



The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare

Volume 28
Issue 4 *December*

Article 8

December 2001

Adolescence and Old Age in Twelve Communities

Pranab Chatterjee
Case Western Reserve University

Darlyne Bailey
Case Western Reserve University

Nina Aronoff
Case Western Reserve University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw>

 Part of the [Family, Life Course, and Society Commons](#), [Gerontology Commons](#), and the [Social Work Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Chatterjee, Pranab; Bailey, Darlyne; and Aronoff, Nina (2001) "Adolescence and Old Age in Twelve Communities," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 28 : Iss. 4 , Article 8.

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol28/iss4/8>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Social Work at ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact maira.bundza@wmich.edu.



Adolescence and Old Age in Twelve Communities

PRANAB CHATTERJEE
DARLYNE BAILEY
NINA ARONOFF

Case Western Reserve University

This paper disputes the theory of universal stages of development (often called the epigenetic principle) asserted by Erikson (1963; 1982; 1997) and later developed in detail by Newman & Newman (1987, p. 33). It particularly disputes that there are clear stages of adolescence (12–18), late adolescence (18–22), old age (60–75), and very old age (75+). Data from twelve communities around the world suggest that the concept of adolescence is socially constructed in each local setting, and that the concept of late adolescence is totally absent in some communities. Further, the stage of old age (60–75) is much shorter in some communities, and that the stage of very old age (75+) is not found at all in some communities.

In 1996, a debate took place between the senior author of this paper and another faculty member at the Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University. The debate centered around the following topic:

the model of human development, as proposed by Erik Erikson, is a very important tool in social work education, but represents a Euro-centric bias, a social class bias (favoring the upper classes in a social class hierarchy), and a regional bias (i.e., European and North American) in a world system.

* The authors of this paper are deeply indebted to the following persons in four continents: Army D'Aprix; Cornel Celmare; Manu Chatterjee; Marian Chatterjee; Mark Chupp; Samir Dasgupta; Mahasweta Devi; Kiku Ellis; Ovidiu Gavrolovici; Victor Groza; Maria Humphries; Romaniuc Mehai; Sharon Milligan; Pushpa Mishra; Manish Raha; Rotoraut Roy-Chaudhury; and Anindita Roy.

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, December, 2001, Volume XXVIII, Number 4

The senior author took the “yes” position (i.e., favoring the topic, and opposing the universality of the Erikson model), and another social work educator from the Mandel School represented the “no” position (i.e., against the topic, and supporting the universality of the model). The research undertaking reported below began is a result of this debate, using the “yes” position of the debate as a working hypothesis.

Theoretical Background

Both in sociological and anthropological theory, there is a voluminous literature that biological roles (such as male/female, child/adult, parent/child) and their related role expectations are defined by local cultures (Elder, 1992; South & Crowder, 1999). These local cultures vary in numerous ways, not the least of which is technological complexity, which can be due to the fact that they are horticultural in nature, or agricultural in nature, or industrial in nature. In these examples, horticultural societies are lowest in technological complexity, and industrial societies are highest. Within industrial societies, market-oriented capitalist societies seem more complex than formerly socialist industrial societies. This can be ascertained by various measures. Seen from this perspective, societies can be placed in an ordinal position according to their technological complexity. (Later in this paper, we offer a measure of technological complexity.)

A great deal of current research in human behavior published in the United States takes the concept of life stages of development for granted (often in the Eriksonian manner). For example, adolescence has been an assumed life stage and used as either an independent variable or as a dependent variable (cf. Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1998, Rosenfeld, Richman, & Bowen, 1998; Gavazzi & Law, 1997; Garnier & Stein, 1998). The culture-bound nature of adolescence as a life stage, or the concept of adolescence as a social construction, within societies and between communities within each society, are not generally seen as important to assess.

It should be noted that theories of development—about biologically-based roles and human development related to those

roles—assume a relevance to the societies within which they are developed, and perhaps only to those societies. For example, Hall's (Hall, 1916) biogenetic theory of adolescence, Freudian and neo-Freudian psychoanalytic theory (A. Freud, 1948; S. Freud, 1933; Hartmann & Lowenstein, 1946) of adolescence, Spranger's (1955) *Geisteswissenschaftliche* theory of adolescence, Gesell's (1948; Gesell, Ilg, & Ames, 1956) theory of adolescence, or central or east European stage theories of adolescence (Kroh, 1944; Lersch, 1951; Remplein, 1956) are advanced from observation in European or American societies. But more often than not, their generalizability is assumed, rather than specified to their particular context and time. This is not to argue for relativism, which has its own significant drawbacks, but to propose (not at all in the original) that neither position be accepted without critical assessment.

Socio-Cultural Differences

Socio-cultural context is relevant to the understanding of human behavior for many reasons, as much of the sociological and anthropological literature have shown. In particular, it is apparent in numerous ways that within and between societies the social system is stratified, with different groups, institutions and rituals constituting the system's working structure. Elder (1992) and South & Crowder (1999) have emphasized the societal context vividly in terms of stratification. In industrial societies, a class system emerges and the stratification system is thereby defined by class, consisting of upper, middle, working, and lower classes. In peasant societies, there may emerge a caste system (a range of upper to lower); however, caste hierarchies are more often bound by local history and tradition and, so, are limited in their pervasive social effects. Often, the dominant groups in peasant societies—which sometimes form groups like the upper castes—are victors of wars in earlier histories, whereas the non-dominant groups are either defeated groups or groups which are culturally very different, stand apart and choose not to become assimilated in the dominant groups.

The latter kinds of groups, i.e., groups that are culturally different from the dominant groups and stand apart, exist today

in many societies. Examples of such groups are the *Amish* in the United States, who choose a peasant society life style within a larger industrial society; the *Santals*, and the *Lotha* in India, who choose to live somewhere between hunter-gather and horticultural societies within a larger agricultural society, which is changing to an industrial society; the *Gypsy* in Romania, who are closer to a nomadic pastoral society within a larger society that has recently changed from an agricultural society to a socialist industrial society and is now again undergoing a change into a capitalist industrial society; and the *Maori* of New Zealand, who are a minority group in New Zealand descended from a Polynesian stock.

It should be noted that within societies, **communities** may emerge, either due to the occupational groupings in the mainstream society or due to a separatist communal tradition of a people, that share a culture of their own which is very different from the mainstream society. Examples of community formation due to occupational grouping in the mainstream society are: the white middle classes of American, Romanian, and New Zealand societies; Hindu Bengali middle urban class in eastern India; Hindu Bengali rural peasants of India; and black middle and lower classes of America. Examples of separatist communities with a cultural tradition of their own are the Amish of the United States; the Lotha, and the Santhals of India; the Gypsy of Romania; and the Maori of New Zealand.

Dimensions of Culture and Community

The cultural/community groups discussed above vary in technological complexity in two dimensions: a societal dimension, and a communal dimension. The societal dimension is reflected by the national boundaries (India, Romania, New Zealand, and the United States). Within these national boundaries, cultural anthropologists identify India as basically a peasant (or agricultural) society with some industrialization in its cities and the presence of a class structure in its urban areas; Romania as a peasant society which was subjected to forced industrialization under a socialist doctrine, and which is now being converted to capitalist industrialization; New Zealand as a society which has been through capitalist industrialization; and the United States as

a society which has also been through capitalist industrialization (Cf. Belshaw, 1965; Polanyi, 1968; Kottak, 1979).

Within these four societies, a communal dimension also exists, which emerges from occupational specialization and residential clustering. Examples of such communal clustering are found in the urban middle and lower classes of India, Romania, New Zealand, and the United States; in the culturally stand-alone communities of the Lotha and the Santals of India, the Gypsy of Romania; the Maori of New Zealand, and the Amish of the United States.

Thus, two dimensions of technological complexity are identified: a *societal dimension* and a *communal dimension*. The societal dimension can be seen in the following order: a peasant society (India); socialist industrial society which is in transition to becoming a capitalist industrial society (Romania); a capitalist industrial society (New Zealand); and a very wealthy and very dominant capitalist industrial society (the United States). The *communal dimension* within each society is identified is seen in the following order: *marginalized communities; struggling communities; and mainstream communities*. Later in this paper we present the measurement for these two ordering devises.

Inequalities in the World-System

Related to the problem of world-wide differences in technological complexity is the problem of inequalities in the world-system. Wallerstein (1976; 1980; 1989) has documented that inequalities in the world-system began during the later part of the middle ages, and has since been cumulative. Recently, the United Nations Development Programme (1998) has introduced a measure, called the Human Development Index (HDI), which is a composite measure of where a nation (we are calling it a society) stands in a world hierarchy, which is seen in three dimensions: knowledge, health status, and purchasing power (see Table 1). Seen from this perspective, the higher the position of a society in a world hierarchy, the higher is its technological complexity, and the higher its HDI status. Conversely, the lower the position of a society in a world-wide hierarchy, the lower is its technological complexity, and the lower its HDI status. The HDI measure is a reflection of world-wide inequalities.

Several scholars have emphasized how within societies, the stratification system has a serious impact on human development (Aries, 1962; Lewin, 1946; Cow, 1946, Davis, 1944; Havinghurst, 1951; Hollinsworth, 1928; Mead 1950; Mead, 1952; Schlegel & Barry, 1991; Spiro, 1969; and Somerville, 1982). For example, some have focused the discussion on how construction of age/role groups allows for the capitalization of certain groups for certain types of labor and social structures. It would therefore seem that the biological and social roles of adolescence and other age groups (such as old age) would vary due to the technological complexity of the (1) societal dimension, and (2) the communal dimension.

The HDI measure, as pointed out earlier, is a measure of technological complexity and consequent inequality of societies. No such standardized measure exists about the communities within societies. Consequently, we have developed measures for the status of the communities.

Developmental Theory

The essential focus of Eriksonian theory is that psychosocial development occurs across the lifespan in universal stages. It assumes an essential human drive toward mastery, task-specific for each stage of life, which requires the resolution of a psychosocial "crisis" in order to be fulfilled (Greene, 1991; Muus, 1988). The outcome of each stage, therefore, is a sense of *mastery* of developmental milestone tasks that create the foundation and functionality of ego and identity. Each resolution, or mastery experience, supports ongoing development; or, failing that, a developmental impasse evolves, which will both resurface and will undermine the mastery potential at each other stage. The assumption is that, while social and cultural variation exist, the trajectory of development is universal.

The apparently holistic nature of Erikson's work, with its attention to social, psychological and biological factors, can be scrutinized from other perspectives to assess what may have been missed. Originally, Erikson's theory was decidedly expansive, in the context of his own psychoanalytic training and the dominant intrapsychic theories of the time. The theory integrated "crisis" as a good and necessary component of development, brought the social into the concept of psychological development, and conceived of a developmental trajectory across the lifespan. But

it was also limited by the socially constructed and constrained viewpoints of the times (for example, an intellectual culture dominated by upper class, male, white thinkers). The theory has been criticized for claiming universality, as it has too often been inconsistent with experiences of diversity and the local nature of culture and community, (e.g., see Devore & Schlesinger, 1987; Gilligan, 1982; Germain, 1991; Robbins, et al, 1998). It is in a related spirit of expansion—to dispute, revise, or add to some of the traditional views of developmental theory (in this case, Eriksonian theory)—that this study was generated.

Some Historical Debates

We were also inspired by certain earlier debates. For example, Malinowski claimed (1927; 1929) that small children among Trobriand Islanders, being members of a matrilineal society, do not display any signs of Oedipal conflict. The Oedipal conflict, he reasoned, is the product of a patrilineal society. Jones, Freud's biographer, had argued that children in these societies indeed show signs of the Oedipal conflict. However it manifested in the triangle between the mother, the male offspring, and the mother's brother (who represented male authority in that society) was the context in which Oedipal conflict could be found. Benedict (1934) later developed this into a theoretical argument: patterns of culture in a society shape childhood experiences. She also argued that adolescence is a culturally conditioned experience.

Our study focused the entire life span in twelve communities within the four societies: United States; New Zealand; Romania; and India. We developed an instrument (described below), toward this purpose. However, our focus in this study was on adolescence and old age as experienced in the twelve communities.

Guiding Hypotheses: Adolescence

Age or stage-based delineation of human behavior, such as adolescence and old age, appears to be a function of cultural variation, perhaps especially the technological complexity of a given society. Thus, in the case of adolescence, for example, it is expected that the greater the technological complexity of a society, the more prolonged the adolescent role. When two or more societies are clearly different and varied in technological complexity

(like an industrial society and an agricultural society), they will also show a variation between them in their social construction of the adolescent role. It is expected that adolescence will be more prolonged in industrial societies and shorter in agricultural societies. An hypothesis which may be formally stated from this discussion is as follows:

H₁: The greater the technological complexity to be managed as an adult, the more prolonged the adolescent role in that society. Adolescence is a variable *between* societies.

When two or more social groups within a society are clearly different in their management of technological complexity as adults (as is true between the lower class and the middle class in industrial societies), there is likely to be a difference in construing the adolescent role. The greater the technological complexity to be managed by a group as an adult *within* a society, the more prolonged the adolescent role is likely to be for that group within that society. Adolescence is thereby a variable *within* societies. Often these within-group dimensions are reflected by communal groupings, each one of which can be rated as performing more or less technologically complex jobs for the larger society. Thus:

H₂: The greater the technological complexity to be managed by a group or community for the larger society, the more prolonged the adolescent role of its members. Adolescence is a variable *within* societies.

Guiding Hypotheses: Old Age

Similarly, old age can also be seen as a function of the technological complexity of a society. The more technologically complex a society, the greater the repository of accumulated knowledge in that society. The greater the accumulated knowledge structure of a society, the more the application of it exists in prolonging life, as reflected throughout the average life expectancy at birth and at every subsequent age in that society.

Stated formally, this becomes a hypothesis as follows:

H₃: The greater the technological complexity of a society, the more extended the longevity of its members. Old age is a variable *between* societies.

Similarly,

H₄: The greater the technological complexity to be managed by a group/community for the larger society, the more prolonged the old age role of its members. Old age is a variable *within* societies.

Design and Sampling Plan

A survey research design was used, relying on a convenience sample. An instrument (described below) was used to gather data via ten key informants in four societies: India (four informants); Romania (two informants); New Zealand (two informants); and USA (two informants).

Key Informants

Key informants from four selected countries (India; Romania; New Zealand; and the United States) were interviewed, using an interview **instrument**, to comment on how a given communal or socio-economic group within that country defines childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. These key informants were trained social scientists and were located in Cleveland (representing the U.S.), Calcutta (representing India), Bucharest (representing Romania), and Auckland (representing New Zealand). Each key informant was assessed to be thoroughly knowledgeable about the lifestyles and life chances of the groups in Table 1. All the key informants had graduate level education (holding M.A. degree or higher), and were selected because of their knowledge about the community about which they were commenting in response to our interview schedule. The possible answers were kept in a "yes" or "no" format as much as possible, due to the international nature of key informants and the interest in generating comparable data.

The **responses** given by the key informants were tabulated into a data set. This data set was used to test the hypotheses listed above. However, *it should be noted that formal hypothesis testing with statistical inference was not possible here, since this study was based on a small, convenience sample of communities (N = 12)*. However, the data lent itself to some meaningful qualitative analysis that can significantly inform both deductive, "working" conclusions, and the development of future research based on suggested implications.

Table 1
Technological Complexity of The Four Societies and Related Factors

Societies	Technological Complexity	Average Life Expectancy	Female Life Expectancy	Male Life Expectancy	HDI 1995 ¹	Real GDP Per Capita (US \$)	Adult Literacy Rate 1995 %
USA	High	76.4	79.7	70.0	0.943 ²	26,977	99.0
New Zealand	High Medium	76.6	79.4	73.9	0.939 ³	17,267	99.0
Romania	Medium	69.6	73.4	66.0	0.767 ⁴	4,431	98.0
India	Low	61.6	61.8	61.4	0.451 ⁵	1,422	52.0

Source: United Nations Development Programme (1998). Human Development Report 1998. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹ HDI refers to Human Development Index, used by the United Nations. It means an index which reflects equally about knowledge, health status, and purchasing power of citizens of a given country.

² USA ranked 4th in the world in the HDI Index.

³ New Zealand ranked 9th in the world in the HDI Index.

⁴ Romania ranked 74th in the world in the HDI Index.

⁵ India ranked 139th in the world in the HDI Index.

Four Societies

Four societies were chosen for the convenience sample: India, Romania, New Zealand, and the United States. These societies were chosen because the authors had prior knowledge about and contacts in these societies and also spoke the local languages of these societies. Table 1 represents objective data on these societies, and ranks them in technological complexity.

Twelve Communities

Twelve communities were selected from the four societies. From India, four communities were selected: Hindu Bengali urban middle class; Hindu Bengali rural peasant; the Lotha; and the Santal. From Romania, two communities were selected: white middle class; and the Gypsy. From New Zealand, two communities were chosen: white middle class; and the Maori. Lastly, four communities were chosen from the United States: white middle class, black middle class, black lower class and the Amish.

India

For the most part, communities in India have formed as either caste groups or tribes (see India, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1998). The caste groups, taken together, make up the mainstream Hindu society, which form about 82 percent of the population of the country. These caste groups are further divided into regional ethnolinguistic groups called the Bengali, the Marathi, the Bihari, the Marwari and on. The caste groups taken together represent an agricultural society. In the industrial cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi or Madras, a small part of these caste groups form urban upper, middle, working, or lower classes, and often the traditionally higher castes come to occupy the higher social classes. However, it is entirely possible for a person of lower caste origin to move up the class ladder in the cities and occupy a higher social class position. In addition, India has had a large number of tribes, who are ethnographically and culturally different from the caste-and-class bound mainstream society. These tribes are known as the Santals, the Lothas, the Nagas, and so on. Their cultures often range from hunter-gather to horticultural to agricultural. Some of these tribes maintain cooperative relations with the mainstream caste-and-class peoples as they perform contractual day-labor for the latter.

Some others from these tribal groups maintain a hostile and a separatist orientation, and do not interact with the mainstream caste-and-class peoples.

Two of the communities included in this study come from the mainstream caste-and-class oriented Indian society: the Hindu Bengali urban middle class; and the Hindu Bengali rural peasant. Two other communities in this study were chosen from the tribal groups: the Santal, and the Lotha.

The Hindu Bengali urban middle class communities can be found in the eastern part of India, mostly in the state of West Bengal and concentrated in the city of Calcutta. This group speaks Bengali (a special branch of Indo-Iranian language tree), and is part of an urban stratification system similar to other urban industrial societies. In contrast, the Hindu Bengali rural peasant also speaks Bengali, is from the villages of West Bengal and adjacent places, is not a part of the urban class matrix, and is often identified by their caste position in traditional Hindu society. The Santal, in contrast, is a tribe with relatively friendly, cooperative relations with the Hindu caste-and-class society. For the most part, they are a horticultural people with some agricultural traits. On the other hand, the Lotha are a Naga people originating from northeastern India, and often are in conflict with traditional caste-and-class mainstream. Sometimes they are referred to as a "criminal tribe" by traditional Hindu society, since seemingly the Lothas do not respect the property rights of the traditional Hindu. They are often seen as a separatist tribe. Both the Santal and the Lotha have an oral tradition, and do not use a written tradition for their cultural continuity.

Romania

Romania, one of the Balkan states in Eastern Europe, is inhabited by Romanians (about 90 percent), Hungarians (about 7 percent), Gypsies (about 2 percent) and Germans (about 0.5 percent). With the exception of Gypsies, all the ethnolinguistic groups are of European, white Caucasian origin. The Gypsies are dark Caucasians who supposedly emigrated from Northern India around the 15th Century. Between 1948 and 1989, Romania was a communist country. During that time it was transformed from a peasant society (agricultural economy) to a socialist industrial

society. There is an urban middle class, who form the mainstream of mostly white Caucasians from Romania, Hungarian or German origin. In contrast, the Gypsy communities are not a part of the mainstream, and may be seen as marginal to the mainstream Romanian society (see Romania, Encyclopedia Britannica, 1998). Most Gypsies are nomads given to an oral rather than a written tradition.

New Zealand

New Zealand society consists mostly of European-origin, white Caucasians but also contains ethnolinguistically different Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian peoples. Mainstream society is mostly white, middle class of European origin, although there are small minority middle class populations from the other three ethnic stocks. Among the non-European peoples, the Maori people have notably faced conflicts due to the pressures to assimilate into the mostly European society, and the demands to retain native Maori culture. The Maori are a Polynesian people in a mostly European society, and, for the most part, are given to an oral tradition. However, a modern literature of recent origin has developed among the Maori, and Maori writers have appeared who contribute to a written tradition.

USA

Named "the first new nation" by Lipset (1963), the United States began as a white agrarian democracy, and went through rapid industrialization in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its white Caucasian immigrants were of European origin, and are the ancestors of the current white upper class, white middle class, white working class, and white lower class. Its black (or African-American) population is descended from the black slaves who were brought from Africa. Its Asian populations are descendants of Chinese, Japanese, Pacific Islander (and later Southeast Asian) populations who came to the country as immigrants. Its Hispanic populations are descendants of Spanish-speaking populations that have immigrated from a variety of countries (mostly Spain and Mexico, and later Puerto Rico and South and Central Americas). In addition, its Native American groups are descendants of various tribal groups who were in-

digenous to North America prior to the arrival of the Caucasian, black, Hispanic or Asian peoples. All five groups, for the most part, developed as endogamous groups.

The white population in the U.S. can be seen as divisible into four social classes: upper, middle, working, and lower. In addition, there is a rural white population, mostly in Appalachia, who are not a part of the urban class matrix, and who, when migrating into the cities, occupy positions mostly in the white lower or working classes (Beeghley 1988). The black population is divisible into a new upper/middle and middle class, a new working class, and a lower class. In addition, there is a rural black population in the southern part of the country, which has existed there for many generations. Similarly, the Hispanic and Native American populations are also divisible in three social classes: a new middle class, a new working class, and a lower class. The Asian groups are dispersed into a new middle class and a working class. There are also smaller communities, like the Amish (descended from white German Immigrants), which are not a part of the American class structure. They form agrarian communities which essentially stand apart from the mainstream American class structure (see Beeghley, 2000).

Ordering the Twelve Communities

A system for ordering the twelve communities was developed for the study. Such a system depended on being able to place the twelve communities in a societal matrix, delineating their level of technological complexity (as shown in Table 1), and the relative marginality of that community within society. Marginality was assessed by evaluating whether a community occupies a position *in the mainstream* of society, is *struggling to enter the mainstream* of society, or is relegated to a *marginal status* within a society. Table 2 presents this matrix.

When a community was seen to be in the mainstream of a given society, it was assigned a value of 2.0; when it was rated as struggling to enter the mainstream of a society, it was assigned a value of 1.5; and when it was thought of as a community which is marginal to mainstream society, it was given a value of 1.0. The score each community got was then multiplied by their corresponding society's rank in Table 1 (also reproduced in

Table 2
Twelve Communities and their Places Within Four Societies

Society	Societal Rank (From Table 1)	Communities in the Mainstream (All scored 2.0)	Communities Struggling to Enter the Mainstream (All scored 1.5)	Communities in the margins (All scored 1.0)
USA	4	White middle class	Black middle class	Amish Black lower class
New Zealand	3	White middle class	Maori	
Romania	2	White middle class		Gypsy
India	1	Hindu Bengali urban Middle class	Hindu Bengali Rural Peasant	Santal Lotha

Column 2 in Table 2). Table 3 represents the scores obtained by this procedure, which is seen as a measure of relative technological complexity of the twelve communities in relation to each other.

Assumptions

In accord with the hypotheses, members of the urban upper and middle classes in all societies were expected to manage more technological complexities as adults, and consequently were expected to have both prolonged adolescence and old age; whereas members of all other groups were expected to have a shortened adolescence and longevity.

It was assumed that categorizing population groups on the basis of social class (also called socio-economic status) is indeed possible in the urbanized and industrialized areas of the world. Education and occupation in an urban setting are often taken as indicators of class position (Farley, 1988; Beeghly, 1989 and 2000). In the discipline of sociology or political science such subdivisions are: upper class (or the Rich); middle class; working class; and lower class (or the Poor) (see Beeghly, 2000).

Instrument

The instrument was designed to access basic information about typical social expectations related to age groupings within a given society/community and was administered to each key informant. After gathering information to establish the informants' qualifications, the instrument asked them questions about: the life expectancy of each group; the age at which childhood ends in a group; the ages in which persons are defined to be in a child role, in an adolescent role, and in an adult role; the ages in which members of these groups are expected to marry, enter an occupational grouping, and become parents. Essentially, the key informants were asked to examine Erikson's epigenetic chart (as proposed in 1963, and shown in Figure 1) and respond to whether this chart was relevant or applicable to the life stages in the community about which he or she was giving information. Erikson's ninth stage of development (very old age) (Erikson, 1982; Erikson, 1997) was not used in this instrument, as it seemed that not all informants in the countries studied were familiar with this stage.

Table 3

Relative Technological Complexities of Twelve Communities

<i>Community</i>	$S_R =$ <i>Societal Rank</i> ¹ (from Tables 1 & 2)	$C_R =$ <i>Community Rank</i> ² (from Table 2)	$S_R C_R =$ <i>Technological Complexity of Communities</i> ³	<i>Ordinal Position within the Twelve Communities</i>
USA: White Middle Class	4	2.0	8.0	7
USA: Black Middle Class	4	1.5	6.0	6
USA: Amish	4	1.0	4.0	5
USA: Black Lower Class	4	1.0	4.0	5
New Zealand: White Middle Class	3	2.0	6.0	6
New Zealand: Maori	3	1.5	4.5	4
Romania: White Middle Class	2	2.0	4.0	5
Romania: Gypsy	2	1.0	2.0	3
India: Hindu Bengali Urban Middle Class	1	2.0	2.0	3
India: Hindu Bengali Rural Peasant	1	1.5	1.5	2
India: Santal	1	1.0	1.0	1
India: Lotha	1	1.0	1.0	1

¹ S_R = Societal rank. Reflects technological complexity between societies.

² C_R = Community rank. Reflects technological complexity within societies.

³ $S_R C_R$ = Technological complexity of all twelve communities in the sample studied here.

Figure 1 presents Erikson's epigenetic conceptualization, as summarized by Newman & Newman (1987).

Findings

This section reports on the data generated by the use of the instrument. The informants' essential answers are provided in the body of the tables; but their comments also appear as footnotes under the tables presented. Again, the informants in this study were asked whether the members of particular age groups in the community on which they were reporting seem to be mastering the developmental tasks Erikson designated for each stage. All stages are reported here, as all were included in the original study. However, since the primary focus of the study is adolescence and old age, these stages are given longer discussion.

Overall Life Expectancy

Key informants were asked: "For the above group, what is the life expectancy of individuals at birth for females and for males? Table 4 provides the information collected from this question. Data show a somewhat linear trend between life expectancy and stratification systems: the higher the position in the stratification system of a society, the higher the life expectancy. It is also apparent that the communities which perform more complex functions within an industrial society (the middle classes) have higher life expectancies than the communities which do not (the black lower class; the Amish; the Maori; the Gypsy; the Hindu Bengali rural peasant; and the two tribal communities of India). Females are shown to have a higher life expectancy in the communities which overall perform more complex functions, and lower in communities which do not. Life expectancy was shown to be generally higher in industrial societies (USA, New Zealand, and Romania) than in peasant societies (India).

Life Stages

Given our emphasis on adolescence and old age, we only provide a short summary of responses given to all other life stages.

Trends on Childhood to Adolescence

The task/developmental focus for an infant within the first two years of life is: social attachment; maturation of sensory and

Figure 1

Erikson's Stages of Human Development Outlined by Newman & Newman (1987)

Very Old Age (75+)	Cope with changes of aging. Develop psycho-history perspective Travel uncharted terrain.
Later Adulthood (60 to 75)	Promote intellectual vigor Redirect energy to new role Accept one's life. Develop point of view about death
Middle Adulthood (34 to 60)	Nurture marital relationship Manage household. Rear children Manage career
Early Adulthood (22 to 34)	Marriage Childrearing Work Life Style
Later Adolescence (18 to 22)	Autonomy from parents. Sex role identity Internalized morality Career choice
Early Adolescence (12 to 18)	Physical maturation Formal Operations Emotional Development Peer Group membership Heterosexual Relationships
Middle School (6 to 12)	Friendship Self-evaluation Concrete operations Skill learning Team Play
Early School (4 to 6)	Sex role identification Early moral development Group play
Toddlerhood (2 to 4)	Development of self-esteem Elaboration of locomotion Fantasy and play Language Development Self-Control

continued

Figure 1

Continued

Infancy (Birth to 2)	Social attachment Maturation of sensory and motor functions Sensorimotor intelligence and primitive causality Object permanence Emotional development
-------------------------	---

Table 4

Life Expectancy at Birth

<i>Society</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
USA	White middle class	77	78
	Black middle class	66	74
	Black lower class	55	65
	Amish	65	70
New Zealand	White middle class	76	80
	Maori	68	71
Romania	White middle class	76	80
	Gypsy	55	60
India	Hindu Bengali Rural Peasant	58	55
	Hindu Bengali Urban Middle Class	60	65
	Lotha	60	50
	Santals	65	60

NOTE: When the key informants provided a range, like 55–60 the rounded median figure was used for tabulation above.

motor functions; sensorimotor intelligence; object permanence; and emotional development. The data, with some exceptions, suggested that childhood from birth to two years is nearly uniform in these twelve communities.

The four developmental tasks to be accomplished by a toddler (between age two and age four) are: elaboration of locomotion; fantasy and play; language development; and self-control. The informants were asked whether the toddlers in their community also master these tasks when they are between two and four. Here

our data suggested that some local differences are manifest in the areas of language development and self-control. In at least one case, language development is claimed to be slower in bilingual toddlers. Further, development of self-control does not seem as important a community norm for children of this age-bracket in both the Maori and the Santal.

The four developmental tasks to be accomplished by a child between age four and age six are: sex role identification; early moral development; age group play; and development of self-esteem. Data from the informants reveal some interesting trends. According to the informant, Maori children lack self-esteem, and pride in their own identity. Lotha children, considered a "criminal tribe" by the larger Indian society, are seen as having problems with self-esteem. In fact, the informant about the Santals said that Santal children are brought up to be proud of their identity, and begin to show self-esteem at this age. But in contrast, "Lotha children often seem ashamed of their identity." It should be noted parenthetically that our informant about the American black communities did not mention those children lacking in self-esteem or in ethnoracial identity at this stage.

Early Adolescence (Age 12 to 18)

The five developmental tasks that informants were asked whether the children in their community mastered between age twelve and age eighteen are: physical maturation; formal operations; emotional development; membership in peer groups; and heterosexual relationships. The data in Table 5 reflect that the developmental tasks to be mastered in this age period vary within, as well as between, societies. In two communities in the U.S. (black lower class and the Amish), at least, the trend is not similar to that of the middle class communities in that society. The same trend seems to be true in New Zealand and in India. In India, the rural peasant, the Lotha and the Santal in early adolescence stand out as having a different experience from those in the Hindu Bengali urban middle class.

Late Adolescence (Age 18 to 22)

The informants assessed the question of the four developmental tasks (autonomy from parents; sex role identity; inter-

Table 5

Are the five Development Tasks (physical maturation; formal operations; emotional development; membership in peer groups; and heterosexual relationships) mastered by Early Adolescence (between twelve to eighteen years)? How long would you say early adolescence lasts?

Society	Community	Answer [Tasks]	Answer [Duration]
USA	White middle class	Yes	8-10 Years
	Black middle class	Yes	7-8 Years
	Black lower class	Not Sure ¹	2-3 Years
New Zealand	Amish	Yes ²	2-3 Years
	White middle class	Yes	6-10 Years
	Maori	No ³	1-3 Years
Romania	White middle class	Yes	6-9 Years
	Gypsy	Yes	1-3 Years
India	Hindu Bengali Rural Peasant	Not Sure ⁴	1-2 Years
	Hindu Bengali Urban middle class	Yes ⁵	4-6 Years
	Lotha	Not Sure ⁶	1-2 Years
	Santals	Not Sure ⁷	2-3 Years

¹ Childbearing begins to happen at this age. Autonomy from parents does not begin either.

² Emotional development happens and goes on beyond this age. Marriage and career decisions are made at this age. One problem faced by the community is the rebellion of boys of this age.

³ Physical maturation in Maori girls occurs earlier than age 12.

⁴ Adolescence is just about over for girls between 11 and 14, and for boys between 15-16.

⁵ Some "love affairs," without much physical relationships. Physical relationships are not common.

⁶ Age group for early adolescence for this group should be between 12-15 or 12-16. Formal operations is perhaps not applicable.

⁷ Yes to all but memberships in peer groups. Initiation into the work force at this age. Also many mating games which may seem "obscene" by the standards of larger Hindu society.

nalized morality; and career choice) to be accomplished by a person between age eighteen and age twenty-two, in terms of each community. Table 6 reports to the answers to this question.

The data reflect that the developmental tasks to be mastered by late adolescence are not at all the same both between and within societies. In fact, the data here most strongly support the acceptance of the main hypotheses presented earlier. In all four societies, the urban middle class (who are participants in industrial settings) appear to require longer time in their preparation for adulthood than do rural peasants; it also appears that separatist agricultural communities (the Amish in the U.S.) or stand-alone tribal peoples (as in India) have a shorter adolescence. The Gypsies of Romania, a nomadic people, also have a shorter adolescence than the people of the Romanian middle class.

Early Adulthood and Middle Adulthood (Age 22–34 and 35–60)

The four developmental tasks of this stage (marriage; child-bearing; work; and choice of life style) are to be accomplished by a person between age twenty-two and thirty-four. The informants were asked whether persons in the informant's community also master these tasks in this time frame.

It seemed that the developmental tasks to be mastered by early adulthood vary widely both between and within societies. The tasks identified by Erikson's theory seem to apply, for the most part, to the urban middle class in all four societies. In India, young couples are often still a part of their family of origin, but social class remains an important determinant of developmental tasks to be mastered. It also seems that members of communities who perform the low skilled jobs in an urban society, agricultural jobs in a separatist community, or live a nomadic life style, have a different type of early adulthood than those communities/groups that perform relatively high skilled jobs.

Erikson's theoretical list of developmental tasks to be accomplished by a person between age thirty-four and sixty is: nurturing the marital relationship; management of household; child rearing; and management of career. Informants responded to whether persons in their community also master these tasks in this time frame, if at all. Our data reflect that fulfillment of these developmental tasks also vary widely, both between and within

Table 6
Are the five Development Tasks (autonomy from parents; sex role identity; internalized morality; and career choice) mastered by Later Adolescence (between eighteen to twenty-two years)? How long would you say later adolescence lasts?

Society	Community	Answer [Tasks]	Answer [Duration]
USA	White middle class	Yes	3-4 Years
	Black middle class	Not Sure ¹	1-2 Years
	Black lower class	Not Sure ²	None
New Zealand	Amish	No ³	Near Zero
	White middle class	Yes	3-4 Years
	Maori	Not Sure ⁴	None
Romania	White middle class	Yes	1-3 Years
	Gypsy	No ⁵	Does not apply
India	Hindu Bengali Rural Peasant	No ⁵	No such thing
	Hindu Bengali Urban middle class	Yes ⁶	2-4 Years
	Lotha	Not Sure ⁷	Not possible
	Santals	Not Sure ⁷	Is not an entity

¹ Both autonomy from parents and career choice are delayed beyond the age of 22.
² Career choice is a problem; childbearing at this stage is frequent; early death is more probable for males at this age; and there are regional differences (at least north/south) here also.
³ For the Amish, several of these happen earlier, like sex role identification and career choice, which are in place by age 17-18.
⁴ All but career choice are earlier in the Maori.
⁵ The Gypsy are adults by age 18-20. The rural people are adults by age 18-20.
⁶ Autonomy from parents is not culturally desirable. Childbearing may begin for many girls at this age; career choice for boys is delayed.
⁷ Career choice is not applicable here—they are adults by age 18; girls may have begun childbearing.

societies. Again, Erikson's prescriptions are appropriate for the middle class in all four societies, but the same prescriptions are either only partly appropriate or not appropriate at all in other communities.

Later Adulthood or Old Age (Age 60 to 75)

The informants responded to the question of the four developmental tasks (promoting intellectual vigor; redirecting energy toward new roles; accepting one's life; and developing a point of view about death) to be accomplished by a person between age 60 and seventy-five, in terms of their own communities. The data in Table 7 reflect that the development tasks to be mastered between age sixty and seventy-five also vary widely, both between and within societies. Here, only the American middle class conform to the Eriksonian paradigm, and all the other communities in the study do not. Even within the USA, the black lower class and the Amish experience this period differently than their middle class compatriots.

Very Old Age (Age 75 until death)

Erikson designates three developmental tasks (coping with physical changes of aging; developing a psychohistorical perspective; and traveling uncharted terrain) to be accomplished by a person between age seventy-five to death. Informants responded to this question for their communities.

Table 8 clearly reveals that the Eriksonian paradigm only applies to the white middle class in USA, New Zealand, and Romania. Furthermore, Santal women are penalized for living this long and a "witch" role is attributed to them. This matter is discussed later in greater detail and is another form of local cultural meaning that is also related to age.

Later Adulthood (Old Age) and Very Old Age: An Observation

This stage received the least global range of response. In fact, this stage does not universally exist, since not all communities are accustomed to a norm of having community members alive at this point. Informants from India and the U.S. commented that the drastic differences in longevity may be due to differential availability of health care facilities and due to the kind of labor

Table 7

Are the four Developmental Tasks (promoting intellectual vigor; redirecting energy toward new roles; accepting one's life, and developing a point of view about death) mastered by Later Adulthood (between sixty to seventy-five years)?

<i>Society</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Answer</i>
USA	White middle class	Yes
	Black middle class	Yes
	Black lower class	No ¹
	Amish	No ²
New Zealand	White middle class	May be ³
	Maori	Not Sure ⁴
Romania	White middle class	Yes
	Gypsy	No
India	Hindu Bengali rural peasant	No ⁵
	Hindu Bengali Urban Middle Class	No ⁶
	Lotha	No ⁷
	Santals	Not Sure ⁷

¹ Some of the developmental tasks of very old age (75 and over in the Eriksonian paradigm) occur at this state (between 60 and 75) for the black lower class—due to early aging and death.

² They go into retirement-like behavior by age 55, giving management of the family and family farm to the sons.

³ Only the academics worry about “promoting intellectual vigor” at this age—others are not that concerned about it. However, “accepting one’s life” and “developing a point of view about death” do happen at this age for the white middle class.

⁴ Most of these tasks occur in the Maori at an earlier age, due to the lower life expectancy.

⁵ Later adulthood for this group includes all the tasks of “very old age”.

⁶ Only “point of view about death” develops at this age—for most people in this age bracket this is about the end of life. Intellectual vigor is rarely found, and there is this attitude of waiting for the cessation of life.

⁷ At this age, there is this attitude that death is inevitable and life is not permanent.

Table 8

Are the four Developmental Tasks (Coping with Physical Changes of Aging; Developing a Psychohistorical Perspective; and Traveling Uncharted Terrain) mastered by Very Old Age (between seventy-five until Death)?

<i>Society</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Answer</i>
USA	White middle class	Yes
	Black middle class	Yes ¹
	Black lower class	Not Sure
	Amish	Not Sure ²
New Zealand	White middle class	May be
	Maori	Yes ³
Romania	White middle class	Yes
	Gypsy	No
India	Hindu Bengali rural peasant	Not Sure
	Hindu Bengali Urban Middle Class	No
	Lotha	No
	Santals	No ⁴

¹ Often even middle class blacks do not live this long—age 66 is the expected life for most blacks regardless of class.

² A lot of this do not fit the Amish and they often do not live this long—their bodies do not hold up.

³ Commitment to sharing history and knowledge happen earlier.

⁴ Santal women, if they live this long, are likely to be accused of being witches practicing witchcraft, and may even be killed. In general, respect for the aged may well depend on whether they have property or knowhow. The aged among the Santals and other tribes (like the Lotha) do not seem to carry much respect.

members of a community perform. Manual labor performers die earlier than those who perform non-manual labor; and norms for access to quality health care (both for older community members as well as lifelong) vary significantly both between and within societies.

A verbal comment made by our key informants in India contradicts a popular stereo-type: that the aged are treated with respect in traditional societies (like India), and that they are ignored and relegated to obsolescence in modern industrial societies. In fact, one of the reviewers for this paper reminded us of this.

However, our key informant indicated that the aged in India seem to be respected only when they own property or have information that others want. The aged without property do not carry much respect. In fact, they are punished for living long, as they are in the Santal community, as pointed out above. They are also considered to be deviants among the Lotha community. On the other hand, respect for the aged seems to exist in the Hindu Bengali middle class.

Summary of Findings

Life expectancy (Table 4) seems to follow the direction proposed by the major hypotheses. The more complex the technological structure of a society, the higher the life expectancy. Also, the higher the placement of a community group in a social hierarchy within a society, the higher the life expectancy.

The tasks to be mastered by an infant, with some exceptions, are nearly universal. So are tasks to be mastered during toddlerhood, though some differences (language difference and self-control) begin to emerge. However, by early school age, children from communities ranking low in the social hierarchy seem to have a problem with self-esteem. The problem of Lotha children described here is comparable to the self-esteem problem of poor black children in the United States, first reported years ago by Clark & Clark (1958). Recent work supports the position that marginalization of a community may lead to low self-esteem in its children (Coopersmith, 1967; Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, Rosenblatt, Burling, Lyon, Simon, & Pinel, 1992; Greenblatt & Breckler, 1985; Harper & Hoopes, 1990; Moretti & Higgins, 1990; Pelham & Swann, 1989; Singh, Prasad, & Bhagalpur, 1973). It is in early school age that children begin to really face community members who are different (in social hierarchy) and who have more or less privilege than themselves; and this exposure begins to have impact on their self-image and self-esteem.

In the middle school age period, more differences emerge. In some cultures, performing self-evaluation between the ages of 6 and 12 does not seem to be that important. Further, in some cultures, children at the tail end of this age bracket join the world of work. In technologically more complex societies and

community groups, children of this age going to work would be a norm-violation, since there is likely to be a norm that labor from children of this age is highly inappropriate. But in less technological societies and communities, the labor contribution may not only be accepted but also required, both in terms of social norms and material survival.

The trends of early and late adolescence (Tables 5 and 6) more clearly manifest the within and between society differences. Clearly, the information gleaned via the key informants about many trends taken for granted in the original Eriksonian paradigm, begin, at this point, to show that the tenet of universality it prescribes does not hold up substantially. As seen in the schema of other developmental theories, developmental components largely coalesce in adolescence; so that, while the data of this study support the notion of inconsistencies in Eriksonian theory in the earlier stages of childhood to some extent, it becomes substantially evident in adolescence. In this way (and others), the informants' answers lend strong support toward the acceptance of Hypotheses One and Two.

Early and middle adulthood show that this stage of human life is more or less similar in all twelve communities. However, late adulthood and very old age (Tables 7 and 8) show more differences than similarities. Here, again, members of more technologically complex societies and communities are still living and have a set of life challenges which are absent for those of less complex societies and communities.

An interesting finding about old age is the attribution of witch status to older Santal women (Table 8). Santal women who live too long are likely to be accused of being witches. This form of collective attribution also occurred among the Navaho, and Clyde Kluckhohn (1944) documented that such attribution of witchcraft in Navaho society encouraged a redistribution function. That is, living longer than one's peers became a form of norm violation, and attribution of witch status became the punishment for this norm violation. In addition, it allowed the community to redistribute wealth accumulated by the aged person.

Return to the Guiding Hypotheses

The above findings and discussions lend support to the four hypotheses presented at the beginning of this paper. We have pointed out that this is not a study of formal hypotheses testing. Still, it indicates that both adolescence and aging are socially constructed and that such social construction of adolescence and aging vary from society to society and from community to community. It also indicates that universal determination of stages and overall development, using the Eriksonian model (as others), does not hold true. Figure 2 represents a theoretical summary of this study.

Our overall trends suggest that richer communities and richer nations have prolonged adolescence because it takes them longer to acquire relevant knowledge structures which are required to maintain their positions in society. They also live longer to enjoy their privileged positions in society. Underprivileged groups have lesser knowledge requirements, have lower life expectancies, and die sooner to escape life's miseries. In an increasingly global context of human existence, technology (and the knowledge and economic structures with which it is woven) is the currency that determines the quality and equality of life stages.

Contemporary Theoretical Issues & Implications

Studies of human development continue to suffer from two types of problems: (1) *over-generalization*, as most models of life-span development (whether Eriksonian or other) are developed based on either European or North American, white, middle class populations (see Cass, 1979; Chan, 1995; D'Augelli, 1994; Gonsiorek, 1995) and clearly do not apply to all kinds of human behavior; and (2) *univariate construction*, where it is assumed that a single independent variable, age, explains all the complexities of human behavior (see Dannefer, 1984; Lieberman, 1980; Elder & Liker, 1982; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1981; Gilligan, 1978; Gilligan, 1982, Gilligan, 1990; Sokoloff, 180; & Tavis, 1992). These two problems are augmented by a third issue, which is the linear conceptualization inherent to traditional developmental theory, which does not accommodate the non-linear and multifaceted

Figure 2
Revised Stages of Human Development

Age	Erikson's Proposed Development [Applies to technologically more complex communities]	Amendments Suggested [Applies to technologically less complex communities]
Very Old Age (75+)	Cope with changes of aging Develop psychohistory perspective Travel uncharted terrain	In some communities living this long means acquiring deviant status Living this long is infrequent
Later Adulthood (60 to 75)	Promote intellectual vigor Redirect Energies to new role Accept one's life Develop point of view about death	Intellectual vigor is not a part of the culture Life is over by early 60's
Middle Adulthood (34 to 60)	Nuture marital relationship Manage household—Rear children Manage career	Sometimes, marriage is not culturally supported— Often children are reared in extended families—the concept of career is often absent
Early Adulthood (22 to 34)	Marriage—Childbearing—Work—Lifestyle	Marriage is local culture-specific—Work often means manual labor—grandparenthood by age 32-34
Later Adolescence (18 to 22)	Autonomy from parents—Sex role identity— Internalized morality—Career choice	Not all cultures require autonomy from parents—late adolescence is absent—Early parenthood

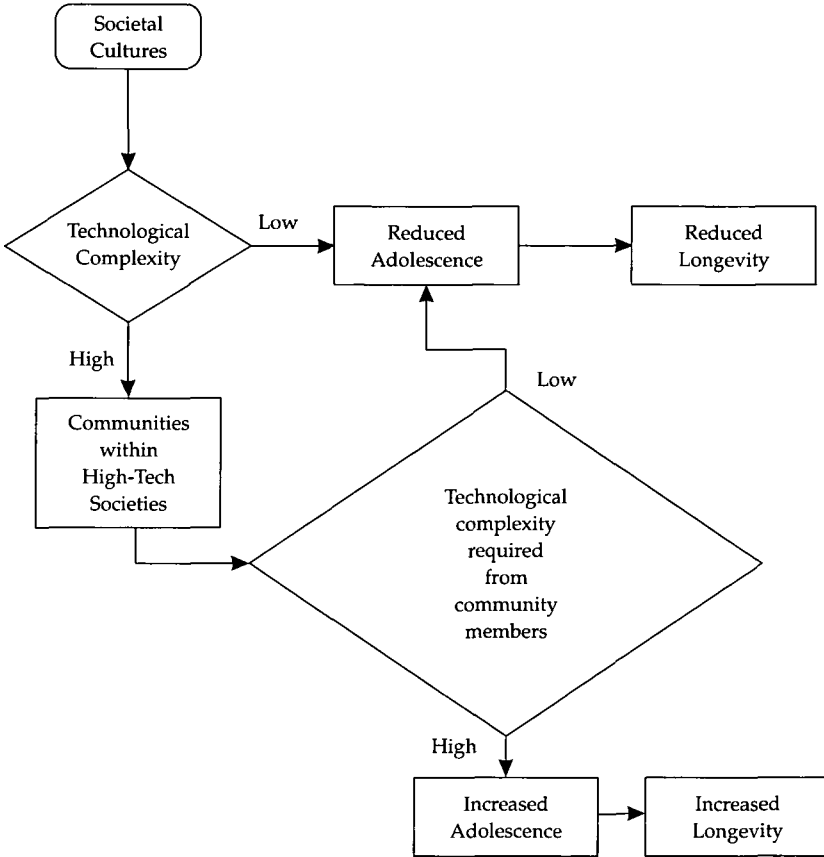
continued

Figure 2
Continued

Age	<i>Erikson's Proposed Development [Applies to technologically more complex communities]</i>	<i>Amendments Suggested [Applies to technologically less complex communities]</i>
Early	Physical maturation—Formal operations—	Physical maturation is assumed to be complete—
Adolescence (12 to 18)	Emotional development—Peer group membership—Heterosexual relationships	Reduced adolescence—Some early parenthood
Middle School (6 to 12)	Friendship—Self-evaluation—Concrete operations—Skill learning—Teams	Self-evaluation not observed here—Skill learning for lesser (and manual) jobs in adulthood
Early School (4 to 6)	Sex role identification—Early moral development—Group play—Self-esteem developing	Moral development is locally bound—Self-esteem is poorly developed in many marginalized communities
Toddlerhood (2 to 4)	Elaboration of locomotion—Fantasy and play—Language development—Self control	Language development may be slower—Self-control may be less in marginalized communities
Infancy (Birth to 2)	Social attachment—Maturing sensory and motor facilities—Sensorimotor intelligence and primitive causality—Object permanence—Emotional growth	Object permanence is not always observable—Emotional development is not always observable

Figure 3

Adolescence and Longevity in Human Development—A Summary



trajectory that development often takes. These issues become apparent when a diverse array of persons is studied.

This raises questions not just about the universality of the *elements* of developmental theory but also about whether the *conceptual constructs* of the theory allow for accurate understanding of observed behavior. This is not a new concern; it is a problem

commonly noted in studies of cultural diversity, when culturally local theory and instrumentation are applied in settings that vary too much from the constructed norms of traditional methods to be accurately perceived. All too often in these cases, the interpretation of the data has been along the lines of a deficiency model; that is, observed behavior is measured against standards that do not apply but which are used to construe that behavior as “deficient” by the model’s criteria. This has been true in interpreting diversity of race, gender, class and ethnicity—an example is the now commonly disputed model of viewing female development as a “less evolved” when seen in a male-oriented framework.

Figure 2 represents a proposed alternative to the Erikson paradigm, which incorporates the data from this study and proposes areas in which it expands on the confining nature of its universal prescriptions. Still, even the revised framework noted here (in Figure 2) lends itself to some of the original liabilities. As with all conceptual frameworks, there is the risk (or probability) of inquiry being *confined* by the theoretical paradigm, rather than enhanced. Having undertaken the study with the Eriksonian paradigm in mind, the variations that appeared in the data are still essentially framed within its conceptual confines—that is, the questions stemmed from an Eriksonian framework and, so, the data reflect those categories and definitions of development. This results in a revised framework still oriented to a Western conceptualization stressing certain developmental norms—of autonomy, an individualized work concept, and heterosexual coupling and child-rearing. The next step, suggested directly by these results, would be to generate a new body of questions to help field an even broader range of data. For example, questions could be generated that reach for open-ended data on what are the existing values and practices related to community, relationships, work, family, child-rearing, etc. (rather than trying to match the data to pre-existing frameworks). In an ever-increasing global environment for the human community, this is information that is important not only to the purposes of effective policy development and intervention but also to enhancing the value of life that we all share. The “sociocultural context of the self” suggested here, and the implications for understanding the interface of indi-

viduals and their environment(s), is rich in possibility for future inquiry.

Implications for Social Work Education

In general, this effort supports the contention (stated at the very beginning of this paper) that the epigenetic chart of Erikson suffers from a Euro-centric, social-class-biased, and a regionally biased paradigm construction. Further, three clear implications emerge from this study. We list them below.

Implications for Human Behavior Sequence

Developmental theories need to be discovered and taught which include the realities of human development in most if not all communities (rather than the privileged communities) in a given society. Specifically, adolescence and old age appear very differently across the social stratification systems of a given society.

Developmental theories need to be discovered and taught in the perspective of a world system, showing that childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age, as stages of human development, vary from society to society.

Implications for Policy Sequence

Non-marginalized, or mainstream communities, in general, have prolonged adolescence, and longer life-expectancy. In contrast, members of marginalized communities have shortened adolescence, and reduced life expectancy. In redistributive efforts of state policy (like state-supported health care, income protection, old age pension, etc.), this factor needs to be considered. When a single standard is set for all members of the population, members of marginalized groups are likely to receive less from redistributive efforts. For example, if the retirement age is set as 67, then members of marginalized groups who have a higher probability of dying at 63 or 64 are not likely to receive retirement or other similar benefits.

Fields like clinical social work, psychology, or psychiatry, have developed a learned tradition in which it is assumed that certain types of behavior are normal in adolescence or old age. These fields need to take into account that both adolescence and old age vary within and between societies. Consequently, what is

thought of as “expected and normal” at a certain age needs to be reconceptualized. What is “expected and normal” for mainstream communities may or may not be so in marginalized communities.

References

- Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Aries, P. (1962). *Centuries of childhood*. New York: Random House.
- Bacon, J. (1996). *Life lines: Community, family, and assimilation among Asian-Indians*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beeghley, L. (1988; 2000). *The structure of social stratification in the United States*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Belshaw, C. S. (1965). *Traditional exchange and modern markets*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Benedict, R. (1934). *Patterns of culture*. New York: The New American Library
- Bulcroft, R. A., Carmody, D. C., & Bulcroft, K. A. (1998). Family structure and patterns of independence giving to adolescents: Variations by age, race, and gender of child. *Journal of Family Issues* (19)4, 404–435.
- Cass, V. C. (1979). Homosexual identity formation: A theoretical formulation. *Journal of Homosexuality* 4,219–236.
- Chan, C. S. (1995). Issues of sexual identity in an ethnic minority: The case of Chinese American lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people. In A. D’Augelli & C. Patterson (Eds.). *Lesbian, gay and bisexual identities over the life span*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Clark, K. & Clark, M. (1958). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. Pp. 602–611 In E. E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcomb, & E.L. Hartley (Eds.). *Readings in social psychology*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Coleman, J. S. (1961). *The adolescent society*. New York: Free Press.
- Coopersmith, S. (1967). *The antecedents of self-esteem*. San Francisco, CA: Freeman.
- Cross, W. E., Jr. (1995). The psychology of Nigrescence: Revising the Cross model. In J.G. Ponterotto, J.M. Casas, L.A. Suzuki & C.M. Alexander (Eds.). *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- D’augelli, A. R. (1994). Lesbian and gay male development. In B. Greene & G. Herek (Eds.) *Lesbian and gay psychology: Theory, research, and clinical applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dannefer, D. (1984). Adult development and social theory: A paradigmatic reappraisal. *American Sociological Review* 49 (February), 100–116.
- Davis, A. (1944). Socialization and adolescent personality. *Adolescence: Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 43.
- Devore, W. & Schlesinger, E. G. (1987). *Ethnic-Sensitive Social Work Practice*, 2nd Ed. Columbus, OH: Merrill Publishing Company.
- Elder, Jr., G. H. (1992). Models of the life course. *Contemporary Sociology* (21)5, 632–635.
- Elder, G. & Liker, J. K. (1982). Hard times in women’s lives: Historical influences across forty years. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88, 241–269.

- Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1982). *The life cycle completed: A review*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1997). *The life cycle completed*. New York: Norton.
- Farley, J. E. (1988). *Majority-minority relations*. Englewood-Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Farrell, M. & Rosenberg, . (1981). *Men at midlife*. Boston: Auburn.
- Freud, A. (1948). *The ego and the mechanisms of defense*. New York: International Universities Press.
- Freud, S. (1993). *New introductory lectures on psychoanalysis*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Garnier, H. E. & Stein, J. A. (1998). Values and the family: Risk and protective factors for adolescent problem behaviors. *Youth and Society*, (30)1, 89–120.
- Gavazzi, S. M. & Law, J. C. (1997). Creating definitions for successful adulthood for families with adolescents: A therapeutic intervention from the growing up FAST program. *Journal of Family Psychotherapy*, (8)4, 21–38.
- Germain, C. (1991). *Human Behavior in the Social Environment: An Ecological View*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gesel, A. (1948). *Studies in child development*. New York: Harper.
- Gesel, A. Ilg, F. & Ames, L. B. (1956). *The years from ten to sixteen*. New York: Harper.
- Gilligan, C. (1978). Women's place in man's life cycle. *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 431–446.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gilligan, C. (1990). *Making connections: The relational worlds of adolescent girls of Emma Willard School*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gonsiorek, J. C. (1995). Gay male identities. In A. D'Augelli & C. Patterson (Eds.). *Lesbian, gay and bisexual identifies over the life span*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Pyszczynski, T., Rosenblatt, A., Burling, J., Lyon, D., Simon, L., & Pinel, E. (1992). Why do people need self-esteem? Converging evidence that self-esteem serves an anxiety-buffering function. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 63, 913–922.
- Greene, R. R. (1991). In R. R. Greene & P. H. Ephross (Eds.). *Human Behavior Theory and social Work Practice*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Greenwald, A. G. & Breckler, S. J. (1985). To whom is the self presented? In B. R. Schlenker (Ed.). *The self and social life*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hall, G. S. (1916). *Adolescence* (2 volumes). New York: Appleton.
- Harper, J. M. & Hoopes, M. M. (1990). *Uncovering shame: An approach integrating individuals with their family systems*. New York: Norton.
- Hartman, H., Kris, E. & Loewenstein, R. M. (1946). Comments on the formation of a psychic structure. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, Vol. II. New York: International Universities Press.
- Harvey, D. L. (1993). *Potter addition: Poverty, family, and kinship in a heartland community*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter

- Havinghurst, R. J. (1951). *Developmental tasks and education*. New York: Longmans, Greene.
- Hollingshead, A. (1975). *Elmtown's youth and Elmtown revisited*. New York: Wiley.
- Hunter, F. (1963). *Community power structure*. New York: Doubleday.
- Jones, E. (1924/1964). Mother-right and sexual ignorance of savages. In Jones, E., *Essays in applied psychoanalysis*, 2: 145–173. New York: International Universities Press.
- Kottak, C. P. (1979). *Cultural anthropology*. New York: Random House.
- Kroh, O. (1944). *Entwicklungspsychologie des Grundschulkindes*. Langensalza: Hermann Beyer.
- Kluckhohn, C. (1944). *Navaho witchcraft*. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Papers (22)2, Harvard University.
- Lersch, P. (1951). *Aufbau der Person*. Muenchen: Johann Ambrosius Barth.
- Lewin, K. (1946). Behavior and development as a function of the total situation. L. Carmichael (Ed.). *Manual of child development*. New York: Wiley.
- Liebersohn, S. (1980). *A piece of the pie: Blacks and whites in America from 1870 to the present*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lipset, S. M. (1963). *The first new nation: The United States in historical and comparative perspective*. New York: Basic Books.
- MacLeod, Jay. (1995). *Ain't no makin' it*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Malinowski, B. (1927/1953). *Sex and repression in savage society*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Malinowski, B. (1929/1953). *The sexual life of savages*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Mead, M. (1950). *Coming of age in Samoa*. New York: New American Library.
- Mead, M. (1952). Adolescence in primitive and modern society. In Swanson, G. E., Newcomb, T. M. & Hartley, E. L. (Eds.). *Readings in social psychology*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Moretti, M. & Higgins, E. T. (1990). Relating self-discrepancy to self-esteem: The contribution of discrepancy beyond actual self-ratings. *Journal of Experimental and Social Psychology* 26, 108–123.
- Muus, R. E. (1988). *Theories of Adolescence*, 5th Ed. New York: Random House.
- Newman, B. M. & Newman, P. R. (1987). *Development through life: A psychosocial approach*. Chicago, IL: Dorsey Press.
- Oyserman, D., Gant, L. & Ager, J. (1995). A socially contextualized model of African American identity: Possible selves and school persistence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(6), 1216–1232.
- Pelham, B. W. & Swann, W. B. (1989). From self-conceptions to self-worth: On the sources and structure of global self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57, 672–680.
- Polanyi, K. (1968). The economy as instituted process. In E. E. LeClair & H. K. Schneider (Eds.) *Economic anthropology: Readings in theory and analysis*. New York: Hold, Rinehart & Winston.
- Rapp, C. A. (1998). *The strengths model*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Remplein, H. (1956). *Die seelische Entwicklung in der Kindheit und Reifezeit*. Muenchen: Ernst Reinhard.
- Robbins, S. P., Chatterjee, P. & Canda, E. R. (1998). *Contemporary Human Behavior Theory: A critical perspective for social work*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Rosenfeld, L. B., Richman, J. M. & Bowen, G. L. (1998). Low social support among at-risk adolescents. *Social Work in Education* (20)4, 245–260.
- Rowley, S. J., Sellers, R. M., Chavous, T. M. & Smith, M. A. (1998). The relationship between racial identity and self-esteem in African American college and high school students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(3), 715–724.
- Saleebey, D. (1996). The strengths perspective in social work practice: Extensions and cautions. *Social Work* 41, 3, 296–305.
- Schlegel, A. & Barry, H., III. (1991). *Adolescence: An anthropological inquiry*. New York: The Free Press.
- Singh, U. P., Prasad, T., & Bhagalpur, U. (1973). Self-esteem, social-esteem, and conformity behavior. *Psychologia: An International Journal of Psychology in the Orient* 16, 2, 61–68.
- Sokoloff, N. (1980). *Between money and love: The dialectics of women's home and market work*. New York: Praeger.
- Sommerville, J. (1982). *The rise and fall of childhood*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- South, S. J. & Crowder, K. D. (1999). Neighborhood effects on family formation: Concentrated poverty and beyond. *American Sociological Review*, (64)1, 113–132.
- Spiro, M. (1969). *Children of the Kibbutz: A study in child training and personality*. New York: Schoecken.
- Spranger, E (1955). *Psychologie des Jugendalters*. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer.
- Tavris, C. (1992). *The mismeasure of woman: Why women are not the better sex, the inferior sex, or the opposite sex*. New York: Touchstone.
- Wallerstein, I. (1976). *The modern world system*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, I. (1980). *The modern world system II: Mercantilism and the consolidation of the European world economy, 1600–1750*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, I. (1989). *The modern world system III: The second era of great expansion of the capitalist world economy, 1730–1840*. New York: Academic Press.
- Warner, W. L. (1963). *Yankey city*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Warner, W. L. & Meekerand, M., & Eells, K. (1949). *Social class in America*. Chicago, IL: Science Research Associates.

