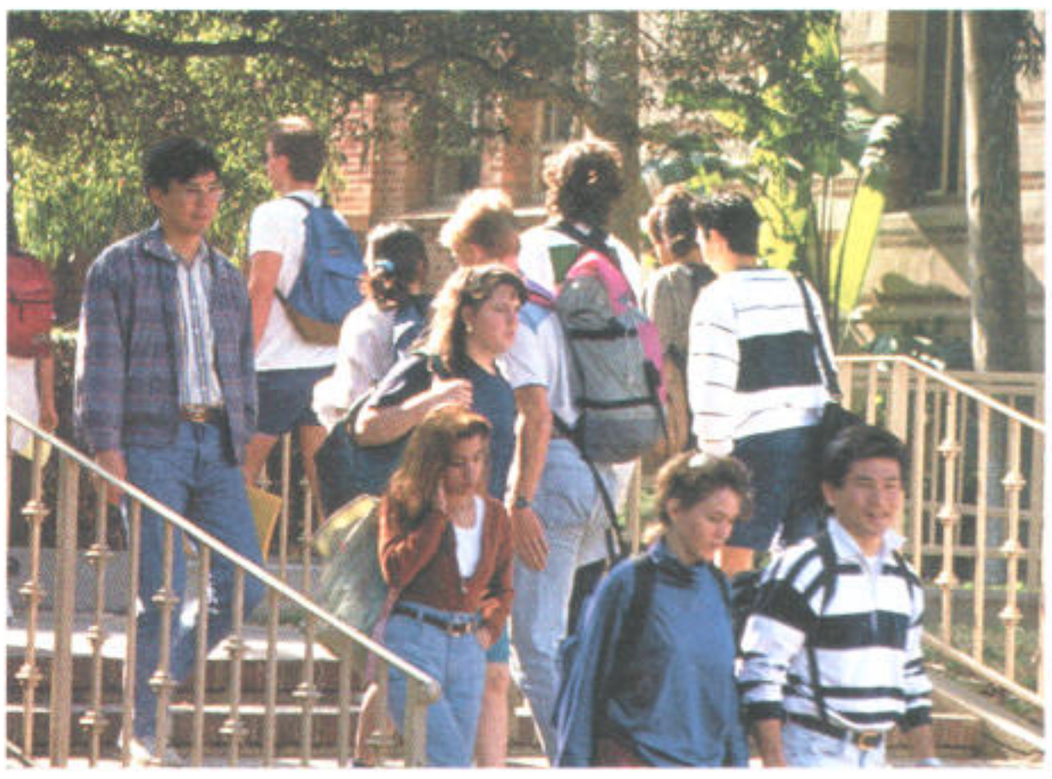
Progress from one stage of life to another has been described as the interaction of several clocks, each ticking away at its own pace (Kotre & Hall, 1992). The age of majority reflects the chronological clock and defines adulthood precisely in terms of the number of years since birth. The physical changes that result in sexual maturity and the attainment of full adult size and strength are determined by the biological clock. The psychological clock reflects how the brain is developing as individuals acquire new mental processes and more mature ways of understanding the world. The social clock sets the timetable for society's expectations concerning when certain events should occur in the lives of individuals. Since adults are expected to control their sexual and reproductive behaviour within the framework of social constraints, becoming an adult is probably determined more by the social clock than by any other.

In Canada at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the chronological clock continues to tick at a steady pace so that all individuals acquire privileges and responsibilities at the same age. Yet chronological age is not an accurate indication of biological, psychological, or social maturity (Schlossberg, 1987). The biological clock has speeded up, as improved nutrition and health enable bodies to mature sooner. As a result, young Canadians achieve sexual maturity and fertility in their early teen years. The psychological clock is less evident. Since mental processes can be observed only when they are applied, when the

nature of the problems that require solutions change, such as the use of a calculator instead of a slide-rule for solving mathematical equations, it is difficult to determine whether individuals are maturing at a faster rate. The social clock changes as social norms determine when events, such as leaving home or marriage, are "on-time" or "off-time" (Bee, 1987). However, the social clock has slowed significantly over the past two decades (Sheehy, 1995). The pattern of life has changed to reflect the interaction of the four clocks.

Developmental Theories

Developmental theories attempt to identify patterns of life and to describe growth or changes in human behaviour as individuals mature. They are created by analyzing the behaviour of large groups of individuals over a long time. The data is gathered by using questionnaires to determine overall patterns of behaviour and interviews to determine how individuals describe their motivation and feelings about their behaviour. Some developmental theories, such as those of Erik Erikson and Jane Loevinger, suggest that growth and improvement occur as individuals progress from one stage to another when they are ready. Other developmental theories, such as the family life cycle and Daniel Levinson's seasons of life, propose that there are age-linked stages in which people change to become different but not necessarily better. Finally, a third group of theories, such as Klaus Riegel's and Leonard Pearlin's, advocate that there are no stages, but that development reflects constant change as individuals respond to environmental influences. Developmental theorists do agree on one basic premise, however: The behaviour of individuals results from inner psychological changes in response to life circumstances (Bee, 1987).



Developmental stage theories describe life as a series of predictable steps, each building and improving on the previous step and progressing toward full maturity.

Erik Erikson's Eight Stages of Life

Erik Erikson was the first psychologist to describe predictable stages of human development from childhood through adulthood. He depicted a series of eight stages in which an individual's **identity** emerges and matures. He suggested that each stage presents a dilemma, in which the person is challenged by new situations and circumstances in life. People are pushed through the stages by their biological clock and by the social clock of the society in which they live. Identity

developing your research skills | Using In-Text Citations

Using in-text citations, you can inform your readers of the original sources of the ideas included in your research papers. There are many styles of in-text citations. In the social sciences, you will be using reliable academic sources that enlighten your reader about your topic; therefore, the American Psychological Association (APA) style is used. It assumes that ideas are summarized from an entire work, not from single pages. Here are general guidelines for writing in-text citations.

1. The APA style provides the author's last name and the date of the publication from which you have paraphrased or summarized the author's ideas.
2. If you have quoted the author's words directly, then provide the page number.
3. Cite the source that you *actually* used for your research, not a source that the author of the book you are reading has used (but that you have not read). For example, ideas from Erik Erikson's books that were explained in a book written by Helen L. Bee have been used, so the in-text citation credits "Bee, 1987" with the explanation.
4. Cite the edition of the book you have read, not an earlier edition that you have not seen. For example, in this text, a 1980 edition of Erik Erikson's 1959 book *Identity and the Life Cycle* has been used as a source for his ideas on identity. Thus, the in-text citation "Erikson, 1980" has been used, to reflect use of the 1980, not the 1959, edition.

Using In-Text Citations for Research

Using in-text citations, you can locate sources that will provide a more detailed and in-depth discussion of a research topic. Preliminary reading on a subject, such as reading this textbook, will provide an overview based on more in-depth academic books and research publications. Use the author's name and the date of publication to find the title of the publication in the bibliography or reference list at the end of the book, chapter, or article. After a trip to the library, read the original source yourself. Don't stop there. When you have the original source, check its in-text citations and the bibliography. You can also use the author's name from in-text citations to conduct a search on-line for more recent publications by the same researcher on the topic. ■

development reflects the progress of the psychological clock. By resolving each dilemma, the individual acquires the basic strength needed to meet the challenges of the next stage in life. Failure to resolve a dilemma suggests that the person might face some difficulties later in life.

Erikson defined the dilemma during adolescence and early adulthood as *identity versus role confusion* (Erikson, 1980). Every individual is challenged to define who he or she is and will be in the future. This problem is demanding because individuals face many decisions at this time in their lives. Adolescents and young adults choose what work to do, how to be a man or a woman, and what to believe in (Bee, 1987), or they remain confused about what role they will play in adulthood. In resolving this dilemma, individuals acquire the basic strength of *fidelity* (Erikson, 1997). It enables individuals to make

Young adults are challenged to find out what they believe as they seek to become their own person in the adult world.

choices that serve the needs, strengths, and interests of themselves, and later, of others. Since Canadian society provides a variety of appropriate adult roles, such as father, mechanic, teacher, wife, making these important choices determines the paths that individuals will take in their adult lives.

The dilemma of early adulthood is *intimacy versus isolation*. Intimacy is being able to merge your identity with someone else's without losing yourself in the process (Erikson, 1980). Since true intimacy is based on the ability to trust a person enough to reveal your personal thoughts and feelings to him or her, it is necessary to have a clear sense of who you are. Erikson suggested that without an identity, formed in the previous stage, relationships would be shallow. An individual would feel lonely if he or she could not connect with others. The basic strength that is acquired by resolving the dilemma of intimacy versus isolation is *love*, meaning an overall sense of caring and generosity toward others (Erikson, 1997).

Erikson suggested that women might develop identity and intimacy at the same time because they might develop their identities through relationships with others (Erikson, 1980). Thus, they might acquire the enduring strengths of fidelity and love simultaneously. This idea has also been suggested by Carol Gilligan (1982) in her book *In a Different Voice*. Based on her studies of young women, Gilligan concluded that women determine who they are, how to be a woman, and what they believe in terms of relationships, whereas men usually cannot commit to others until they are sure of their own identities.

Adults focus on their contribution to society in the next stage of life, *generativity versus stagnation*. The challenge of this stage is to decide how to make an individual contribution to society and, by doing so, acquire the basic strength of *caring*. Traditionally, most people accomplished this by having children. Some people attained this through "great works." Erikson's theory suggests that this task follows the formation of identity and the development of intimate relationships on the social clock because it requires fidelity and love.

In summary, the tasks of early adulthood are to determine first who you want to be and what you want to do so that you are true to yourself, and then who you want to be with so that you can share yourself with others.

web connection

www.mcgrawhill.ca/links/families12

To learn about Erik Erikson's theory of the stages of life or about other personality theories, go to the web site above for *Individuals and Families in a Diverse Society* to see where to go next.

in focus | Erik Erikson

Erik Erikson was born near Frankfurt, Germany, in 1902 to Karla Abrahamson, a Danish Jew. Karla was abandoned by her partner before Erik was born, and subsequently she married Dr. Theodor Homberger in 1905. The new family moved to Karlsruhe, Germany. After finishing high school, Erikson studied to become an artist and travelled around Europe. While teaching art in Vienna, he learned to become a Montessori teacher and earned a certificate from the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. By this time, he was more interested in the psychology of child development. While he was in Vienna, Erikson married Joan Serson, a Canadian dance teacher (Boeree, 1997).

Erikson's early life experiences could have resulted in a need to establish his own identity. He had grown up in Germany as a Jewish boy who looked Nordic. He did not learn until he was a young man that Dr. Homberger was not his father. With the rise of Nazism, Erikson and his wife left Vienna and moved first to Copenhagen, from where his mother came, and then to the United States. When he became an American citizen, Erik Abrahamson Homberger established who he was by changing his name (Boeree, 1997). Adapting Nordic tradition, he named himself not after his father but after himself. He became Erik Erikson.

Erikson taught at Harvard Medical School and had a practice in child psychoanalysis. Later he taught at Yale and the University of California at Berkeley. He left teaching during the McCarthy Era, but continued his research and his psychoanalysis practice. He eventually returned to teaching at Harvard (Boeree, 1997).

In later life, Erik Erikson and his wife, Joan, both wrote about the stages of life.

He wrote *Childhood and Society* in 1950, summarizing his studies of childhood and adolescence among Native Americans and describing his version of Freudian theory. In 1968, he wrote *Identity: Youth and Crisis,* outlining his theory of identity as the focus of human development.

Erik Erikson retired from teaching in 1970, but continued researching and writing, with his wife, about the stages of life, until his death in 1994 at the age of 92. In his revision of his last book, *The Life Cycle Completed,* which was finished and published as an extended version by Joan Erikson in 1997, he stated that his knowledge of the human life cycle was not complete. He suggested that there was, perhaps, a ninth stage of life in very old age yet to be examined (Erikson, 1997). ■

Jane Loevinger's Theory of Ego Development

Jane Loevinger also identified stages toward a higher level of development. She identified ten stages in the formation of the **ego**, a term introduced by Sigmund Freud, meaning the understanding of self. Ego development begins in infancy with the understanding that you are an individual separate from your mother. Loevinger described full ego development as having an

As you move from one period to another, you will face new life experiences and new challenges. Developmental theories suggest that you will change as a result, but you will not necessarily become better or worse than you were before, just different.

autonomous self, a complex concept that includes being a self-reliant person who accepts oneself and others as multi-faceted and unique (Bee, 1987). Like Erikson, she saw the search for an understanding of self as the centre of human development. Loevinger's stages are determined solely by the individual's psychological clock. In fact, she suggested that few adults ever achieve full ego development, but strive toward that goal for a lifetime.

In Loevinger's theory, young adults are at a transitional *self-aware level* between the *conformist stage* and the *conscientious stage*. Adolescents at the conformist stage tend to view life in stereotypical ways and as black and white, in an attempt to classify human experience so that they can see where they belong in society. Young adults at the self-aware level begin to understand and accept individual differences and to distinguish the variations in feelings and opinions that make us unique. Loevinger suggests that in the conscientious stage they are able to appreciate others as individuals in reciprocal relationships. Thus, Loevinger echoes Erikson's theory that individuals require a clear sense of themselves before they can form truly intimate relationships with others. However, Loevinger concluded from her research that because most people spend a lifetime developing this ability, the progress from one stage to the next is determined by an individual's psychological clock, not by chronological age or the social environment.

The Family Life Cycle

The family life-cycle theory describes early adulthood as a stage in which individuals are launched from their families of origin. Parents and children must separate from one another so that young adults can accept emotional responsibility for themselves (Carter & McGoldrick, 1989). According to the family life-cycle theory, three developmental tasks must be mastered for this to happen.

1. Young adults must form an identity separate from that of the family of origin. This process of **individuation** requires young adults to "sort out emotionally what they will take along from the family of origin, what they will leave behind, and what they will create for themselves" (Carter & McGoldrick, p. 13).
2. Young adults must develop new intimate relationships with peers outside the family to provide the social and emotional support they need.
3. Young adults must make their first tentative commitment to a career or workplace role.

These three tasks enable young adults to become self-sufficient adults.

The family of origin, especially the parents, plays an important role in the development of the adult at this stage. The relationship between parent and child must change to become less hierarchical so that a young adult can accept responsibility for making decisions. Parents must be tolerant of differences of opinion as the young adult makes occupational choices. Perhaps most difficult is the need for parents to accept that their child is forming new intimate relationships with others, one of which will become the primary relationship. The family life-cycle theory emphasizes that development involves change in response to a **crisis** so that the family can move on to a different, not necessarily better, stage. Separation from the family of origin is best accomplished when the family can let go, so that the young adult and the parents can begin the next stage of life.

For a young adult to separate successfully from his or her parents and become an independent adult, the parents must be willing to tolerate differences of opinion.

Daniel Levinson's Theory of the Seasons of Life

Daniel Levinson has proposed that the era of early adulthood lasts 25 years, beginning near the end of high school at about 17 years of age and ending with the transition to middle age in the early forties. During the *early adult transition*, from the ages of 17 to 22 years, his research suggests, an individual must leave behind adolescent life and begin to prepare an adult **life structure**. Like the family life-cycle theory, Levinson wrote of separation from the family of origin. However, he emphasized changes in the attachment between adult child and parents—not necessarily physical separation—to allow the individual to participate in the adult world. The young adult will also modify or end relationships associated with an adolescent life to make way for new adult relationships. By completing education and starting work, individuals make some preliminary plans for adult life.

During the period from the age of 22 to about 28 years, the individual is *entering the adult world.* Early adulthood is a time for building the structure of one's life. According to Levinson "the life structure is the pattern or design of life, a meshing of self-in-world" (1978, p. 278). He identified four major tasks of this period (1978, p. 90):

1. Forming a Dream and giving it a place in the life structure

2. Forming mentor relationships

3. Forming an occupation

4. Forming love relationships, marriage, and family

"Experience is not what happens to a man. It is what a man does with what happens to him."

— Aldous Huxley

The **Dream** is the individual's sense of self in the adult world and is the core of the life structure (Levinson, 1978). The nature of the Dream will vary, but most describe some combination of occupational, family, and community roles. Men are more likely to describe Dreams involving occupational accomplishments, but some men and many women described Dreams related to community and family (Levinson, 1996). A Dream might be as precise as "I want to have my own business in the graphic arts industry by the time I am 30 so that I can control the type of work I do," or more mythical, such as, "I am going to be a leader." Initial choices of occupation, love relationships, and peer relationships may support the Dream. Many individuals develop relationships with mentors who support their Dreams and facilitate their progress. From the ages of 22 to 28, young adults build and test a preliminary life structure that integrates work, love, and community to attain their Dreams.

The challenge for young adults is to balance the creative exploration of various options for their life structure with a pragmatic desire to make a commitment to a life structure that supports their Dream. The dilemma is that until individuals begin to live out the life structure, all of the possibilities are not known, yet without some commitment to the choices they have made, it is not possible to determine whether the life structure might be realistic or satisfying.

For many young men and women, a successful career is at the core of their Dream.

The *age 30 transition* occurs between the ages of 28 to 33 years. Individuals re-evaluate the life structures that they formed in their early twenties to determine whether they are living out their dreams. Levinson (1976, p. 58) described this re-evaluation as an inner voice that says, "If I am to change my life—if there are things in it that I want to modify or exclude, or things missing I want to add—I must now make a start, for soon it will be too late." Individuals might choose to marry or to get a divorce, to have children, or to change jobs at this time as they adjust their life structures. Many of Levinson's subjects described this as a time to "get real" after testing their early choices for a few years before *settling down* in their thirties.

research study | The Seasons of Life

Daniel Levinson, a Yale psychologist, led a major study of adult life to determine and describe developmental patterns in early adulthood. The results of his study were published as an academic paper in 1977 and as the book *The Seasons of a Man's Life* in 1978. The initial study was limited to men. A follow-up study of women was conducted from 1979 to 1982 to determine whether the pattern of development for women was the same or different as that for men.

RESEARCH QUESTION

What is the pattern of life for middle-aged men?

HYPOTHESES

- Diverse biological, psychological, and social changes occur in adult life.
- These changes occur between the ages of 35 and 45.

RESEARCH METHOD

Using interviews, a team of researchers surveyed 40 men between the ages of 35 and 45 years who were selected from a group who had volunteered as college students for an earlier study. Subjects included ten workers paid hourly, ten executives, ten Ph.D. biologists, and ten novelists. Each man was interviewed five to ten times for a total of ten to twenty hours by one researcher. A follow-up interview was conducted two years later. The interviews were based on key questions designed to cover certain topics, but subjects were encouraged to give open-ended and wide-ranging answers to tell their life histories. This method is called *biographical interview.* In preparing and analyzing the biographies, a pattern emerged that was formed into a developmental theory.

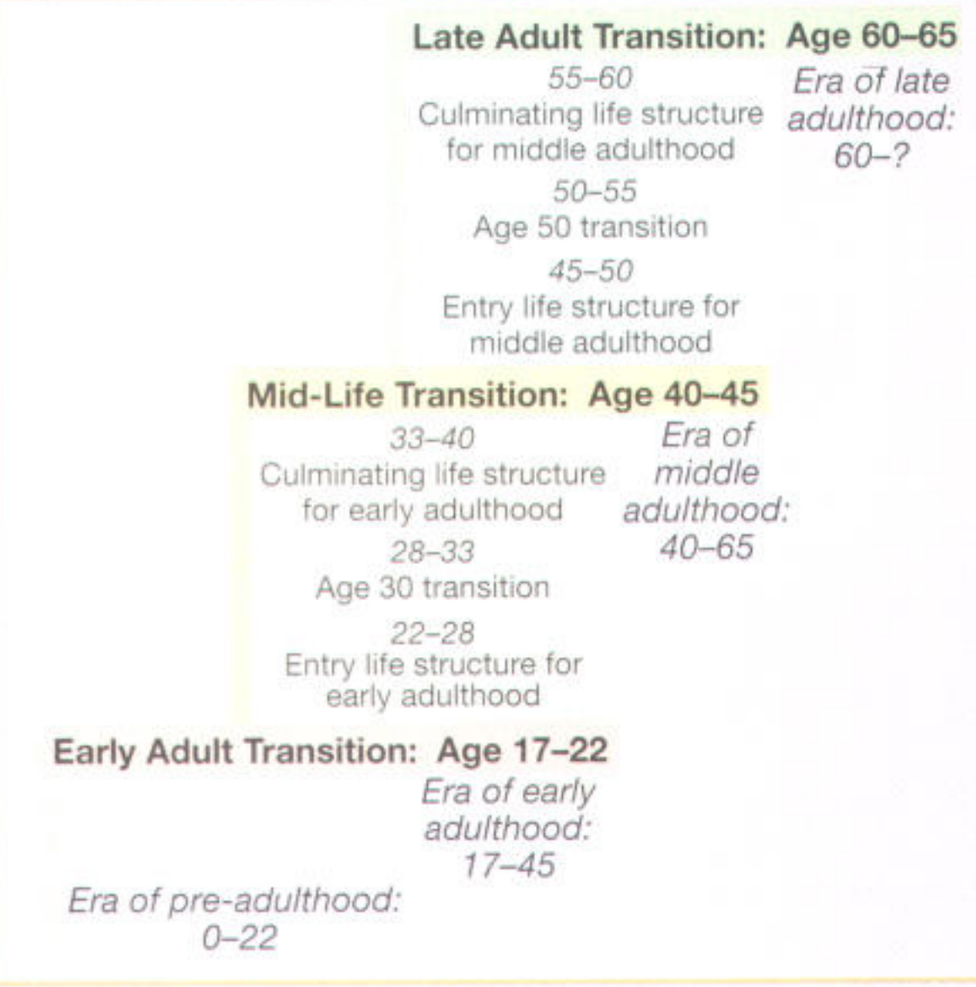
RESULTS

- The life cycle evolves through a sequence of eras, each lasting approximately 25 years.
- The eras overlap in transitional periods lasting four to five years.
- In early adulthood, a young man develops an identity and makes decisions concerning work and love as he develops a life structure.

CONCLUSION

As the result of his research, Levinson concluded that there is a common series of age-linked periods in adult life for men that he called *eras* or *seasons.* The conclusion of the follow-up study of women is that the age-linked seasons are the same as those for men, but that gender differences exist because of the different roles of men and women in North America. ■

Developmental Periods in the Eras of Early and Middle Adulthood



Klaus Riegel's Interpretation of Development

American psychologist Klaus Riegel suggests that development in adulthood occurs not in predictable stages but as individuals adjust in response to the interaction of both internal and external changes. His theory accepts an internal biological clock and a changing external social clock. He identified four interrelated internal and external dimensions of development:

1. The *individual psychological dimension* describes emotional maturity and independence, and the maturity of mental processes.
2. The *individual biological dimension* describes physical and sexual maturity.
3. The *cultural-sociological dimension* describes the expectations and opportunities that each society defines for individuals.
4. The *environmental dimension* describes the physical, economic, and political environment in which the individual lives. (Kimmel, 1990)

According to Riegel, development occurs when a change in one dimension requires an adjustment in one or more of the other dimensions. In this respect, his theory reflects systems theory. For example, when individuals are physically mature and emotionally ready for marriage, they will marry, if they are old enough according to the culture and the society in which they live, and if they can afford to live independently within the economic environment. However, if individuals are unable to earn enough money to become financially independent, they might continue to live with parents, forgo marriage, and have to adjust their sense of their own maturity. Since Riegel's theory integrates internal physical and psychological dimensions with external social and environmental dimensions, it explains how the pace of adult development reflects the changing social clock.

Leonard Pearlin's Theory of Psychological Distress

"I think somehow we learn who we really are and then live with that decision."

— Eleanor Roosevelt

American sociologist Leonard Pearlin attempted to rationalize how development can be unique to each individual yet appear to occur in a common pattern. He disagreed with stage theories, suggesting that adulthood is not a series of transitions from one period of stability to another, but rather a lifetime of continuous change in which individuals might experience occasional periods of stability. According to Pearlin, four elements determine the path that individual lives will take:

1. Individual characteristics, such as gender, race, intelligence, family background, personality, and education

2. The range of skills individuals have for coping with stress or change

3. The availability of social support networks

4. The nature and timing of stress that requires response (Bee, 1987)

He agreed that early adulthood might be the time for acting on the dreams of adolescence. However, he believed that people are able to change the life structure at any time (Smesler & Erikson, 1980).

Pearlin suggested that there are similarities in life flow because individuals change in response to similar external circumstances and stresses that affect their lives. Many stresses, such as leaving school, starting work, even getting married, are scheduled by the social clock of society and are predictable. Therefore, individuals can anticipate role changes. Societies support individuals in their development by socializing them for these scheduled events (Bee, 1987). In effect, Pearlin is suggesting that the patterns that Erikson, Levinson, and other developmental theorists have observed are a **cohort effect**, that the changes in behaviour result from socialized responses to a common social clock rather than from age-linked inner changes.

web connection

www.mcgrawhill.ca/links/families12

To learn about the predictable stages of adult life according to Gail Sheehy, go to the web site above for *Individuals and Families in a Diverse Society* to see where to go next.

in focus | Gail Sheehy's *Passages*

Gail Sheehy's *Passages: The Predictable Crises of Adult Life*, a book that was named in a Library of Congress survey as "one of the ten most influential books of our time," was published in 1976. Using case studies, Sheehy described the life transitions of adulthood. She outlined the stages of adulthood in several other books published in the 1990s. Yet Sheehy's name seldom appears on the reference lists of academic studies, and she is often dismissed as a "pop psychologist." How can people distinguish between reliable academic research and "pop" psychology?

"Pop" is short for popular, and Gail Sheehy was certainly popular. *Passages* remained on *The New York Times* bestseller list for more than three years and was widely discussed in the media. She is credited with encouraging millions of people to re-examine their lives to see opportunities for growth in adulthood. She wrote for the general public, not an academic audience. Gail Sheehy is not a professional psychologist; she is a journalist. In writing her books, she uses the methodology of psychological research to serve a journalistic purpose.

Even though Gail Sheehy's research is sound, her work is not referred to in academic studies because she is a journalist and not a social scientist.

When she started to write *Passages*, Sheehy set three objectives:

1. To locate the inner changes common to each stage of life

2. To compare the developmental rhythms of men and women

3. To examine the crises that couples can anticipate (Sheehy, 1976)

She conducted her secondary research by studying the research of psychologists Else Frankel-Brunswick, Erik Erikson, Daniel Levinson, and Robert Gould. Extensive notes are included in her book. Her primary research consisted of 115 biographical interviews of men, women, and couples, aged 18 to 55. Her analysis of these interviews became the predictable crises she outlined in her book.

Gail Sheehy's predictable crises match the periods that Daniel Levinson outlined, but the names are more creative. She describes early adult transition as *Pulling Up Roots*, entering the adult world as *The Trying Twenties*, and age 30 transition as *Catch-30* (Sheehy, 1976). Unlike Levinson's early work, she examined the lives of both men and women and their lives together. She also used the experiences of her case studies as a springboard for providing advice to her readers on managing the transitions in their own lives.

When researchers like Levinson and his team publish their results, they do so first in academic journals for peer review. Their methodology and results are examined by other professionals to determine whether they have been responsible in their research and whether the results can be replicated by further research. When journalists like Gail Sheehy publish their work in magazines or books, they are reviewed by critics and by the public, who base their judgments on a wide variety of criteria. Gail Sheehy has been accused of changing the evidence from her interviews to suit her purpose as a journalist. However, critics who dismiss Sheehy reject her thesis by presenting their own view of adulthood, not by criticizing her methodology.

Since Sheehy published *Passages* in 1976, interest in psychology and the social sciences has grown. Sheehy herself has written four more books about adult life. Now, many researchers publish two versions of their research—an academic version for peer review and research, and a popular version for the interested public, as Daniel Levinson did with *The Seasons of a Man's Life* in 1978 and *The Seasons of a Woman's Life* in 1996. ■

1. Using the criteria outlined in Chapter 2, page 50, is Gail Sheehy's *Passages* a valid academic source?
2. Will your research resemble that of Gail Sheehy or Daniel Levinson?
3. Will your research be valid?

Socialization for Adulthood

Becoming an adult requires that individuals alter their behaviour as they take on new adult roles in life. Psychologist Nancy K. Schlossberg explains that individuals making a transition change their relationships, perform new work, establish new routines, and develop new assumptions (1987). Socialization is the process by which people learn appropriate social role behaviours in order to participate in a new society. It also includes learning values, attitudes, and expectations. When an individual makes a transition to a new role, **resocialization** enables the person to discard old behaviour and to change his or her behaviour. For example, new employees will learn

appropriate attitudes toward the organization that has hired them as they assume their new roles in full-time career positions rather than from their previous temporary or part-time jobs. In preparation for major role changes, **anticipatory socialization** allows people to learn and practise role behaviour before actually taking on a new role. For example, being a shift manager in a part-time job prepares a person for the management skills that may be required in a future career. If transitions are anticipated, individuals can view the changes in a positive way, consider various options, and develop strategies for managing their lives. The social clock, which outlines when certain events should happen in society, enables young adults and those who support them to anticipate the changes in their lives and to be socialized for their new roles.

What happens when the social clock changes? Functionalists explain that the roles of individuals within a society change as necessary to enable the society to continue to perform its functions when other social conditions change. The norms concerning leaving home and becoming self-reliant, the traditional markers of adulthood, have changed in the past few decades. Functionalists would suggest that the changes in the expectations of young adult behaviour reflect a new economic and social organization in Canada. How young men and women are socialized for contemporary adult roles will be examined, focusing on two research questions:

- How do individuals form an identity?
- How do individuals choose an occupation?

Identity and Self-Esteem

When Erikson first wrote about the importance of identity in 1959, he explained that it was the foundation on which individuals would build their lives. Identity appears to include three aspects: a consistent sense of self, a realistic perception of the world, and a sense of control over one's own life (Erikson, 1968). Earlier, Freud had described a mature ego as the ability to modify one's ideas and actions to fit the real world in culturally appropriate ways (Teevan & Hewitt, 1995). This definition of identity is similar to the Dream, the sense of self in the adult world described by the subjects in Levinson's studies of men and of women (1978, 1996), and to the idea

Role models can help young adults foresee roles for themselves in the adult world.

of **self-esteem**. If identity includes not only "who I am" but also "who I will be," then it is necessary for an individual forming an identity to be able to foresee himself or herself playing realistic adult roles in the future (Côté & Allahar, 1994).

The development of a sense of self can be explained by the theory of symbolic interactionism. Individuals form a sense of themselves based on their interpretations of how others act toward them. In his looking glass theory, Charles Cooley compared the significant people in one's life to looking glasses or mirrors. When you present yourself to others by your words and actions, you interpret others' reactions as reflections of their evaluation of you, and form your self-identity as a result of their interpretations (Schaefer et al., 1996). Erikson (1980) explained that forming a true identity required that one's self-image matches the image he or she thinks others have of him or her. Just as the quality of a mirror affects the accuracy of one's body image, so others can affect the accuracy of an individual's identity. Erikson (1968, p. 128) described the importance of choosing reliable significant others as role models:

> If the earliest stage bequeathed to the identity crisis is an important need to trust in oneself and in others, then clearly the adolescent looks most fervently for men and ideas to have *faith* in, which also means men and ideas in whose service it would seem worthwhile to prove oneself trustworthy.

Anticipatory socialization provides opportunities for youth to learn and to practise the new behaviours, skills, and attitudes required for future roles from role models (Teevan & Hewitt, 1995). Identity develops as a result of the individual's personal and symbolic interpretation of their performance in these experiences (Anderson & Hayes, 1996).

"There is time for work. And time for love. That leaves no other time."

— Coco Chanel

Both men and women achieve their identities by assessing their accomplishments (Anderson & Hayes, 1996). Self-control, people's sense that they can make choices about what they will do and what can happen to them, is therefore an important aspect of identity. For individuals to have a sense of self-control, they must be aware of their personal resources and be able to assess situations realistically. They must also develop the skills necessary for making choices and have opportunities to make decisions for themselves about challenges that really matter (Owens, Mortimer, & Finch, 1996). Individuals' family backgrounds, school experiences, and social networks are important factors in how they are socialized to become self-aware, to acquire skills, and to make choices.

The Decision-Making Process

Early adulthood requires that you form an identity that allows you to feel capable of making the decisions needed by the circumstances in your life. Later, when you evaluate the decisions you made in your early twenties, you might make changes in your life structure.

STEP 1
Define the problem and your expectations for a solution.
Consider who you are, who you want to be, and what you want to do.

↓

STEP 2
Identify the alternatives available.
Explore the possible solutions to the problem.

↓

STEP 3
Evaluate the alternatives.
Investigate the possible consequences of each alternative for your values, interests, expectations, and goals.

↓

STEP 4
Choose the most effective alternative.
Select the alternative that has the optimum effects for your life.

↓

STEP 5
Act on the decision.
Develop a plan of action for using your resources to achieve the solution.

↓

STEP 6
Evaluate the decision.
Assess the effectiveness of the solution and whether changes are required.
Assess your decision-making skills.

Socialization Within the Family

Family homes are the first environment in which people are socialized. Individuals acquire personal qualities from their family members that might affect their socialization. Family members are the primary role models for children and play a major role in identity formation. Adolescents whose families both support them and encourage them to participate in challenging activities develop a sense of control and self-esteem (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000). Family background also determines the extent to which children can benefit from the opportunities available to participate in society.

When parents choose activities in which to participate, they determine which basic values, interests, and skills they will transmit to their children.

Family background is a significant factor in identity formation. Children acquire the status of their family of origin, so individuals usually identify with the race, religion, and ethnicity of their parents. Individuals often acquire the same expectations of life as their parents by participating in various activities, such as attending a religious service, doing their own home repairs, marching in political demonstrations, or volunteering on the weekend. Parents are role models for their children, and they provide feedback concerning their behaviour. In Reginald Bibby's study of adolescent attitudes in Canada, the most common source of influence, mentioned by 91 percent of adolescents, was "the way you were brought up" (2000). Values and beliefs are clarified by reflecting on one's actions and experiences. Bibby (2001) found that most adolescents prefer their parents to discipline them through discussion, a method that would encourage them to reflect on the reasons for their behaviour (Teevan & Hewitt, 1995). People acquire a sense of who they are, what they can do, and what they believe from their families.

Family background can also determine the paths that individuals take in adolescence and early adulthood. How much independence families allow their children depends on how parents perceive their own autonomy. Parents who feel they have little control over their lives are more likely to raise their children to be obedient, not self-reliant (Erikson, 1968). Family background can act as a filter that selects which environmental factors will influence their children. Filtering explains why some individuals play the piano or speak three languages or have no interest in sports. In a diverse society such as Canada's, families socialize their children to identify with one another on the basis of shared interests and culture, and to appreciate the need to behave appropriately in order to live and work co-operatively within that culture (Teevan & Hewitt, 1995).

The family system must adjust to allow the young adult child to become independent. Carter and McGoldrick (1989) suggest that families must withdraw financial support, establish residential boundaries, and encourage their young adult to make decisions independently. For example, families might provide furniture, food, and financial support for their young adult living with roommates in student housing, but withdraw the support when he or she leaves home to live independently. As with all adjustments in a family

system, if the young adult signals a need for parents to let go, how parents respond will depend on the experiences they had in their own separation from their parents when they pursued a career, got married, or made other transitions.

The Role of School in Socialization

According to Erikson, school challenges individuals to develop competence, a sense of being capable of doing things that are worthwhile. This is accomplished by working and learning, but also by evaluating one's own accomplishments against those of others (Erikson, 1980). The organization of the school system requires students to participate in various tasks to acquire the knowledge and develop the skills that are deemed essential for taking on appropriate adult roles. Schools give students feedback about their competence through formal assessment. In high school, adolescents have greater opportunity to explore their competence by choosing the subjects they will study. Students who are encouraged to take a variety of demanding courses develop a sense of self-control and a more consistent sense of what they can do (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000).

Assessment of performance of school tasks helps individuals develop realistic expectations of themselves.

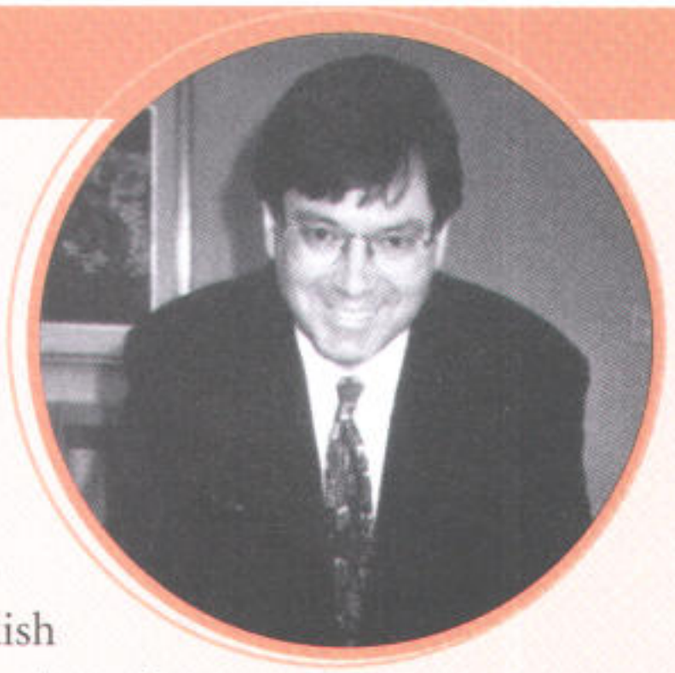
Going to school is the first step a child takes in separating from the family (Turnbull, 1985). When children enter the school system, they acquire two distinct sets of significant others outside the family who will give them feedback on their behaviour: teachers and peers. The socialization role of the school is defined in the form of the curriculum. Teachers are expected to transmit the knowledge and skills required by society and to assess the students' performance so they can acquire a realistic perception of what they can do. During adolescence, the peer group exerts a stronger influence than teachers (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000). Since the social behaviour and expectations within the peer group can be negotiated, or alternative peer groups can be chosen, adolescents have an opportunity to decide who they want to be. Symbolic interactionism suggests that school experiences challenge individuals to develop a consistent identity by interpreting feedback from a wider range of role models among their peers.

in focus | Time to Grow Up

by E. Kaye Fulton

In the 1980s, the decade of indulgence, pop psychologists urged men and women to search for the "inner child" that cowered within. Lighten up, they said, and reap the rewards of innocence, either lost or never nurtured in its proper time. Thus prompted, a generation of adults armed with credit cards romped its way to decadence, deficits, and defaulted car payments. In the sobering 1990s, and—mercifully for those whose childish inner self proved to be more obnoxious than carefree—there was sensible Toronto psychiatrist David Leibow. In a timely how-to guide, *Love, Pain and the Whole Damn Thing*, Leibow argues that it is fine to be, or at least strive to be, an adult—to solve those problems, to act your age. "There's an easy way to do it, and a hard way," he writes. "Being an adult—and feeling like one—is the easy way."

A tantalizing concept, adulthood. To many embattled post-pubescents, the natural inclination is to scuttle by bookstore shelves littered with a shocking array of self-help tomes encouraging childlike self-indulgence. But the middle-aged, Hamilton-born psychiatrist has latched onto a somewhat novel idea. Although experts have produced a deluge of material on childhood and adolescence, the transition to adulthood—that awkward phase that begins with physical maturity and can linger on into the forties, the fifties, and perhaps beyond—is largely unexplored. According to Leibow, adulthood is much maligned as a joyless, predictable plateau that often ends in stunned senility. Quite the opposite is true, he maintains. And it need not be approached with a grim sense of responsibility. "When we get old enough to have sexual intercourse, we don't stop kissing," he writes. "When we get serious about life, we don't lose our sense of humour."



Psychiatrist David Leibow wrote about the transition to adulthood.

The quality of adulthood depends on how much childish baggage is cast away. A graduate of McMaster University Medical School, Leibow cites many of the troubled characters who have trudged through his private practice in Toronto since his return to Canada in 1985 after a six-year teaching stint at Columbia University in New York City. Most of his patients have shared the same affliction—depression. And to Leibow's growing interest, many have recounted the same frustrations. "To a degree, it was a reflection of a more sober, realistic zeitgeist," Leibow said. In their jobs, homes, and social milieus, patients struggled with the pressures, even the freedoms and the privileges, of adulthood. They were also quick to blame their mothers, fathers, bosses, or spouses—anyone but themselves—for their predicaments. "The problem is that we want it both ways," writes Leibow. "We want to enjoy the perks and prerogatives of adulthood, yet retain access to the excuses and freedoms of childhood."

The first, and central, step in becoming an adult is renouncing the old parent-child relationship and its tired catalogue of beefs, dependencies, and hostilities. "One of the subtlest and most persistent forms of dependency is the hoarding of old complaints," writes Leibow. "By keeping track of the ways our parents have failed us, we hope that we'll be able to invoice them for it sometime in the future. Then, if they can't make us happy when we present them with the bill,

they will at least feel properly remorseful." Another must: abandon the romantic notion of ultimate happiness. "We will never recapture the state of bliss that we felt, or imagine we felt, when we were very, very young," Leibow contends. "It is this painful realization—the collision of fantasy and reality—that precipitates the crisis of pre-adulthood."

These are hardly revolutionary thoughts. The spectre of Oedipal fixations reaches further back than Freud. And much of Leibow's thesis—the sanctity of monogamy, marriage, and work—reflects conservative family values to a fault. Meanwhile, the author seems to have been unsure whether to target the book at his psychiatric peers or at the general public. That dilemma is evident as *Love, Pain* veers from dry clinical observation to colourful anecdotes and, occasionally, sly wit. But the thread of Leibow's argument rarely unravels. The wiser people become, he argues, the less likely they are to be blown about, like a raft on the ocean, by impulses and emotions. "Contrary to popular belief," he writes, "being stable does not make life boring; it makes life manageable."

The reward is apparently worth the effort. Adulthood is not bestowed. To Leibow, it is a magical dawning—when a person goes from feeling like a kid to feeling like an adult. "Then, just as when you learned to ride a bicycle, the unpleasant feelings of turbulence and uncertainty you felt beforehand give way to exhilarating feelings of pleasure and competence," he writes. Leibow's own moment came about in 1985 after an exhausting week of treating 60 patients. "I was out to dinner and I felt elated about putting in a full week, of doing what I trained for," he says. "I knew right away that I had turned a corner." And once there, Leibow concludes, no self-respecting adult can ever go back. ■

Source: *Maclean's*. (1995, July 17). p. 49.

1. Why does Dr. Leibow suggest that people have resisted growing up?
2. Why is it necessary to separate from parents in order to become an adult?
3. What are the rewards of becoming an adult?

Preparing for an Occupation

Some people live to work; others work to live, but all young Canadians are expected to prepare for an adult life that includes a job as its major component. Work is an economic necessity for those who want to become independent, but it also enables individuals to pursue their dreams. For some people, performing a certain kind of job is their dream. For others, work provides the income to pursue a dream in other aspects of life (Avard, 1999; Levinson, 1978). In an American study on gender, identity, and self-esteem, 88 percent of women and 91 percent of men identified work as a major contributor to their self-esteem (Anderson & Hayes, 1996). Here is how American social commentator Studs Terkel explained the meaning of work (in Anderson & Hayes, 1996, p. 245):

> Work—it is about a search for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for

The occupation that you choose determines many aspects of your lifestyle, such as income, working hours, and flexibility, for balancing other aspects of life.

> recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying.

Since work contributes to self-esteem, a satisfying job is an important part of a life structure. Choosing an occupation determines how much individuals can earn, how they can use their time, how challenging their work will be, and with whom they will interact. It can also affect how much flexibility they will have for changing their life in the future. In an Angus Reid survey conducted in 1996, only 37 percent of young adults reported that they were very satisfied with their jobs (Chamberlain, 1996). How gratifying a job will be day to day depends on finding work that meets one's expectations. Satisfaction in the workplace is linked to better health, lower stress levels, and an ability to balance home and work. The choice of an occupation is really a lifestyle preference (Avard, 1999).

Until the last century, people were not required to choose an occupation, usually because young people would simply follow in their parents' footsteps. The knowledge and skills required to work were learned throughout childhood. The transition from youth to adulthood would have required no change in attitudes or values. Now that work is separated from home and there are so many new occupations to consider, parents no longer have the diversity of knowledge and skills, nor the time, to prepare their children for employment. The transition from school to work appears to depend on several factors. Families provide the inherited intellectual potential and the social and cultural attitudes and skills that enable young people to succeed. School and the community provide opportunities for anticipatory socialization. Society determines the job opportunities (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000).

The Role of the Family in Forming an Occupation

Families seldom teach the skills and knowledge required for work, but they play a major role in transmitting the basic values and attitudes that determine the likelihood of success in adulthood. There has been extensive evidence for many years that the parents' level of education, the family income, and the parents' employment history are linked to their children's level of education and their income as adults (Lewis, Ross, & Mirowski, 1999). The Sloan Study

developing your research skills | Conducting Interviews

By conducting interviews, you can ask a small sample group of people questions to gather information to test a hypothesis. Usually, the questions are open-ended to encourage the subject to provide detailed information, because interviews are useful tools for gathering data when you do not know what information the subjects have. Additional closed questions can be used to prompt subjects to continue speaking in more detail about a topic. Information gathered through interviewing several people can be compared to determine general patterns of behaviour. Interviews can also be used to develop case studies for analysis using a symbolic interactionism approach.

Anticipatory Socialization Interview

Working with a group of classmates, design an interview to determine whether young adults believe they have been adequately prepared for the role behaviours expected in their occupations.

1. Develop a hypothesis stating what you think might be the answer.
2. Introduce and state the nature of your study.
3. Begin with factual questions to identify your subject and to allow participants to become comfortable answering your questions. For example:

   Describe your current job.

4. Include open-ended questions to elicit the information needed to test your hypothesis. Include secondary questions that can be used, if necessary, to prompt answers on specific topics. For example:

   What experiences did you have before you started to work full time that prepared you for your occupation?

   Did you work part-time during high school?

   Were any of the skills you learned in that job useful in your full-time job?

5. Conduct interviews. Arrange to interview young adults who have been employed full time for at least one year. Record the answers in notes or use a tape recorder.
6. Analyze the results of your interview and compare them with those of your classmates. Formulate conclusions concerning your hypothesis.
7. Write a brief report of your results, using quotations from your interview results to support your statements. ■

of Youth and Development stated that these factors in the parents' work experience determine the values and attitudes toward work that they teach their children (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000).

Finding work rewarding is an attitude that is essential to success and satisfaction in adulthood. Work is rewarding when challenges match abilities and when the job requires enough concentration for people to feel in control of their time yet find it passes quickly (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000). In an Angus Reid survey of 850 Canadians, 75 percent reported that they enjoyed the type of work they do, and 71 percent found their work challenging

web connection

www.mcgrawhill.ca/links/families12

To learn about occupational choices and to explore related careers, go to the web site above for *Individuals and Families in a Diverse Society* to see where to go next.

and interesting. Pay is not a factor for satisfaction for most working people (Chamberlain, 1996). Families teach young people that work is rewarding by expecting them to complete challenging tasks at home and at school. Facing appropriate challenges, such as doing laundry, washing the car, caring for younger children, or studying physics, allows young people to experience the intrinsic rewards of a job well done whether in the workplace, at home, or in the community (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000).

Young people learn self-reliance and responsibility from authoritative parents. Authoritative parents set high expectations and encourage adolescents to make decisions. Parents discipline their children by discussing the results of those decisions. Authoritative parents encourage exploration and tolerate mistakes, but they expect adolescents to accept responsibility for "cleaning up their own messes" (Jarman, 1992). By making and evaluating their choices, adolescents develop a sense of control and clarify their values, interests, and goals (Owens, Mortimer, & Finch, 1996). Parents with higher education and a higher level of control at work are more likely to perceive self-reliance and responsibility as essential attitudes in the workplace and, therefore, to transmit these values to their children by adopting an authoritative parenting style (Erikson, 1968). Authoritative families are better prepared to allow young adults to separate from the family and to explore a variety of occupational and lifestyle alternatives (Carter & McGoldrick, 1989).

Between Friends

Reprinted with special permission of King Features Syndicate.

The Role of School in Occupations

Schools and post-secondary institutions have assumed the major responsibility for socializing young people for occupational choices. The courses that students take enable them to explore real-world applications of their interests and skills and to investigate occupations in those fields. The tasks and the working

conditions are role expectations that require students to develop the values and attitudes that are necessary for success in adult life. Students develop concentration by persevering at a task that is challenging. They develop self-control by working at a clearly defined task. They also learn to adjust their social behaviour and communication skills to suit the role expectations of the classroom. In addition, extracurricular involvement helps students develop teamwork and management skills. Anticipatory socialization for adult work roles at school affects whether students are successful, and prepares them for the transition to adult roles in the workplace (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

Students often have unrealistic career expectations. The Sloan Study of Youth and Development asked male and female high school students what occupation they expected to enter when they left school. The ten most popular jobs (shown in the following chart) accounted for 55 percent of all students, and were consistent for gender, race, and social class. All were professions requiring university education, except businessperson and professional athlete.

Frequently Mentioned Occupations in Study of Youths' Career Expectations

Occupation	Expect to Have		Would Like to Have	
	Rank	Percent of Sample	Rank	Percent of Sample
N (number in the sample group)		3 891		4 281
Doctor	1	10	2	11
Businessperson	2	7	5	6
Lawyer	3	7	3	9
Teacher	4	7	6	4
Professional Athlete	5	6	1	15
Engineer	6	5	8	3
Nurse	7	4	9	3
Accountant, CPA	8	3	—	2
Psychologist	9	3	10	3
Architect	10	3	—	2
Musician, Composer	—	2	7	4
Actor, Director	—	2	4	6

Source: From *Becoming an Adult* by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Barbara Schneider, Copyright © 2000 by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Barbara Schneider. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, a member of Perseus Books, L.L.C.

case study | Ian Enters the Adult World

Ian McLean is a 31-year-old firefighter living in Barrie, Ontario, who has just recently married his girlfriend, Sarah. He has been a member of the Barrie Fire Department for the past year. Although he always told his guidance counsellors at school that he was interested in firefighting as a career, Ian has had a number of different jobs since he graduated from high school. After working in construction with a friend and then at a brief job in sales and carpet laying, he worked for his father for several years in the printing business. In fact, for most of his twenties, Ian worked only to make enough money to pay for some of what he calls his "expensive habits," such as golf and snowboarding, and occasional trips to attend Leafs, Raptors, or Blue Jays games.

Ian grew up in Barrie and has five brothers and sisters, all of whom still live in the Barrie area. He was an average student and he enjoyed the extracurricular sports and the social life of school. He worked part-time at a sporting goods store throughout high school and considered opening his own store at one time, but decided that the hours were inconvenient for family and social activities. After graduation, he accepted a job with an older friend's company rather than going to college because he wasn't sure of what he wanted to do, and felt that he was ready for an adult job. Since Ian has a warm relationship with his parents, brothers, and sisters, he has always expected that he would enjoy being a good husband and father someday.

Ian has known Sarah since he was about 15. Sarah is best friends with his younger sister, Annie, who is the mother of two-year-old twin girls. Sarah and Ian had been dating off and on for almost ten years before they decided to get married. They have been socializing for several years with a large group of common friends from their high school days, playing softball in the summer months and bowling in the winter. Many of their common friends have also married in the past two or three years. Shortly after her grandfather died a few years ago, Sarah broke up with Ian for a brief period of time. She felt that they should be making a greater commitment to each other. Ian was not ready to do this, however. He dated another woman from Toronto, whom he met while snowboarding at Collingwood, but he never felt comfortable with her, especially among the group of friends with whom he socialized in Barrie. Gradually, he and Sarah resumed their relationship.

Ian took a step into the adult world by becoming a firefighter.

Beginning three years ago, Ian gradually made some changes in his life. He decided that he would stop working for his father and become a firefighter. While Ian was away from home training to become a firefighter, he realized that he did not want to be apart from Sarah. They decided together to continue to live with their respective parents while they saved money to buy a house. A year ago, when he was 30, Ian began to work as a firefighter, and he moved out of his parents' home to live with Sarah in the house they bought together. ■

1. What characteristics of Ian's identity are revealed in this case study?
2. How did Ian choose his occupation?
3. Analyze Ian's life as a young adult using developmental theories. Do any of the patterns described by the developmental theorists fit Ian's life?

The study also found that students did not know the educational requirements for these occupations (Csikszentmihalyi & Schneider, 2000). Career-planning courses can encourage male and female students to explore a variety of occupations and investigate the preparation required for those occupations. Job-shadowing, work experience, and co-operative education provide opportunities to combine academic learning and anticipatory socialization for the tasks and skills required at the job. Flexible career decisions based on matching an individual's identity to realistic occupation preparation ready young adults for work (Borgen & Amundson, 1995).

The Role of Part-Time Work in Forming an Occupation

Part-time employment and volunteer work provide opportunities for young people to take on responsible roles in the community. Since adolescents report that they work to earn money to spend on activities or to save for post-secondary education, they appear to be motivated by an extrinsic value: money. Studies have found that part-time work had very little effect on young people's work values, although girls were more likely to value the intrinsic rewards, perhaps because they have been socialized to do work that they like. However, when adolescents felt that they were able to accept responsibility, work with others, and manage their time, studies suggest that both males and females view the intrinsic rewards of work as more important. That is, they value their autonomy and the social culture of work more than the money (Mortimer et al., 1996).

Adulthood at Last

Becoming an adult is a lengthy process. Although individuals are often asked as children what they want to be "when they grow up," the transition really begins in adolescence, when they become aware of the expectations of their families, their schools, and the broader society, concerning when and how they should really grow up, and when they are required to make decisions that determine the direction their transition will take. The diversity of family backgrounds and the variety of adult roles that Canadians can choose from require that the development process is an individual one. The developmental theories are useful for understanding how the transition occurs in a fairly consistent pattern, and the influences of families, school, work, and peers have been summarized from recent research. However, the cohort effect suggests that the social environment of the time will result in each generation becoming adult on its own terms. What issues will influence your generation, and how will you become an adult?

chapter 4 Review and Apply

Knowledge/Understanding **Thinking/Inquiry**

1. Summarize and compare the developmental theories of Erikson, Loevinger, Levinson, and Riegel. Identify the criteria you will use for your comparison; for example, you could compare how each reflects the four clocks or the developmental tasks described by the family life-cycle theory. Create a chart to organize your point-form summaries.
2. Which of the developmental theories best fits your perceptions of early adult life? Explain your choice using evidence from your observations of adults you know.
3. Summarize the influence of the following on the development of identity in early adulthood:
   - family
   - school
   - work
4. Explain how family, school, and part-time work prepare young adults for an adult occupation, according to research. Choose examples from your own experience to support the explanation.

Knowledge/Understanding **Thinking/Inquiry** **Communication**

5. Write a reaction paper in which you respond to one of the ideas presented in this chapter. Include at least one direct quotation. Use in-text citations in APA style to credit the original source.
6. Gail Sheehy revised her "map of adult life" in 1995 to suggest a ten-year shift. She defines adolescence as ending at 30. What markers would you use to define adulthood? Discuss the markers and determine the age that signifies the end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood. Draw a "map" to portray your conclusions.
7. Is the transition to adulthood the same for men and women in Canada today, or are there clear gender differences? Discuss this question with your classmates, using evidence from this chapter and from personal experiences.
8. Conduct a survey of your classmates to determine how they have been prepared to choose an occupation. Compile the results. Design a flow chart to illustrate the steps in deciding on an occupation, including suggestions for steps not yet completed.

Knowledge/Understanding | Thinking/Inquiry | Communication | Application

9. Design questions for a biographical interview for an adult aged 32 to 35 within a specific community (e.g., Canadian-born women of parents born in the Caribbean). Analyze the results to determine which theory best explains the pattern of development in early adulthood and the stresses that influenced its development. Write a report for members of that community.

10. Using interviews and a symbolic interactionist approach, investigate how students perceive their socialization for adulthood. Working in small groups, compare the results for males and for females to determine whether there are gender differences, and form conclusions. Write a report for parents of high school students summarizing the results and making recommendations.