Research Papers

Genesis of Concept of Adolescence

An Interdisciplinary Approach

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ABSTRACT

Puberty is a physiological process, which is seen in all the societies. Adolescence is not a universal concept. Adolescence is not a monolithic universal experience. It differs in different societies. Adolescence, as a transition between childhood and adulthood, is an invention of industrial revolution. Adolescence in traditional societies was different than in a post-industrial society. An interdisciplinary approach is required to draw the insights of the various disciplines together to study the genesis of this process common to all human beings: that of growing up. The resources of many disciplines are required to disentangle the interacting historical, biological, psychological, and sociological forces. What does growing up, or 'coming of age', mean today? What did it mean in earlier times? By looking at individuals as social agents in the particular cultural setting to what extent ties to norms and values of past times have been severed and how has this affected the process of growing up.

Introduction

In modern times there are opposing views about the concept of adolescence. There is no general agreement about the universality of this stage of life — nor is it clear whether elongated period of puberty is a physiological necessity or a social invention. Whether adolescence existed in the traditional society or an invention of consumer society. What was the role of industrial revolution in constructing the concept of adolescence ? There are many ramifications of social concept of adolescence. Adolescence was viewed as a period of "storm and stress".

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As now, when we enter the twenty-first century, adolescence is viewed as part of life span development, with continuities from childhood, unique developmental challenges and tasks, and implications for adulthood. "Puberty is universal experience but adolescence is not" is the main underlying idea of this paper. In this paper my focus will be to understand how this concept has evolved in the due course of time and what its implications are. This paper will help in developing a better insight of the concept of adolescence, their behaviour, needs, developmental tasks, societal expectations, shift in roles of parents and community and others who want to assist youth. This paper is divided into six sections namely, historical, sociological, psychological, physiological, ethological and economic dimensions.

What is Adolescence?

Adolescence is the period between childhood and adulthood. But, finding a precise definition of adolescence is difficult. Biologically, it is the time of sexual maturation and the completion of growth. More than mere biology, adolescence is psychosocially the period between childhood dependency and being a functionally independent autonomous adult. Theorists have viewed adolescence in different ways; Freud saw adolescence as the period of recapitulation of the childhood Oedipal complex, while Erickson claimed that the struggle between Identity and Role Confusion typified the adolescent stage of development. Chronological definitions abound and are more pragmatic in allowing us to identify who is or is not an 'adolescent'. Let us interrogate the concept of adolescence itself, which contrasts and connects—etymologically as well as socially—with adulthood. *Adultum* is the past participle of the Latin verb *adolescere* 'to grow (up).' The senses of growth, transition, and incompleteness are therefore historically embedded in *adolescent*, while *adult* indicates both completion and completeness (cf. Herdt & Leavitt 1998). The World Health Organisation (WHO) considers 'adolescence' as the period between 10-19 years of age, which generally encompasses the time from the onset of puberty to legal age of majority.

Historical Roots

We need to examine the historical foundations of adolescence, and to study adolescence in relation to cultural patterns, forms of life, cultural institutions, and norms and values. A historical approach is often understood as retrospective explanation based on the

problems of today. History makes us conscious of what is before our eyes as a matter of course, it makes us aware of the aspects of change, and makes us critical to why it was not different or why it actually became the way it is.

Throughout most of history, adolescence was unknown as a stage of life. Native societies have observed Rites of Passage signifying the emergence of young people from childhood into adulthood, but no concept of adolescence intervened between stages. In the classical world, Aristotle recorded what now is known as adolescent development, that is, the appearance of secondary sexual characteristics in both males and females, but he and other ancients recognised only three distinct periods of life: childhood, youth, and old age. The notion of youth as a time of sexual awakening and rebellion received particular expression in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophical narrative, (Emile 1762), which described the evolution of a noble boy into a civilised man. At age fifteen or sixteen, according to Rousseau, a boy experiences crisis, and his mind is in such 'constant agitation' that he is 'almost unmanageable'. With proper care and education, however, he learns to enjoy beauty and wisdom so that at the end of adolescence he is ready to marry and raise children. Rousseau addressed the condition of childhood but Goethe had a greater influence with respect to adolescence. In 1774, he wrote *The Sufferings of Young Werther*, which described a sensitive youth experiencing suicidal despair in facing the adult world. The book was an instant success and legend has it that there was a series of similar suicides across Europe.

Among Romans, the term child (*puer*) could be applied almost without regard to age, and through the Middle Ages it served as a demeaning label for any person of low social status. By the Renaissance, the establishment of schools for a somewhat larger proportion of the population helped to extend the period of childhood but still did not define a separate stage of adolescence because neither school attendance nor grade in school was based on age. Other factors inhibiting the evolution of distinct life stages included the brevity of total life span, the necessity for almost all people except elites to work, and the rigid social hierarchies that made most people, regardless of age, dependent on nobility.

The largely agrarian world of early modern Europe kept young people in a condition of semi-dependence, in which economic and personal status involved important contributions to the family economy but left the individual dependent on parents. Among lower

classes in western (though less frequently in southern) Europe, England, and colonial America, many boys and girls in their teens were sent from their homes to work as employees for other families, a practice that served both economic and upbringing functions. Though the French word adolescence existed, the term youth (or its equivalent) was more pervasively applied to people in this semi-dependent condition. Some historians have posited that a Youth Culture, manifested by organisations and activities, existed to some extent in the eighteenth century. Moreover, in Europe and America at this time, adults — particularly religious leaders — expressed concern over presumed emotional and behavioural problems of young people and began to urge their education as preparation for future roles in the family and community

The Industrial Revolution was important in constructing the concept of 'adolescence'. The Industrial Revolution, and the mass manufacturing economy that it spawned, largely destroyed the old craft ethic of thoughtfulness and personal involvement. It reduced apprenticeship by the mid twentieth century to an almost meaningless 'serving one's time'. The earlier integration of home, community and work that had characterised English society for centuries was replaced by a mass manufacturing society which took parents out of their homes, and largely left children either unsupervised, or as cheap, disposable factory labour. Parents' did not consider their skills worthwhile to share with their children and even children were also not interested in their parents' boring lines. Quite simply there was no longer much for families to talk about. William Blake in early nineteenth century wrote several poems about the effects of the Industrial Revolution. *In every cry of every man/In every infant's cry of fear/In every voice, in every ban/The mind-forged manacles I hear.* (from *London*, William Blake)

During the late eighteenth century and through the nineteenth century, biologists and physicians undertook more formal study of adolescent phenomena. European scientists researched aspects of physical growth such as the onset of Menarche in females and seminal emission in males. These works provided scientific and philosophical background when, in the 1890s, psychologists began investing the abilities, behaviours, and attitudes of young people between the onset of Puberty and marriage. Their work marked the first emergence of *adolescence as a concept.*

Exigencies of World War II disrupted the lives of European adolescents, but in the U.S. an expanding war economy brought three million youths between ages fourteen and seventeen, about one third

of people in this age category, into full or part-time employment by 1945. The income that adolescents earned helped in supporting a renewed youth culture. After World War II, the proportion of adolescents in Western countries temporarily declined. Furthermore, a marriage boom followed the war, drastically reducing the age at which people were entering the wedlock, especially in Great Britain and the United States where the median age at marriage for women declined from twenty-six to twenty-three to twenty-one respectively. Soon the marriage boom translated into the 'Baby Boom', which eventually combined with material prosperity to foster an ever-more extensive teen culture. Marketing experts utilised long-standing theories about the insecurities of adolescence, along with surveys that showed adolescents tending toward conformist attitudes, to sell goods that catered to teenagers' desires to dress, buy and act like their peers.

During the late twentieth century, adolescence has historically 'matured' to become a legitimate part of the life span. This does not mean, however, that it is an esteemed part or a well-defined part. Rather, adolescence's moratorium on clarity of expectations is seen as an unavoidable phase. In a way, society now expects to find in adolescence poorly defined expectations and corresponding behaviour. This expectation invites self-fulfilling prophecy and may well reinforce what we call adolescent behaviour. It sounds like a paradox, but post industrial conditions have evolved a structure of the life span within which we allow for a phase that expects confused expectations. Hence, adolescent behaviour has become normative and is no longer considered random or unstructured. Adolescents are expected to reflect 'storm and stress', to be rebellious, and to have a subculture of their own.

Sociological Dimensions

Adolescence in the sociological sense refers to the experience of passing through a phase that lies between childhood and adulthood. In traditional cultures of the past, initiation ceremonies, or rites of passage, were used to guide the individual through the necessary transition from one social status or life stage to another. Marriages and funerals are two common examples of this. At around the onset of menarche for girls and puberty for boys, a special puberty rite was held to initiate the youth into adulthood. Upon completion of this dramatic and often perilous ordeal, which included tests of bravery and endurance as well as separation from one's family and community, the youth would return as a new person, an adult with a

new status and new responsibilities. In this cultural context adolescence usually did not exist at all, and if it did it was clearly a liminal, or limbo, period that lasted anywhere from a few days to a few months. The important point about these community-wide ceremonies is that they made it very clear how the youth was to become an adult and exactly when this transition would take place, as well as when it was completed.

The contributions of great anthropologist Margaret Mead, gave us much insight into perspectives on adolescent development in a cultural context. A term 'cultural relativism' contributes new and important ideas to the understanding of the phenomenon of adolescence. It emphasises the importance of social institutions and cultural factors in human development and describes the rituals of pubescence as well as adolescent experiences in primitive societies. Generally, in Western society, movement through adolescence from childhood to adulthood involves much more than a linear progression of change. It is multi-dimensional, involving a gradual transformation or metamorphosis of the person as a child into a new person as an adult. It is important to note that, however, that the required changes in a young person during adolescence differ with culture. For example, in some cultures some of the roles played by children and adults are similar. Children may be expected to perform work-like tasks for the welfare of the family while quite young. Also, in some cultures the number of years spent in being educated before working is short. In such cultures the transition from childhood to adulthood is likely to be less challenging (Mead,1951, p.185 as cited in Muuss 1975, p. 112).

Ruth Benedict's *Theory of Adolescent Transition to Adulthood* (1938) provided specification of cultural influence on adolescent development. She argued on the importance of differences and similarities in roles that children and adults are expected to play. A discontinuity in adolescent and adulthood roles produces emotional strain, which in turn produces conflict. However, cultural continuity produces a smooth and gradual growth from childhood to adulthood with relatively little conflict. Development of an individual varies from one culture to another because of differences in cultural institutions and even within the same culture what is true of one generation, may not be true for next generation, and may not have been true for the previous one. In the western culture where children must relearn new behaviours and must unlearn childhood behaviours in order to become adults, transitions to adulthood are relatively more difficult than in other cultures where there is continuity in child-adult roles.

Today, this child-adult transition is better thought of as a status with uncertain and diffuse guidelines, engendering equally uncertain and diffuse behaviour. In short, it means social existence without a clear blueprint for behaviour. The young individual often cannot decide whether a situation calls for acting as a child or as an adult, and he or she frequently suffers uncertainty in relation to the adult world-the Establishment, as it is sometimes scornfully called. This confusion does not arise in relation to his or her peer group. In fact, adolescents evade uncertainty through involvement in the group activities of their age mates and by relying on the standards of the peer group, hence forming a youth sub-culture estranged from the larger society.

Psychological Dimensions

The sociological and psychological definitions complement each other in so far as they call attention to the principle that an undefined social situation will have a corresponding repercussion in the personality of the individual who goes through it. It brings to mind a special meaning of the old adage that "no man is an island." Sociologists adhere to the theory that a vacuous or inconsistent socio-cultural environment is a poor bet for the development of a stable identity, whereas, a clearly defined and consistent socio-cultural environment is prone to yield a stable identity. American psychologist G. Stanley Hall, a pioneer in the study of children and their learning processes, gave its first full definition in Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education published in 1904. Hall's fundamental argument sprang from the idea of what he called 'recapitulation' – the idea that the development of the individual corresponds to the evolution of the species. Erik H. Erikson's concept of 'identity crisis' has been considered to be of as much relevance to our epoch as the problems of sex seemed to be to Freud's. The concept deals with the relationship between what a person appears to be in the eyes of others and what he or she feels he or she is. It refers to the dynamics of the search for an inner continuity that will match the external social conditions. The reference was first used to explain a type of breakdown of inner controls observed among psychiatric patients. Similar, control disturbances were found in young persons suffering from conflict and confusion. Gradually, the term *identity crisis* acquired a normative connotation and was applied to adolescents in general. As used by Erikson, crisis does not mean a breakdown or catastrophe but rather

a 'crucial period' when development must move one way or another and when stable reference points in and around the young person must be established. Generally, the identity concept focuses on the integration of a number of important elements — such as capacities, opportunities, ideals, and identifications — into a viable self-definition. Adolescents differ in the pace with which they establish an identity. Some may formulate a limited identity too early in order to avoid further confusion. In Eriksonian terms, such an early identity formation is called 'Identity foreclosure', and is usually due to parental ascription. Many delay such crystallisation, are for many years incapable of a clear formulation, and exist in a psychosocial moratorium during which they try out various identities. Certain developmental tasks complicate the identity struggle of adolescents. They include the necessity of the young to learn new ways of behaving, to acquire new ideas about themselves and other people, and to make important decisions that will affect the rest of their lives. Developmental psychologists emphasise how important it is that the young learn to master these tasks during their teen years.

Physiological Dimensions

The problems presented by developmental demands are intensified by physiological changes that occur during the earlier part of adolescence. During adolescence, growth is rapid, often disorganised and confusing, compared to the relatively happy period of childhood. The word 'puberty' comes from the Latin word *pubertas* (to grow hair), one sign of physical maturity. During pubescence, the changing proportions of the body tend to cause poor coordination, and the maturing of the endocrine system sharpens sexual interest. For girls, the average age of onset of puberty is under 13 and for boys it ranges from 13 ½ to 14 ½ years. However, the range in reaching puberty is from 9 to 17 years in girls and 11 to 18 years in boys. The dramatic physical changes do not occur at the same time or at the same rate. The fact that girls mature a year and a half to two years ahead of boys is widely recognised, but the tremendous variation in the rate and timing of the developmental processes of both boys and girls is not so well known. Some boys have achieved puberty before some girls have started. And what one child accomplishes in growth in 18 months may take up to three or more years in another. As a result, a seventh class is likely to include men, women, and children. The emergence of puberty in the average teen arrived approximately 19 months earlier in 1966 than it did in 1947. This means that the

average youth of today is entering puberty almost two years prior to those of Second World War vintage (Muuss, 1962, page 6). The physical changes of puberty take place in a time span of approximately two years that begins around the middle of the sixth grade for girls and the seventh grade for boys. Muuss has said, 'At perhaps no other period in human life, except birth, does a transition of such importance takes place. And though physiological changes take place at all age levels, the rate of change during this period is immeasurably greater than in the years that follow it. The young must learn to adapt to these biological changes. Within a relatively short time they find themselves endowed with primary and secondary sex characteristics and have reproductive capability. However, society discourages the enactment of these capabilities, insisting on postponement of their expression.

In early times, when the span of adolescence was shorter, human biological and social clocks were set at the same time. When teenagers were physically ready to reproduce, society was structured for them to be parents. Now there is about a 10-year gap between individuals' ability to reproduce and the prevailing society's wisdom of an appropriate time to marry and begin raising children? The period of time between puberty and adult responsibility is lengthening. The transition from childhood to adulthood has become prolonged and during this period an adolescent is sexually unemployed.

Ethological Dimension

Ethology is the study of animal and human behaviour within an evolutionary context. The person most identified with modern evolutionary theory is Darwin. In early civilisations, of the greatest importance to such early people was the progression of their dependent child to that of autonomous adult. This was a process that had to be completed sufficiently early to ensure that the young adult would be able to take on whatever were the responsibilities of the earlier generation before they died. While, there is much evidence about the care and attention given by such people to the very young (as can easily be noted to this day in remote areas of Africa or elsewhere) there was absolutely nothing soft or sentimental about this.

Amongst the nomads of the Zagros mountains of southern Iran, until very recently, adults spent much time and energy equipping every four-year-olds to look after the chickens, the six-year-olds the goats, the eight and nine-year-olds the sheep, the ten-year-olds the asses and twelve-year-olds the donkeys – leaving only the bad

tempered camels as needing actual adult attention! When the tribe moved everyone had a task to complete. As the child grew older so the tasks they were allocated became harder. Everyone was engaged, even if work frequently felt like play they all shared in the sense of achievement.

Such small-scale, self-contained communities depend upon the goodwill of their members to ensure cohesion, but such cohesion would have come at too high a cost if youthfulness lasted too long, and there was any undue delay in reaching adulthood. The adaptation that had earlier enabled the young to learn easily in their earliest years through intense emotional connection with older people had to be balanced by an internal mechanism that prevented the children from becoming mere clones of their parents. In other words unless those close bonds which had characterised the earliest years were ruptured (forcibly if necessary) the young would not grow to be adaptable to new situations. Adolescence, is now becoming clearer, is that deep-seated biological adaptation that makes it essential for the young to go off, either to war, to hunt, to explore, to colonise, or to make love – in other words to prove themselves – so as to start a life of their own. As such, the biology of adolescence aims to stop children being merely clones of their parents. It is probably a time-limited predisposition. In other words, if the adolescent is prevented (by over careful parents or too rigid a system of formal schooling) from experimenting and working things out for itself, it will lose the motivation to be innovative or to take responsibility for itself when it becomes adult.

We know that, the Greeks and the Romans were systematic in forcing their young (for whom they would have had deep familial love) into proving their manhood under the harshest conditions. The initiation ceremonies of native Americans and Africans served a vital task; they showed which of the boys were tough enough to take on adult roles. Those that could not brought shame to their families.

The Economic Dimension

There is another abrogation, albeit an informal one, of full adulthood after age of eighteen. What about the millions of young students, who are between eighteen and twenty, and even older, enrolled in colleges and universities, and who are economically dependent on parents, relatives, and loans? Is it not a mark of adulthood to achieve a balance between production (making a contribution to the division of labour) and consumption? Many, if not most, young students who

attend institutions of higher education have not achieved symmetry between giving and taking. They are still being nurtured and receive support and care without making an equivalent contribution. Full adult status, although only informally and not necessarily legally, is tied up with a balance between producing and consuming. Being a fulltime student after age eighteen is often a moratorium on full adult status. Allowance must of course be made for individuals using savings that are the result of their productive status and that are now used to balance the score. Participation in higher education under such circumstances does not disturb the production-consumption balance. Students who work as well as attend school to finance their studies likewise achieve balance and maintain adult status — at least with respect to the economic criterion. The legislation declaring eighteen-year-olds responsible adults has nevertheless introduced greater clarity. For example, the tradition of educational institutions playing the in *loco parentis* role has been curtailed, and college students have achieved a state of independence.

Adolescence in India – Issues and Debates

"The only universal definition of adolescence in India is to mark it as a period in which a person is no longer a child, and not yet an adult". In India, the number of adolescents alone (10-19) has crossed 230 millions (National Population Policy 2000). In India, there is a resistance to the concept of 'adolescence', if it is understood, as in the west, as an extended period of education and training for adult roles. The experience of such a phase is limited in the Indian context. This may be explained by delay in the onset of puberty (due to poor nutritional status) and prevalence of early marriage (signifying adulthood). It may further be noted that in India the generation gap cited in the west does not exist. However, with the changing economic and social profile, generational differences in India are becoming increasingly important.

Adolescence in India is shaped by various contextual elements like religion, caste, gender, class etc. Even though, constitutionally, India defined itself as a secular state, religion and caste are deeply entrenched in the identity of Indians across ages and play a direct or indirect role in the daily lives of young people. In other words, religion is ever present in the lives of adolescents, though it plays more of a social than religious role in most cases. The role of caste in adolescents' lives is much more complex. Religion and caste are not barriers to friendships. However, when it comes to marriage partner

selection, the embeddedness of caste in the Indian psyche is transparent. If a young person's own choice of partner transgresses religious and caste barriers the whole family, especially in rural areas, risks social ostracism. But, resisting young people's choice of their own partners can at times have tragic consequences, for example, suicide.

In the patriarchal setting of the Indian family, growing up as a female child carries with it the connotation of inferior status and lesser privileges when compared to the male child (Dube 1988; Kakar 1979). Females across social classes are encouraged to develop an interdependent and even sacrificial self and to prepare for their roles as good wives and mothers. The picture is not too different even among the increasing number of career-oriented young women, who clearly prioritise family obligations (T.S.Saraswathi, 1999). The family continues to play a major role in socialisation despite the fast pace of social change. The family itself is undergoing structural and functional modifications that have a direct bearing on adolescent socialisation and parent-child relations. The ambiguity of values adolescents observe in the adult world, the absence of powerful role models, increasing gaps between aspirations and possible achievement, not surprisingly, lead to alienation and identity diffusion (Singh and Singh 1996). Parents themselves appear ill-prepared to cope with social change, having grown up in hierarchically structured and interlinked social groups and collectives, such as the extended family, kinship network, and caste groups that provided stability and solidarity (J.B.P. Sinha 1982, cited in Singhal and Misra 1994). The conflict between parents' desire to help their adolescent children cope with the competitive demands of the market economy and achievement orientation and their own rootedness in the safety of tradition expresses itself in the "cold feet syndrome" when things go wrong (T.S. Saraswathi and Pai 1997). Parents who seem 'modern' in their child rearing practices get anxious when their adolescent child breaches established social codes. Intergenerational conflicts related to marriage, career choice, or separate living arrangements result in the tendency to fall back on tradition. A key concern is the stress created by the changing composition and dynamics of the family with differential expectations, values, competencies, and coping styles between parents and adolescents. Increasing numbers of educated and employed women with consequent expectations of greater gender egalitarianism in a highly patriarchal society is yet another issue that will continue to challenge Indian families in the coming decades.

Yet, across the Indian subcontinent, in both rural and urban locales, even while the outward forms of the family are changing, strong traditional family values prevail and create a vital family life for adolescents and youth.

Conclusion

The question returns – Have adolescents been around for a long time? So teenagers have been around for a long time. And teenagers have always been "adults in progress." The English word for *adolescence* has only existed since the fifteenth century (Kaplan 1984, 44). "Puberty, is a universal experience but adolescence is not" (Nilsen and Donelson, 4th ed. p-5). Biological maturation is clearly universal. It happens in every culture (although young people in the West reach sexual maturity earlier now than they used to). The elongated period of puberty is not a physiological necessity but a social invention. Adolescence is an invention of consumer society that does not exist in traditional society. The existence of adolescence as a unique period may also vary within a culture and by gender and social class. Saraswathi (1999) recently argued that Indian children in the upper social class typically had a more distinct stage of adolescence than children in the lower social class. Indian girls in general also experience greater continuity between childhood and adulthood than do boys.

In most of the societies, the beginning of adolescence is marked by initiation ceremonies, or rites of passage, that are major public events (Delaney, 1995). Themes of initiation ceremonies are typically consistent with the eventual adult responsibilities (e.g., productivity or fertility) in the various societies. In contrast, few or no formal initiation ceremonies exist in industrialised societies, leaving the period of adolescence with no clear beginning or the end. There are many indicators of termination of adolescence. From a theoretical point of view, no agreement has been reached as to the relative importance of the various factors. Also, these variables are not conterminous; that is, each follows its own course and expires at different times. We may therefore speak of degrees of adolescence, or, conversely, of adulthood. For example, the onset of puberty normally signals the entrance into adolescence. This would set the modal entrance age at between twelve to fourteen years for girls and thirteen to fifteen for boys. But the termination of adolescence is not so readily determined. There are no objective physiological indicators signifying the termination. While economic independence, stable employment,

and marriage are adult indicators, they do not necessarily indicate psychological maturity. Moreover, the psychological and sociological meanings of such achievements must be viewed within the traditions of a given socio cultural environment. In tribal societies, the transition from childhood to adulthood may be swift, and adolescence is merely a brief interval that is clearly terminated by an initiation ritual. However, in American postindustrial society this transition is exceedingly protracted, and no specific rite of passage tells the young when he or she is an adult.

As has been mentioned above, in a strict legal sense adulthood in most of the Nations is reached at eighteen years of age. At that age, fun civil rights usually become available to young population. These privileges pertain to among other things like voting, driving, drinking, employment, marriage, concluding contracts, criminal justice, and so on. But in a social-psychological sense, the termination of adolescence cannot be judged on the basis of chronological age. While, the years of adolescence used to be fourteen through eighteen, in the late twentieth century these years start earlier and extend into the twenties, and many youngsters remain adolescents until they are thirty.

The criteria for this assertion are embedded in at least two interrelated processes. Adolescence terminates psychologically with the establishment of realistic and relatively consistent patterns of. Problem solving and is socially still not defined as an adult; and, vice versa, an individual may have entered adult status according to the general socio cultural definition but may still be lacking in realistic patterns of problem solving. However, psychological and social development is expected to coincide and produce a normally functioning young adult by the late teens.

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