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RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE TURMOIL OF ADOLESCENCE: A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: This article is a selective literature review, viewing adolescence in a cross-cultural perspective. Starting with the Mead/Freeman controversy, it centers on the following question: Which are the cultural contexts that best ensure a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood? The review covers some of the ethnographic research, both case studies and work using the hologetic method (those using the Human Relations Area Files), and some of the research in cross-cultural and developmental psychology, but neither cross-national comparisons nor studies with migrants in multicultural societies. It is found that social adolescence is a universal life stage, but that it takes very different forms in different societies. Its extension into a youth

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period occurred in societies with an age-grade system, and is nowadays linked to urbanization, industrialization, and formal education. Adolescence does not need to be a period of storm and stress, and the generation gap and problem behaviors considered a "normal" part of adolescence are in fact culturally produced. In many situations, these problematic aspects of adolescence are linked to rapid social change or acculturation, most often in the form of westernization. Societies that manage to keep some continuity, cultural identity, and basic values such as family solidarity, often also manage to avoid importing the problems of adolescence despite social change. Of importance are the tolerance and flexibility of adults, close contact between generations, appropriate role-learning and acceptance into the adult community, including in the economic sphere.

A cross-cultural perspective draws attention to the inherent ethnocentrism of most of developmental psychology (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1999). A large part of what figures prominently in mainstream psychology textbooks has in fact been elaborated on a very restricted sample of the world's population. To take the example of adolescence, this period of the lifespan was described for a long time as a period during which the individual has to separate from the family and become autonomous, and rebels against adult norms and values—a period of inevitable psychological turmoil. Is this indeed true of adolescence worldwide, or are these characteristics peculiar to adolescence in Euro-American society, or is the storm and stress hypothesis incorrect even for most Euro-American adolescents?

The above-mentioned ethnocentrism of mainstream psychology has sometimes led to its complete rejection, and a completely "emic" approach, one of extreme cultural relativism, has been advocated. In following this trend, one would study adolescence in a particular society entirely in its own cultural terms, without reference to existing theories, and without attempting comparisons across societies. While I would welcome more work on adolescence along these lines, I have argued (Dasen, 1993) that such "indigenous psychologies" may be a temporarily useful reaction, but should not rule out more comparative methodologies that allow the development of overarching theoretical frameworks. In continuity with this argument, this paper illustrates the methodological difficulties that are sometimes linked to ethnographic case studies, and the advantages to be derived from a more global perspective. It also illustrates the benefits of drawing together work in anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY, CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES, AND MIGRANTS

Before I turn to the specific studies that are the object of this review, I would like to make it clear that there are other fields of study that have made important contributions, in the main yielding conclusions that are congruent with cross-cultural data.

First of all, recent mainstream developmental psychology has made major relevant contributions to the question of adolescent adjustment versus turmoil. Petersen (1988, 1993), as well as Offer and Schonert-Reichl (1992), speak of "debunking" the myths surrounding adolescence. Studies in the early 1970s started to document the absence of significant psychological difficulties in the majority of adolescents (Offer & Offer, 1975). Tumultuous growth seems to occur in only about 20% of American adolescents; for those who do have difficulties, these often continue into adulthood (e.g., Rutter, 1980). "It was clearly inappropriate to assume that psychological difficulties in adolescence were normal and something that young people grow out of" (Petersen, 1988, p. 589). Much of the exaggeration of psychopathology has come from the biased sampling typical of clinical studies.

Another common belief was that adolescents and their parents suffer from a "generation gap." Research has shown this belief to be incorrect (e.g., Lerner, Karson, Meisels, & Knapp, 1975). For example, Kandel and Lesser (1972) found that parents and their children had more similar values and attitudes than did adolescents and their friends, and Nauck (1995) reports that Turkish migrant families in Germany are more cohesive in terms of values than those who remained in Istanbul.

According to these recent perspectives, it seems that adolescence in Euro-American societies is not as problem-ridden as the popular stereotype would have it. In a sociological analysis of adolescence and youth in France, Galland (1991) shows a recent trend (over the past 30 years) toward the extension of youth, with greater family solidarity in the face of a difficult job market, ideological congruence between parents and children and an absence of emotional stress, and a very progressive entrance into adulthood with opportunities to try out lifestyles and adult roles. This is not to say that problem behaviors are not an important issue in the study of adolescence. In the USA, according to Petersen (1993), illicit drug use and cigarette smoking

are the only indicators that show an improvement in recent years, while suicide and criminal behavior are on the increase.

In a review of large-scale comparative (mainly cross-national) psychological studies of adolescents of minority groups in multicultural societies, most often second generation migrants, Sabatier (1999) provides a similar "debunking of myths": contrary to popular belief, these adolescents are, as a rule, not particularly prone to mental illness (cf. also Klimidis, Stuart, Minas, & Ata, 1994), have positive self-esteem, and are motivated to be successful in school and learn a trade. According to Sabatier, the idea that acculturation reinforces the generation gap is another myth that has been overturned or at least qualified by recent research findings (e.g., Nauck, 1995).

Studies involving minorities or ethnic groups are, of course, part of a cross-cultural approach, but will not be covered here (see Allison & Takei, 1993; Burton, Allison, & Obeidallah, 1995). Similarly, there are many studies that compare adolescents in various countries, such as the well-known volume by Offer, Ostrov, Howard, and Atkinson (1988). These have been expertly and critically reviewed by Gibbons (in press). While these studies are also part of the general cross-cultural enterprise, they are more appropriately called cross-national or "inter-national". With a few exceptions, the countries involved are usually industrialized, or if other countries are involved, the samples of adolescents are drawn from their educated, middle-class or urban, modern sectors.¹ Beyond facilitating the use of questionnaires, this is a methodologically reasonable choice if scale equivalence is sought (Berry et al., 1992), but homogenizing these variables creates other limitations.

In this review, I wish to concentrate on studies that deal with large-scale social change, either by studying adolescence as it was in small-scale traditional societies (such as Margaret Mead's Samoa, which is my starting point), and comparing it to adolescence in Western, industrialized societies, or, even more to the point, studies that were able to assess the change from traditional to modern (or postmodern) times within such societies. In most cases, social change was brought about by external influences during conquest and colonization, and is akin to acculturation, and often more precisely westernization, with the school, the missionary church and mass media playing major roles along with structural, political, and economic changes. But social change is not necessarily linear (Berry, 1980), and outside influences are received, processed, and adapted to in different ways (Schlegel, in press). I will therefore use social change as a generic

concept covering all of these diverse situations.² An attempt will be made to "unconfound" (Segall et al., 1999) the various components of social change, but as we shall see, this is almost impossible to achieve.

TROUBLE IN THE SOUTH SEAS: THE MEAD/FREEMAN CONTROVERSY

Adolescence became a topic of intense discussion in the early years of this century. Prominent among developmental psychologists, Hall (1916) described a period of turmoil, of "storm and stress" that he attributed to biology, i.e., hormonal changes. This inevitability of internal turmoil, lability of mood, rebellion, and problem behaviors, on the fringe of psychopathology, has been prominent in psychoanalytical writings from S. Freud through A. Freud to the much-quoted Blois (1962, 1979).

On the nurture side of the argument, and as part of his battle against the eugenic movement, the grandfather of American anthropology, Franz Boas, sent his 23-year-old student, Margaret Mead, to Samoa in 1920, to:

work on adolescence, on the adolescent girl, to test out, on the one hand, the extent to which the troubles of adolescence, called in German *Sturm und Drang* and *Weitschmerz*, depended upon the attitudes of a particular culture and, on the other hand, the extent to which they were inherent in the adolescent stage of psychobiological development. (Mead, 1972, p. 127)

To counter biological determinism, Boas thought that finding one single exception would be enough, a society where there is a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood, without any storm and stress. Mead described just such a society: in short (and oversimplifying Mead's arguments), Samoan culture and childrearing practices, in particular the sexual freedom allowed in Samoa during adolescence, would make for a carefree time and a trouble-free integration into the adult community. Mead's (1928) book was an immediate and tremendous success, and has no doubt contributed to the change in mores concerning sexual permissiveness in Euro-American society.

Six decades later, Freeman (1983) attacked all of Mead's romantic descriptions: According to his own field observations, historical accounts, content analysis of court cases, and more, Samoan society is described as puritan, guilt-ridden, and violent, and adolescence is a time of trouble.

How can two observers come to such diametrically opposite descriptions? This question has launched what has been described as the biggest controversy in the social sciences (Côté, 1994), with hundreds of papers, several books, and a film (e.g., Holmes, 1983; Murray, 1990). Space does not allow delving into the details of the debate, which is not closed. Mead may have been teased by her adolescent friends, who were embarrassed by the questions on such a taboo topic (Freeman, 1989), or she may have been basically right on pre-contact Samoan culture (Côté, 1994). In any case, her fundamental question remains: Which are the cultural contexts that best ensure a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood? It may not be possible to answer it unequivocally with a single case study, and it would be better to look at it from a more global perspective.

HOLOCULTURAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

A more global perspective is provided with so-called holocultural studies, i.e., studies comparing ethnographic data over a large number of societies, often using the worldwide data-base of the Human Relations Area Files (H.R.A.F.) (Barry 1980). On adolescence, there have been a large number of such studies, for example on the topic of the functions of initiation ceremonies (Schlegel & Barry, 1980a, 1980b). I will not deal with these here, but concentrate on one single volume on adolescence in anthropological perspective by Schlegel and Barry (1991).

The authors examined the ethnographic information concerning adolescence in 175 so-called preindustrial or traditional societies. Some of the information culled from that book is presented in Table 1, in terms of the proportion of societies for which various attributes of adolescence occur, noted separately for boys and for girls. An adolescent social stage was found to be present in all³ of the 175 societies examined. Even if there is not necessarily a name for adolescence, there is usually some nonlinguistic (visual) marking, like dress or hairstyle. If there is an entry ritual, it is usually public for boys and restricted to the smaller family or community circle for girls, with symbolism of productivity and fertility. Adolescence usually starts right at puberty or just before, and is usually relatively brief, about 2 years for girls and 2-4 years for boys. It is longer when more training for adult roles is needed. Adolescence is extended into a "youth" stage in a quarter of these traditional societies for boys, and in a fifth for

TABLE 1

Percentage of Occurrence of Various Features of Adolescence in a Holocultural Study Across 175 Societies (Schlegel & Barry, 1991)

| | Boys % | Girls % |
|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Presence of social adolescence | 100 | 99 |
| Word for "adolescence" | 36 | 41 |
| Non-verbal marker at entry | 86 | 88 |
| Entry ritual | 68 | 79 |
| Beginning at puberty | 72 | 82 |
| Duration 2 years | 31 | 63 |
| Marriage 2 years after puberty | 33 | 60 |
| Non-verbal marker at end | 32 | 35 |
| Presence of youth stage | 25 | 20 |
| Time spent with same sex adults | 66 | 84 |
| Time spent with same sex peers | 17 | 5 |
| Learning of new roles | 82 | 60 |
| Professional choices | 65 | 43 |
| Participates in partner choice | 58 | 47 |
| Chooses partner alone | 18 | 13 |
| Premarital intercourse tolerated | 65 | 60 |
| Antisocial behavior expected | 44 | 18 |
| Aggression/violence expected | 13 | 3 |

girls, especially in societies where "there is a postadolescent age-grade for young men serving in the army of the traditional state" (Schlegel & Barry, 1991, p. 35).

There is a current controversy regarding the very existence of an adolescent stage. Schlegel and Barry (1991, p. 2) remark: "It is now commonplace to assume that adolescence as a stage did not exist until extended schooling, which prolonged dependence upon parents, created it." The authors disagree with these historical and sociological analyses, and state that, in fact, "adolescence as a social stage with its own activities and behaviors, expectations and rewards, is well recorded in the history and literature of earlier times" (Schlegel & Barry, 1991, p. 2).

Some sociologists (e.g., Friedenberg, 1973) think that adolescence is unnecessary in societies in which adult roles can be learned in childhood (such as foraging or horticultural societies) and would be reserved for complex societies in which adult roles take longer to be learned. A similar statement is to be found in Esman (1990):

The bulk of evidence supports the view that adolescence, as we know it, is a "cultural invention" (Stone & Church, 1957)—a product of industrialization, of the need to extend the period of education and training for adult roles in the face of expanding technology, and the need (. . .) to keep young people out of the labour force in order to assure job opportunities for adults in times of scarcity (Esman, 1990, p. 16, emphasis added).

Along similar lines, in a book entitled "L'adolescence n'existe pas" ("Adolescence does not exist"), Huerre, Pagan-Reymond, and Reymond (1990, p. 43, my translation) say:

All reviews on this topic converge: there is no adolescence in primitive societies. (. . .) A distinction is always established between a "before," that we will call childhood, and an "after" that we will call maturity. There are no rigid and codified social stages, but a progression in responsibilities and a passage linked to the possibility of founding a family.

Saraswathi (in press) similarly describes a pattern of continuity between childhood and adulthood in India, especially for the lower classes and for girls (see also Shukla, 1994). Taking time off for a moratorium, for trying out roles and worrying about one's self-identity, and even for going to school, is a luxury of sorts, reserved to the upper class, for which social change is more marked, particularly in the form of the market economy and the mass media. But even in the upper class, girls are groomed to become good wives and mothers, "girls are oversocialized from childhood on to accept their subservient role in a patriarchal set-up, to learn modesty and self-denial, and to develop proficiency in household tasks and child care" (p. 3).

Whether adolescence exists or not in all societies is a question of semantics. The contradiction between Saraswathi's (in press) and others' affirmation of absence of adolescence in some societies and Schlegel and Barry's (1991) universality of social adolescence is more apparent than real. Saraswathi follows Erikson (1980) in her psychological definition of adolescence as an intermediate period of moratorium during which peer groups are important and independent adult roles emerge, such as choosing one's sex partner. Schlegel and Barry take a much broader, anthropological definition, namely any

"social stage intervening between childhood and adulthood in the passage through life" (p. 8), however brief, during which there is learning, particularly social role-learning and restructuring.

Obviously, in a society where there is almost complete child-adult continuity, or in societies where girls are married before menarche and learn their adult roles very early and progressively, adolescence "as we know it" in western contexts does not exist. However, according to Schlegel and Barry, some form of social adolescence occurs in all societies. It is everywhere marked by the ambivalence of maintaining some subordination while preparing adulthood. Even if professional choices are limited in nonindustrial societies, and even if there are only a few societies in which adolescents may choose a marriage partner by themselves (see Table 1), in most societies, adolescence is the time to make some lifelong decisions, and thus it is not free of social pressures. Some psychological discomfort (uncertainties, self-doubts, ambiguities in family attachments, etc.) seems therefore unavoidable. "Adolescence worldwide . . . displays points of stress that may be widely characteristic of this stage. Life becomes a serious business at this time . . ." (Schlegel & Barry, 1991, p. 43). But there does not need to be any pathology.

Some (usually mild) form of antisocial behavior is expected at adolescence in less than half of the societies for boys, and less than a fifth for girls; aggression and violence are expected in only 13% of the societies for boys and 3% for girls, and even then it never involves killing a member of one's own social group. Severe antisocial behavior, a more and more common feature of adolescence in Western societies, is clearly not a common feature in traditional societies. How and why it becomes a socially constructed feature of adolescence is a very important topic of study by itself (Dasen, 1996; Segall, Ember, & Ember, 1997; Segall et al., 1999).

In the societies studied by Schlegel and Barry, adolescents spend a lot of their time with adults of the same sex. Therefore, role models are easily available, and the incorporation into adult life styles is easy and occurs early. Only a limited time is spent with peers. Family continuity is the rule, as a source of social support, livelihood, and in old age, even survival. In these conditions, gaining independence is not a primary task in adolescence. And compared to adolescence in the Western world, observations from many societies indicate that adolescents are useful to their families and communities.

After adolescence, if entry into full adulthood is delayed, there is an additional stage of "youth," during which various occupations and

for lengthy periods in order to specifically study adolescence in conditions of rapid social change, either by comparing their observations to much earlier ethnographies, or, in some cases, by documenting ongoing social change over a period of a few years.

From the point of view of cross-cultural methodology, this project has several advantages over either isolated ethnographic reports or cross-national comparisons: In each case, the research is being done through a culturally sensitive and appropriate (emic), in-depth study. Comparability is sought not through standardized parallel procedures, but through ecological validity (Greenfield, 1997). Although no integrative comparative study has so far been published (except for a short section in Whiting & Whiting, 1991), monographic reports are now available on five sites, as well as reports in a special issue of the journal of the Society for Psychological Anthropology, *Ethos* (Schlegel, 1995). In the following section I will briefly review these, focusing especially on the important issues related to emerging sexual behaviors.

Kikuyu, Kenya

Worthman and Whiting (1987) report on a study involving 84 Kikuyu adolescents in a periurban location of Kenya. They focus on the effects of social change on adolescent sexual behavior, mate selection, and premarital pregnancy rates. They compare the present-day practices to those reported in the early ethnographic literature; hence, in this case, social change is defined as a major cultural transformation over a long time period. The authors demonstrate how social change can produce ambivalence and stress in adolescence in relation to sexual behavior, in particular due to the introduction of a double standard through Christian influence and schooling. In other words, the study provides a much stronger demonstration of the cultural making of adolescence than Mead's romantic report on Samoa.

In the traditional context, boys were initiated into an age set every year, and incorporated into a regiment composed of all boys initiated over a nine-year period, as junior warriors. Later, they became senior warriors, who later became junior elders. Boys married around age 26. As senior warriors, they had access to younger girls in the special hut, *thingira*, for the practice of *ngweko*. This could be translated as "heavy petting," without intercourse, the girls wearing a leather skirt that they would tuck in between their legs. In particular, touching the genitals was severely sanctioned. Controlled lovemaking provided an efficient method of mate selection, and *ngweko* was a viable solution

marriage partners can be tried out. This is true of several societies in Africa that have age grades, such as the Senufo in Côte d'Ivoire, the Maasai or Samburu of Kenya (Chiva & Deluz, 1980), the Xhosa in Transkei and Ciskei (Mayer & Mayer, 1970, 1990), or the Swazi, Zulu, and Tswana elsewhere in southern Africa (Eisenstadt, 1956). It is, of course, typical in a different form in present-day Western society (Galland, 1991). In these cases, behavioral reorganization may continue well into adulthood.

In summary, a picture emerges of social adolescence as a universal stage with tensions being normal, even some antisocial behavior, but not a "crisis." There are fairly important differences between adolescence in Western societies and in traditional ones. The problems in Western society seem to be linked to the long adolescence plus youth period, without a clear marking by ritual, no or little productive role or community participation, no child-rearing duties, distance from observing adult activities, etc. Some amount of rebelling against parents seems to be a necessary "developmental task" only if independence is highly valued, as it is in Western society. For the French psychiatrist Dolto (1988, p. 26), for example, adulthood is attained "when they [the adolescents] are able to free themselves from parental influence," and for her, the sooner seems to be the better. Gaining autonomy is not at all, as we shall see, a common developmental task in most non-Western societies.

ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNTS OF ADOLESCENCE

While holocultural studies help to situate a particular case in an overall picture and allow for generalizations, they also have their limitations. In particular, they often treat societies as if they were stable, frozen into the "ethnographic present." While the study of social change is not impossible with H.R.A.F. data, if different time periods are distinguished in the ethnographic record, the best studies of acculturation processes come from ethnographic monographs, particularly those for which the same ethnographer was able to observe a society over a certain period of time, usually through several periods of field work. This occurred by design in the project entitled "Adolescents in a changing world," coordinated in the early 1980s by Beatrice and John Whiting of the Harvard Graduate School of Education (Whiting & Whiting, 1988). Seven teams of anthropologists, after having agreed on a common methodology, went back to their field sites

peared or it may even reverse directions. Education and earning power are now primary considerations.

The new norms install a definite double standard; because of Christian moral views, girls are encouraged to practice the "virtue of chastity" while the *kiubu* provides the opportunity of socially uncontrolled sexual license for boys. "Today there is considerable ambivalence on the part of both adults and adolescents, and even greater ambivalence concerning means of birth control" (Worthman & Whiting, 1987, p. 160). An unmarried young woman is officially denied access to modern contraception unless she has already had a child. Contraception has to be obtained by subterfuge, but young women fear that its use may lead to infertility.

Australian Aborigines

Burbank (1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1995) studied female adolescents in a remote community of Australian Aborigines. In this case, the modern practices of teenagers contrast not only with times past, but also with the values still held by their parents, producing an overt conflict between the generations. The main issue is the control over adolescent sexual activity and marriage.

In traditional times, polygamous marriages were arranged by the family between very young girls and much older men, according to complex rules relating to social structures. Therefore, problems of premarital sex simply could not occur:

At one time it appears that the Aborigines of Mangrove attempted to regulate female sexuality, at least as far as adolescent females were concerned, by marrying them off before they were sexually mature. Thus ideally, by the time a female was likely to be interested in sexual activity and could reproduce, she had been placed with a male that her community deemed an appropriate sexual partner and father of her children. Today, however, premenarcheal marriage as one means of controlling female sexuality is no longer available to the people of Mangrove. (Burbank, 1988a, p. 7)

The marriage rules were effectively disrupted by missionary influence since the 1950s, and girls now expect to choose their own partner even if it goes against the traditional rules. Australian legislation, schooling, and movies and television have all brought new norms. Marriage is no longer allowed before the age of 16; girls therefore marry later than in traditional times, and boys, who used to wait to be fully initiated (in their thirties), marry earlier. The school provides a context where same-age peers of different sexes meet and get

to the problem of premarital sex especially in a society with a relatively long maiden- and bachelorhood. Initiation included explicit instruction in sexual practices and rules.

Girls married at about age 19; it was not uncommon for a maiden to agree to break the *ngweko* rules and engage in full intercourse with someone she wished to marry, and if negotiations between the two sets of parents had begun. In any case, few young mothers remained unwed for a long time.

What has happened with social change?

The school has effectively replaced the age-set system as the institutional framework for mate selection. (. . .) However, sex education has not been in the curriculum, and the traditional means of ritual, instruction, and socialization in the age-set system that so strongly structured adolescence have been greatly attenuated. Consequently, young people are not trained in the traditional mode of limited intercourse or in the appropriate, defined partners and contexts in which it is acceptable. Furthermore, peer pressure and peer surveillance for proper sexual behavior has diminished. (Worthman & Whiting, 1987, pp. 155-156)

With schooling, there is a move away from peer- and group-identification to ego-orientation and individual performance and competition for scarce resources. Unwed motherhood is increasing, and is seen as a new problem that did not exist before. There is a statistically significant correlation between the amount of schooling and the prevalence of unwed motherhood.

Most (90%) of the young men move into a *kiubu* after circumcision, i.e., a detached living quarter in the family compound, out of sight of the main doorways, so they can freely entertain female visitors. The *kiubu* is similar to the *thingira*, except that its use is individual and not controlled by a powerful age-set system. "This practice resolves the problematic issue of disposition of maturing males in dense family sleeping quarters, and minimizes domestic disruption by their sexual exploits, assertiveness, and erratic hours" (Worthman, 1987, p. 31). However, "under these circumstances, it is surprising that unwed motherhood is not more common than it is" (Worthman & Whiting, 1987, p. 158). *Ngweko* is no longer practiced; while some informants were aware of its former existence, it is seen as "old-fashioned."

In fact, a large proportion of girls has always been pregnant before wedding; "unwed pregnancy" only applies to those who cannot convince the father to marry them, but most girls do find a husband. Brideprice has been drastically reduced, and since 1950, it has disap-

to know each other; the media are spreading the Western representations of romantic love.

Aboriginal adolescents seem to be happy with these changes. But social change creates a conflict between the behaviors of the adolescents and the expectations of the parents, who still know about and believe in the traditional social organization and religion, and the sacred rituals and rules of the "dream time." These conflicts seem to be centered on premarital sex, but in fact are based on the fear of social disruption through marriages that do not fit the rules of the clan and moiety, i.e., they reflect a "concern with what to 'call the child' of an incorrect union" (Burbank, 1988a, p. 120).

Inuit, Canada

Condon (1987, 1990, 1995) carried out field-work among the Inuit (previously called "Copper Eskimos"), on Victoria Island, Canada, in 1978-80, and again in 1982-83; for part of the time, the help of a female anthropologist proved necessary to interview girls. The settlement of Holman provides many new modern conveniences such as housing with running water, a nursing house, extensive social benefits, but also some wage employment and the possibility to go away for short-term well-paid mining jobs. There is nevertheless unemployment for young people. Hunting and trapping are still widely practiced. TV was introduced in 1980 through satellite.

Traditionally, the onset of puberty was not marked by any ritual; girls were usually married before puberty, marriages being arranged by the parents as soon as the babies were born, but rather loosely, i.e., girls could always refuse, or parents could change their minds. This was functional in old times, since it may have been difficult to find a marriage partner given the low population density. Passage into adulthood was very gradual. Boys were neither considered married nor adults until after their first killing of large game (usually around 17 to 18 years). When both partners were considered adults, they could set up a neolocal residence; there was no marriage ceremony, except possibly a small farewell feast. The first two years of marriage were considered as trial period, after which separation was uncommon. In sum, adolescence was a relatively short life period, and not particularly marked.

In contemporary life conditions, adolescence has become much longer. All children go to school, and start dropping out around 13 to 14, but then continue the life of a "teenager" for some years, with much freedom of movement and team sports. Boys and girls start

living together, in the parents' house; they set up their own house at about 19 for females, 21 for males. This long period is possible because of the social security system that insures survival.

Daily activities of adolescents follow the annual cycle of seasons. Invariably, however, adolescents do not stick to any fixed schedule; they stay up all night, remain active for 24 hours or more, then have "a good day's sleep" (they sleep for more than 20 hours at a time). Dances for teenagers often start around midnight or 2 a.m., and finish in the morning when the kids go to the local coffee shop for breakfast. They go to each other's homes at any time and eat whenever they like. School attendance is also quite irregular.

Sexual activity starts relatively early (13-14 years) and is accepted by parents, who seem to be keen to see permanent relationships. They do not interfere with mate choice, only influence it in subtle ways. There is no sex education, neither by parents nor at school, and even though the nursing station hands out free condoms, birth control is not used very systematically. Teenage pregnancy is fairly common, but is not a problem. A teenage mother can decide to take care of the baby, and will receive a lot of help, or she can give it out for adoption (usually to her parents, who then keep the child even after the young mother leaves the house). The young mother therefore does not have to change any of her expectations, and there is no discrimination or stigmatization.

Relations with parents are marked by autonomy and are very affectionate, even though emotions are never expressed verbally. Parents tell the children what they should do, but more in terms of suggestions, and do not punish them. Autonomy is much the same for girls and boys, even though boys move about more. Girls also spend their days and nights without telling parents where they are. However, children keep the close link to their parents even after they move out of the house, and continue to care for parents. Schooling, school trips to the South, and the predominance of English have produced a generation gap where the young know more than the adults; but they respect the adults' knowledge of traditional ways, particularly those concerned with hunting and trapping, and this gap is not a problem.

Schooling and TV have produced a marked change in values, particularly the introduction of individual competition. The open expression of hostility and competitiveness has become commonplace among the younger generation. There had been no juvenile delinquency until TV was introduced. There was no police station, and most problems were either not reported or solved on a community basis, but in 1988

can be problematic in such a community, since sexual activity either involves, for the young man, persons unsuitable for marriage (prostitutes, "dishonored" girls) or, for the young woman, a need to conceal and feign virginity at marriage. Because of the double standard, the sexes approach each other with contradictory motives, and often with distrust, so that maintaining emotional intimacy is difficult. On the whole, however, we have been impressed with the respect these adolescents still show for parental and traditional religious values, even as they prepare for an adulthood very different from what their parents have known. (Davis & Davis, 1993, p. 229)

Ijo, Nigeria

Possibly the greatest child-adult continuity among the five locations of the Harvard "Adolescents in a Changing World" series is described by Hollos and Leis (1989), who provide a case study of two communities in the Niger delta, after previous fieldwork in 1958-1959 (see also Hollos & Leis, 1986; Hollos, Leis, & Turiel, 1986; Leis & Hollos, 1995). The authors say that, in traditional Ijo society, there was no adolescence, at least not according to the same definition as in the West, and at least not for girls, who moved to the husband's compound and married when approaching puberty. The only mark of change of status was the clitoridectomy in one of the villages. Boys married later, in their mid-twenties. After being "young boys," there was a stage when they were called "young persons," and expected to do hard community work.

Schooling has created a new stage, especially for girls, who now marry much later. However, the experience is different from that of Western adolescence, because of the importance of the kin group.

The extended family acts as a buffer between the individual and the harsher realities of the village and the nation, protecting and at the same time limiting the individual's actions. The kinship system in today's changing world still operates with the same mechanisms as it did before, and primary loyalties are given to members within the family. Individuals know that as long as their behavior is within the expected bounds, someone will feed, clothe, and school them, and they expect to be called on to do the same for others. There is security in the knowledge that these relationships will never be broken and also in knowing clearly what is expected of them. (Hollos & Leis, 1989, p. 153)

For Western adolescents, autonomy and independence go together. In the Ijo situation, the connection between the two concepts is not present. There is an early training for independence and responsibility, but autonomy is not expected: "there is no need to separate and disembed themselves from kin" (p. 155).

the community asked to have a permanent police. Another important concern is the high rate of suicides for teenagers and young adults in the Arctic generally, and Holman as well; it is 43/100,000 or three times the rate of Euro-Canadians.

Morocco

Davis and Davis (1989, 1993; D.A. Davis, 1995) carried out their study in the small town of Zawiya, in central Morocco, in 1982. The most striking feature of adolescent sexuality is a clear double standard. Males have a good deal of freedom, and are assumed to be sexually active, while females are much more restricted and are expected to remain virgins until marriage. Although both girls and boys now attend school, the girls remain under close maternal influence, and are expected to do many housekeeping tasks. It is going to high school in the nearby larger town that gives young people more opportunities for relationships outside the family. This has led to conflicts between traditional and modern sexual values.

Young men will attempt to have sexual relationships with their age-mates, but may decide not to marry a girl who has given in to them; they are also extremely protective of their sisters. This leads to some mistrust in the relations between the sexes. Traditionally, the wedding festivities would culminate in the bride's and groom's retreat to a bedroom, and briefly afterwards, a female member of the family would bring out bloodstained sheets for display to the crowds. Today, many young couples have in fact had sexual relations before the wedding, so the display of sheets can be a problem: sometimes they may use animal blood as a fake, or the custom is being abandoned in middle-class families, who may even resort to a civil marriage only. Pre-marital pregnancies do occur, although abortion is now widely available. The families are usually quite pragmatic about the matter. Thus there is quite a gap between the stated social norms and actual behavior.

The major agent of change is certainly schooling, together with radio, TV, and films. The two sexes have a very different exposure to cinema: of the girls, 80% had never been to a movie, while 80% of the boys went to the movie from occasionally to often.

The authors summarize their observations in the following way:

The sexual side of life for these young Moroccans is characterized by rapid change, sharp gender-differentiation, and some contradiction between traditional and modern expectations of a relationship. Sexuality

Thus the peer groups are not very important, and friendships are rather tenuous, changing, and opportunistic; love affairs and sex are seen as fun but not to be taken seriously. What is important is ultimate mate selection, which is related to fertility. Schooling no longer guarantees employment, and is therefore not taken very seriously. Young people spend a lot of time just staying at home, doing odd jobs, sometimes moving to the city. To be successful, one needs a sponsor, for both education and jobs, and loyalty to this sponsor rather than autonomy is expected.

The adolescent stage in Ijo society is a new invention. We see it, however, as being far less difficult and conflict ridden than in the West since its main task, the achievement of identity, is not based on the need to establish complete autonomy and to sever ties with one's kin group. These important ties continue and give a feeling of continuous situatedness throughout life. (Hollos & Leis, 1989, p. 156)

The "Adolescents in a changing world" series provides us with a panorama of different situations, in which social change is both examined in terms of past social history and observed in the making. In each case, social change has been due mainly to acculturation to the Western world, historically through colonization and missionary zeal, continuously through schooling, and more recently through the mass media and in particular TV. The variety of situations allows for building up contrasts, for example, between the two societies which used to be nomadic hunters and gatherers, the Australian Aborigines and the Inuit, and which show nevertheless completely different patterns of adaptation, or between the two locations in Africa south of the Sahara, one of which is marked by troublesome discontinuity (the Kikuyu) and the other by supportive continuity (Ijo).

A stark contrast in terms of adolescent autonomy (but without loss of family interdependence) is provided between the Inuit and the other four samples. This would have been even starker if Ratner's study of adolescence in a Romanian village had been published. There, according to a short report by Condon (1987, pp. 192-193), adult control and regimentation of adolescent life was extreme, and the education system was used to instill the values of obedience, loyalty, patriotism, honor, duty, and hard work. Educational success was severely stressed and was essential for securing a job, and when teenagers were not attending school or doing homework, they were helping their parents with vital economic tasks. "Parents are deemed ultimately responsible for the behavior of their children. . . . [A]dults believe that children are the products of the family environment in

which they are raised. . . . If the child is errant, it is the parents' responsibility for failing to instill the proper social values. This obsession with family honor results in parents exerting as much control as possible over offspring" (Condon, 1987, p. 193).

In addition to the coordinated Harvard project, there are of course numerous ethnographic accounts of adolescence in various parts of the world. I will mention only one of these that also provides observations at two points in time.

Xhosa, South Africa

Mayer and Mayer (1970, 1990) carried out a study of initiation into age grades among rural traditional ("Red") Xhosa communities in Transkei and Ciskei, South Africa. In this society, there are self-organizing groups of local youth, from early teens to the late 20s, called *Mtshotsho* for boys and *Intlombe* for young men. The dividing line was manhood initiation, undergone most commonly at an age between 18 and 23.

The most crucial aspect of training boys into manhood was to get them to give up force and commit themselves instead to the rule of law and respect. (. . .) Youth socialized each other into adult-approved values and behavior, particularly in the two important areas of sexuality and violence, even though the organizations were strictly peer-group ones without any adult participation or control.

Thanks to these organizations, we suggested (in 1970), Red Xhosa parents and communities in the 1960s seemed relatively untroubled by the "youth problems" that were causing great anxiety elsewhere, notably premarital pregnancies and "senseless violence." On the whole, their youth showed more lasting attachment to home and respect for parents than either school or urban youth. Red adults proudly referred to the organizations as "the schools of Red people," and all sections seemed to agree that "Red children are the best controlled." (Mayer & Mayer, 1990, p. 36)

Social concern over the recent spread of "senseless violence" and gangsterism from town and mines to rural areas, has led the authors to qualify this optimistic picture, derived from their previous research (Mayer & Mayer, 1970), on one point:

The socialization by peers seems more ambiguous and the Red youth problem more noticeable than we allowed for. It relates to violent fighting, specifically by what were called the "senior boys." The *Mtshotsho* did not match the *Intlombe* for consistency in socializing out senseless violence because its leaders—the senior boys—were the very people

most apt to become "senselessly violent." (. . .) [The senior boy] was perceived by adults as having lost a younger boy's controllability but not acquired a man's self-control or sense. . . . The senior boys joined forces and took command of their juniors, without any adult presence to restrain them. They were by definition the strongest and most experienced fighters, and in some cases also had money for weapons. (Mayer & Mayer, 1990, p. 37)

Note the explicit recognition among the Xhosa of a stage of adolescence and one of youth. However it seems that the age of initiation was chosen just too late to avoid problems. In fact, young Xhosa men were always warriors, and warfare was prominent in Xhosa history (both internal wars and against colonial aggression). Thus, as always when young men are trained for the military, the socialization for aggression was in fact approved by the adult society. In this case, socialization for aggression is not due to social change; it has only taken on different forms.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES

Psychologists the world over are showing concern for the emergent problems of adolescence, particularly juvenile delinquency and violence. Some of the work carried out in Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa, can be taken as an example.

Fadiga (1982) mentions the reduction in importance of the family, lack of employment and job security, corruption, and the absence of constructive role models as factors in the marginalization of youth, and the appearance of protest in a youth counterculture.

Delafosse, Fourasté, and Gbobouo (1993) have studied the impact on adolescents' identity formation of economic, political, and social change in three cities of Côte d'Ivoire between 1980 and 1991. The study consisted of semi-structured interviews with 152 youths aged 16 to 20 years, clinical examinations of 100 respondents from various social groups, and data from the police, the judicial system, and social workers. Even though psychiatric problems were found in only 10% to 20% of the adolescents, the authors found a "pathology of ill-feeling" beginning in 1983, with a marked increase of suicide attempts and drug abuse. From 1985 to 1989, there was a steady increase of criminal cases, including substance abuse, armed aggressions, and female and male prostitution. These problems were acute in the large city of Abidjan, noticeable in the medium sized city of Bouaké, and exceptional in the remote town of Korogho.

The authors attribute the problems to the conflict between the continuing demands of the traditional part of the society and those of Westernization. These young people are described as "torn" between conflicting demands.

Changes in the legal system are seen by Bassitche (1991) as one of the initial causes of adolescent problems: The new matrimonial law, introduced in 1964, instituted a legal marriage according to Western custom, replacing the extended family by the nuclear family. This legislation "has not had a positive impact on the functioning of the family. It has weakened the family ties (divorce) and has led to social maladaptation, particularly juvenile delinquency" (p. 73).

In upper- and middle-class urban families, the child-rearing duties are often performed by house servants, and parents spend little time with their children. They seem to be interested only in good school marks. Furthermore, after divorce, problems often occur between the children and the new wife of their father. Bassitche sees the adolescents' behavior as a reaction to the lack of family warmth.

It is on fragile, conflictual personalities, created by ineffective families, that the influences of the city environment intervene to guide young people, in the worst of cases, towards delinquent behavior. The responsibility of the parents in the social inadaptation of the children seems to be quite obvious. (Bassitche, 1991, pp. 80-81, my translation)

Koudou (1993) attributes the major cause of juvenile delinquency to the parents' child-rearing practices. He studied some 20 juvenile delinquents (aged 12 to 16 years) and their parents, using a sentence-completion test and interviews, and found that most came from families in conflict or broken homes; in several cases, the children had been rejected by their parents.

Content analyses of parents' interviews showed that they labeled their children as "emotionally disturbed, delinquents, bandits" in 40% of the cases, as well as "damned, ill-fated, screwed-up, good for nothing" and other such expletives. In exact correspondence, the adolescents describe themselves as "orphan, abandoned, delinquent, unhappy, and cursed." Note that "orphan" is to be taken symbolically, since all of the adolescents had at least one parent. Koudou's point is that the children interiorize the language of their parents in constructing an identity with a distinctly negative valence. This is somewhat similar to the findings of Malewska-Peyre (1990), who showed that in France adolescents of North African parents were incorporating the negative identity projected by the majority society.

A limitation of clinical psychological studies that deal with special samples, such as found in clinical practice or the judicial system, is that they tend to generalize to the general population the pathology that is found in the particular sample. This methodological problem is what led to the characterization of Western adolescence as a period of storm and stress in the first place.

Speaking of big African cities in general, Ly (1985) presents the more positive points of city life. For this author, the main socialization function of the city is to teach the adolescents to deal with change, to adapt themselves to continually changing situations. They have to learn to become adults and city dwellers at the same time. This is usually facilitated by community structures that provide support and social control. An apprenticeship or even a small job in the informal sector is the best way to be integrated. Unfortunately, those with a partial schooling are often too selective, and end up unemployed. For the author, only a minority of adolescents end up as delinquents, namely those who have somehow lost the community links.

Among the specifically cross-cultural psychological studies, I will select only one that illustrates how a careful and purposive selection of samples allows one to separate variables that are often confounded in studies that were carried out in single societies or only in Western countries. In this case, Trommsdorff (1995) worked in three "modern" countries (Germany, Scotland, and Japan) and two "traditional" societies (Indonesia (Bali and Batak); these samples could also be classified as "individualistic" (Germany and Scotland) vs. "collectivistic" (Japan, Bali, and Batak), and Christian (Germany, Scotland, and Batak) vs. Buddhist or Hindu-Buddhist (Japan and Bali). Adolescents between 16 and 18 years of age were interviewed using a semi-structured test depicting different conflict situations between an adolescent and his parents or peers.

The results are correspondingly complex, yielding comparisons either between individual groups, or between the various groupings. No single cultural dimension explains all the results, but the individualistic/collectivistic (I/C) contrast and the traditional/modern (T/M) split seem to be more important than the religious differences. On the I/C dimension, the author comments:

In a collectivistic context, parental control obviously has a different meaning than in an individualistic one. Parental control is accepted by adolescents as part of a child-oriented supportive socialization context. (. . .) In an individualistic context of highly modernized societies (such as the United States or Germany), parental control is perceived by ado-

lescents as constraint; in a traditional collectivistic context, the same kind of parental behavior is experienced by adolescents as support. However, in a period of transition to modernization and to individualistic value orientation, this may change. Social change and modernization obviously have an impact on the kind of socialization and more specifically on the meaning of parental control for adolescents. (p. 210)

Indeed, Trommsdorff's results show that "intergenerational relations in individualistic societies are characterized by more conflict than in collectivistic societies" (p. 214). However, the same can be said of traditional vs. modern societies: "Adolescents from traditional as compared to modern cultural contexts see less reason to distance themselves from their parents and yield less to social change" (p. 214). Despite the brilliant design, the study does not manage to disentangle clearly the I/C and T/M dimensions.

FACTORS OF STRESS AND ADAPTATION

From what we have learned so far, we can now try to distinguish the factors that lead to stress during adolescence from those that allow for a smooth passage from childhood to adulthood. The various factors are highlighted in Table 2.

It appears to be clear from all the studies reviewed that stress increases with rapid social change. Most often, social change takes the form of westernization, but usually westernization is linked to urbanization and industrialization, so that it is difficult to disentangle more precise causative variables. To do this, more studies such as that of Trommsdorff (1995) would be needed, but even the latter did not manage to unconfound the variables clearly. The work in Côte d'Ivoire points to urbanization as a strong variable: stress was more evident in the big city of Abidjan than in the smaller towns; however, Abidjan is also more industrialized and more western. The Inuit and Australian Aborigines studies show that stress can appear with westernization even in remote locations, without either industrialization or urbanization. Westernization implies a change in values (individualism, competition, consumerism), usually brought about by the church, the school, and the media. These changes are also reflected in the social structure, with the introduction of the nuclear family, and the ensuing family disorganization described for both Abidjan and the remote settlement in Australia.

The problem of westernization is not only that it brings with it new values, but social change also often implies a lack of coherence be-

TABLE 2

**Summary of Factors Producing Stress or Coping in
Adolescence**

Stress Factors

Rapid social change:

- westernization
- urbanization
- industrialization

Mainly through:

- religion (missionaries)
- schooling
- media (television)

Change in values:

- individualism
- competition
- consumerism

Social structure:

- nuclear family
- family disorganization

Role modeling for violence

Socioeconomic frustration:

- demography and economy
- difficult access to labor market
- marginalization, exclusion

Coping Factors

Incorporation

Continuity:

- maintenance of cultural identity
 - family ties and other support
- Collectivism, "Culture of relatedness"
- Tolerance toward adolescents

tween the value systems promoted by the family, the school, and the work place. The environment becomes more unpredictable, and parents are unsure of what socialization practices are appropriate in the new situation (Sinha, 1988). Other inconsistencies that could be mentioned are the claim of the schools to teach cooperation, tolerance, and

nonviolent conflict resolution, while the educational systems often exclude competition and nationalism. Adolescent violence also appears to be a social construction: the media constantly present violent role models, and violence ends up being seen as an unavoidable, daily banality (Dasen, 1996; Segall, Ember, & Ember, 1997).

If westernization can be pinpointed as the main factor of stress, it does not mean that its impact is homogeneous across societies, and that the world is heading toward a single, homogeneous "adolescent culture." This is clearly demonstrated by Schlegel (in press): "One need only scratch the surface to discover that the teenagers of different societies who dress alike and are avid purchasers of the same or similar cultural artifacts are really very different; and there is little likelihood that consumption patterns alone will bring about convergence of values, attitudes, and beliefs" (draft, pp. 17-18).

The stress induced by rapid social change seems to affect both the parents and their adolescent children, and both girls and boys. Beyond this generalization, there are a variety of situations in terms of gender differences. Adolescent stress often seems to be greater for girls than for boys, especially in terms of sexual behavior, when a double standard is part of the traditional culture (e.g., Morocco) or is being established through imported values (e.g., Kenya).

The socioeconomic context is also important. For example, the message broadcast worldwide by the media is very clear: be a consumer! (Schlegel, in press). But the economic dependence of young people is maintained as long as possible, and the unequal distribution of wealth makes this goal unattainable for the majority of young people in the world.

One of the main developmental tasks during adolescence is the learning of adult roles. This is no doubt easier when there are fewer role distinctions, and when the young spend a lot of time with adults. The important factor here is whether learning adult roles does indeed lead to full acceptance in the adult world. In traditional societies this was the purpose of the third phase of all "rites of passage," namely incorporation (Van Gennep, 1909), and it occurred for all those who were initiated, i.e., everybody. In complex societies, it is difficult for the adult world to seek explicitly to incorporate all young people; social stratification and economic competition carry with them a certain amount of structural exclusion, particularly of the younger generation (Chamboredon, 1985; Galland, 1991; Meeus, De Goede, Kox, & Hurlemann, 1992). This situation is of course not independent of the demography and the economy: in many developing countries, the co-

hort of 15- to 19-year-olds is becoming very large, and is seeking access to a very restricted job market (Friedman, 1989). The extension of the adolescence and youth periods, characterized by economic and social marginalization, are ways to prevent incorporation. In multicultural societies, these factors can combine with other reasons for exclusion, for example, ethnicity.

According to our review, many traditional societies seem to have found some way to organize this period of the life-span, often in such a way as to avoid major problems. An early introduction to adult roles and responsibilities, early marriage, or else age groups that provided an effective peer socialization and regulation of premarital sex, provided a fairly smooth transition with few overt problems. Family continuity being the norm, adolescence did not include the developmental task of breaking away from the family, and the family continued to be the main support and social-control institution.

According to some accounts (e.g., Hollos & Leis, 1989; Ly, 1985), these community support systems are still functioning, both in rural and in urban areas. Traditional societies have an advantage in protecting adolescents, because of such values as social consciousness, familial allegiances, and sharing. Also, adolescents were given a useful role, and were usually deeply involved in helping other members of their family in a wide variety of ways.

On the other hand, stress was certainly not completely absent in most traditional societies (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). Also, from our present day point of view (one that seems to be shared by most adolescents themselves), many traditional societies (except the hunting-and-gathering societies, such as the Inuit) were rather authoritarian, and did not foster individual freedom, initiative, self-assertion and creativity, characteristics now greatly valued in so-called "modern," democratic societies. Some adolescent rebellion and problem behavior may be the price to pay for the values of modern, "democratic" societies! Hence, these traditional solutions are nowadays almost everywhere considered to be old fashioned: To marry girls before puberty, to impose respect for elders through painful initiation ceremonies, or to recruit boys into warrior age groups. . . . The principle of cultural relativity dear to anthropology may lead us to respect these traditions where they still exist, but there is no reason why we should condone them as possible solutions to be promoted.

Even though cultural continuity seems to be the main coping factor, the option of returning to traditional institutions is not realistic, and it is therefore not useful to lament the loss of the "good old times."

However, the recognition of the benefits of some traditional values may help in preventing, softening, or slowing down some of the ill effects of Westernization. The question is how to deal with social change while avoiding its negative side effects.

Social change is inevitable; it certainly has occurred in all societies at all times, but at a different pace. Stress at the time of adolescence is reduced in those societies that manage to maintain, despite social change, a strong cultural identity and at least part of their value system, such as family solidarity. This continuity allows the maintenance of support systems. This is the case among the Inuit of Holman (at least until recently) and the Ijo of Nigeria, but in this context one could also have mentioned the Ga of Ghana, including those in the city of Accra, as studied by Kalu (1976), the Chinese in Hawaii (Hsu, Watrous, & Lord, 1961), the Nayar in Kerala (Gokulanathan, 1976) or various societies in Southeast Asia as in the Philippines and Malaysia (Yanco, 1984), or Bonerate (Broch, 1990) and Bali (Jensen & Suryani, 1992; Trommsdorff, 1995) in Indonesia. In each of these cases, the "developmental tasks" of adolescence (Havighurst, 1948; Flammer, 1991; Flammer & Avramakis, 1991) do not include gaining independence from the parents. Similarly, Kagitçibasi (1990, 1997) describes the "culture of relatedness" that she observes in Istanbul, Turkey, where collectivistic emotional family ties are maintained despite social change toward normative individualism and economic independence.

The flexibility and tolerance of the parents, particularly regarding premarital sex, and the absence of a double standard, certainly make adolescents' lives easier, as we have seen through the examples of the Ijo and the Inuit. However, M. Mead seems to have been wrong in stressing this factor. There are many societies in which virginity before marriage is still the rule, and is apparently accepted by adolescents without creating storm and stress. This is the case, according to the studies mentioned above, for example among the Nayar of Kerala, or on Bonerate and Bali. The degree of tolerance of premarital sex has been shown to depend on various aspects of social and economic structures (Barry & Paige, 1986; Broude, 1975; Hollos & Leis, 1986; Paige & Paige, 1981; Schlegel, 1991; Schlegel & Barry, 1991; Whiting, Burbank, & Ratner, 1986), but it does not seem to be a major variable in creating or avoiding stress. On the other hand, once a pregnancy occurs, the way it is accepted and dealt with, and the way the mother either finds support or is rejected, and whether or not her plans for the future (educational, professional, or otherwise) are dis-

turbed, are all extremely important (see, for example, Olguin, 1993). There are, in this respect, important differences between social groups even within industrialized societies.

CONCLUSION

There clearly are cultural contexts that ensure a smoother transition from childhood to adulthood than others. The problems of adolescence are certainly not inevitable, although it may be unnecessary to avoid all of them. Some of these problems are still quite specific to some Western countries. Realizing this, and the danger of ex/importing these along with westernization, should alert us to attempt preventive action. It is no doubt possible to plan policy measures towards this goal.

NOTES

1. An example is Hurrelmann's (1994) impressive collection of reports from 32 countries, but which includes only Zambia to represent Africa.
2. I subscribe to the following definition of social change by Trommsdorff (1995, p. 190): "Social change is considered to include different forms of societal processes from partial to complete transformations of social, economic and political systems. These may affect the cultural context of the individual and, thus, change aspects of his or her material ('objective') resources, belief systems, and behavior. On the other hand, individual behavior (e.g., political participation; consumption pattern) can induce social, economic and cultural change."
3. Schlegel and Barry (1991) mention one single exception, the Gros Ventre American Indians, for girls only, but it seems that the ethnographic data on that sample, reported by a missionary, are in fact questionable (A. Schlegel, personal communication).

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