

sciences. Hall and Lindzey note that whereas Freud may not have been the most rigorous scientist or theorist, "he was a patient, meticulous, penetrating observer and a tenacious, disciplined, courageous, original thinker" (1957, p. 72).

ERIKSON

Powerful theories spawn "neo"s: neo-Piagetians, neo-Freudians, neo-behaviorists, and so on. Freud's theory, despite its limitations, inspired a diverse group of brilliant and creative theoreticians, researchers, and therapists. They stretched, patched, and rearranged Freud's vision in two main ways that had consequences for developmental psychology.

First, several neo-Freudians, especially Hartmann (1958), stressed the development of conflict-free ego functions, such as perception, memory, and logical thought. Whereas Freud's ego defends and inhibits, the neo-Freudian's ego integrates and organizes personality. Hartmann described an ego that is partly independent of the id and its drives. The ego derives not from the id but from an undifferentiated matrix from which both the id and the ego develop. The emphasis on the ego's cognitive processes as a way of adapting to reality can be found in works by Rapaport (1960), Gill (1959), and Klein (1970). Furthermore, White (1963) identified such ego satisfactions as exploration and competence at performing tasks well. These satisfactions are independent of satisfactions of the id. It is clear that psychoanalytic theory can address normal as much as abnormal behavior.

Second, many neo-Freudians moved away from Freud's biological approach and considered the vast influence of society on development. These trends toward ego and social concerns came to developmental psychology largely through the work of Erik Erikson, who now commands our attention.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Erik Erikson was born in 1902 in Frankfurt, Germany, and grew up in Karlsruhe. His wanderlust and desire to be an artist drew him away from formal schooling. After several years of drifting, studying art, and painting children's portraits, Erikson was hired to teach art and other

subjects to children of Americans who had come to Vienna for Freudian training. This accidental entry into the vigorous Freudian circle resulted in his admittance into the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute. His own psychoanalysis, part of the usual training program, was conducted by Anna Freud. Erikson also learned from Freud himself, Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, Helene Deutsch, and other gifted analysts.

The threat of fascism brought Erikson to the United States in 1933. He became Boston's first child analyst and obtained a position at the Harvard Medical School. Later he held positions at several eminent institutions, including Yale, Berkeley, and the Menninger Foundation. During the McCarthy era, Erikson's (1951) concern that California's loyalty oath was a danger to personal and academic freedom precipitated his move back to the East Coast and to the Austen Riggs Center at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Harvard, and several other eastern universities. Finally, he returned to California to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Palo Alto and later the Mount Zion Hospital in San Francisco to serve as a clinician and psychiatric consultant.

These diverse settings, from clinicians' chair to professor's podium, fueled an energy that spread Erikson's interests over a remarkable area. He studied combat crises in troubled American soldiers in World War II, child-rearing practices among the Sioux in South Dakota and the Yurok along the Pacific Coast, the play of disturbed and normal children, the conversations of troubled adolescents suffering identity crises, and social behavior in India. These observations molded his ideas, which he expressed in many publications, including the well-known *Childhood and Society* (1950a) and *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968). He was constantly concerned with the rapid social changes in America and wrote about issues such as the generation gap, racial tensions, juvenile delinquency, changing sexual roles, and the dangers of nuclear war. It is clear that psychoanalysis had moved far from a doctor's couch in Vienna.

GENERAL ORIENTATION TO THE THEORY

Erikson accepted the basic notions of Freudian theory: psychological structures, the unconscious and conscious, drives, psychosexual stages, the normal-abnormal continuum, and psychoanalytic methodology. Because this orientation is described earlier in the chapter, this section

concentrates on Erikson's additions to psychoanalytic theory. Erikson expanded Freud's theory by developing a set of eight psychosocial stages covering the lifespan, by studying the development of identity, and by developing methods that reach beyond the structured psychoanalytic setting used with adults. A look at these three contributions serves as an orientation to the theory. When reading the following account of his theory, keep in mind Bruner's observation that "there are two Eriksons: one a surprisingly doctrinaire psychoanalyst, embracing the received doctrines of the master; the other a moralist, artist, and intellectual trying to deal with a culture that has begun to lose its power as an instrument for fulfilling the potential and the aspirations of those who live within it" (1987, p. 8).

PSYCHOSOCIAL STAGES

Erikson's work in various cultures convinced him of the need to add a psychosocial dimension to Freud's theory of psychosexual development. In the table on the facing page, columns A to D describe several aspects of Erikson's theory, and column E names the Freudian psychosexual stage corresponding to each of Erikson's psychosocial stages. To illustrate the psychosexual and psychosocial components, Erikson (1959, p. 115) contrasted a toddler's oral pleasure when making speech sounds (psychosexual component) with the role of speech communication in shaping his relationship with his parents and significant others (psychosocial component). In the psychosocial view, physical maturation has personal and social repercussions. Maturation brings a new skill that opens up new possibilities for the child but also increases society's demands on him, in this case pressure to talk instead of cry when he wants something. There is a "fit" between the child and his culture. Societies have evolved agreed-upon ways of meeting the child's new needs in each step of his maturation. These include parental care, schools, social organizations, occupations, a set of values, and so on. Erikson spoke of a "cogwheeling" of life cycles, as when adults' needs to become caretakers coincide with children's needs for caretaking. In other words, each child is a life cycle in a "community of life cycles" (Erikson, 1959, p. 121). The child is surrounded by others who are also passing through various stages. While the culture, over many generations, has adapted itself to the child, the child in turn adapts himself to the culture, as when a new kindergartner adjusts to a bewildering new set of experiences called "school."

Erikson's "worksheet" summarizing the eight stages of development

Stage	A Psychological crises	B Radius of significant relations	C Related elements of social order	D Psychosocial modalities	E Psychosexual stages
1	Trust vs. mistrust	Maternal person	Cosmic order	To get To give in return	Oral-respiratory, sensory-kinesthetic (incorporative modes)
2	Autonomy vs. shame, doubt	Parental persons	"Law and order"	To hold (on) To let (go)	Anal-urethral, muscular (retentive-eliminative)
3	Initiative vs. guilt	Basic family	Ideal prototypes	To make (= going after) To "make like" (= playing)	Infantile-genital, locomotor (intrusive, inclusive)
4	Industry vs. inferiority	"Neighborhood," school	Technological elements	To make things (= completing) To make things together	"Latency"
5	Identity and repudiation vs. identity diffusion	Peer groups and outgroups; models of leadership	Ideological perspectives	To be oneself (or not to be) To share being oneself	Puberty
6	Intimacy and solidarity vs. isolation	Partners in friendship, sex, competition, cooperation	Patterns of cooperation and competition	To lose and find oneself in another	Generativity
7	Generativity vs. self-absorption	Divided labor and shared household	Currents of education and tradition	To make be To take care of	
8	Integrity vs. despair	"Mankind" "My kind"	Wisdom	To be, through having been To face not being	

Psychosocial development is culturally relative in two ways. First, although children in all cultures go through the same sequence of stages, each culture has its own idiosyncratic way of directing and enhancing the child's behavior at each age. For example, Erikson observed that the Sioux allowed nursing for several years in the spirit of an overall generosity that pervaded the Sioux value system. They also thumped the teething male babies on the head for biting the mother's nipples in the belief that their crying rage would turn them into good hunters, and they trained their girls to be bashful and afraid of men in preparation for serving their hunter-husbands. Second, there is cultural relativity within a culture as it changes over time. Institutions that meet the needs of one generation may prove inadequate for the next. Industrialization, urbanization, immigration, the Depression, and the civil-rights movement brought changes in what children needed to be taught in order to develop a healthy personality at their time in history.

Psychosocial development proceeds according to the *epigenetic principle*, a term derived from *epi*, which means "upon," and *genesis*, which means "emergence." This principle is borrowed from fetal development:

Somewhat generalized, this principle states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole. At birth the baby leaves the chemical exchange of the womb for the social exchange system of his society, where his gradually increasing capacities meet the opportunities and limitations of his culture.

[Erikson, 1968, p. 92]

Like the fetus, the personality becomes increasingly differentiated and hierarchically organized as it unfolds in and is shaped by a particular environment. As summarized in the table on page 157, this unfolding involves several dimensions. There is movement through a set of psychosocial "crises" or issues as the child matures, and there is an expansion of his radius of significant relations. Other dimensions include the translation into the child's terms of certain elements of social order or structure and the progression through a set of psychosocial modalities or ways of "being" and interacting in society. Put succinctly, the child has inborn laws of development "which create a succession of potentialities for significant interaction with those who tend him" (Erikson, 1968, p. 52).

We now look at the general nature of the eight stages and leave a specific description of each stage for a later section. Maturation and society's expectations together create eight crises, or issues, that the child must resolve. Each issue is most evident at a particular stage in the

life cycle but appears in some form throughout development. For example, autonomy is the dominant concern of the second year of life, but it is prepared for in the first year and elaborated on in later stages.

Erikson described each crisis in terms of a dimension with both positive and negative outcomes possible, for example, autonomy versus shame and doubt. Ideally, the child develops a favorable ratio, in which the positive aspect dominates the negative. For instance, a person needs to know when to trust and when to mistrust but generally should have a trusting attitude toward life.

If the childhood crises are not handled satisfactorily, the person continues to fight his early battles later in life. Many adults are still struggling to develop a sense of identity. Erikson optimistically claimed that it is never too late to resolve any of the crises.

With respect to the integration of successive stages, Erikson's theory lies between that of Piaget, with his tight integration, and Freud, with his loose integration. Each stage builds on the previous stages and influences the form of later stages. As Erikson expressed it, "Each stage adds something specific to all later ones, and makes a new ensemble out of all the earlier ones" (Evans, 1967, p. 41).

EMPHASIS ON IDENTITY

In contrast to Freud's concern with how people defend themselves from unpleasant tensions—a somewhat negative approach—Erikson's concern was more positive. He held that a main theme of life is the quest for *identity*. This term refers to "a conscious sense of individual identity . . . an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character . . . a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis . . . a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity" (Erikson, 1959, p. 102). Stated differently, identity is the understanding and acceptance of both the self and one's society. Throughout life, we ask "Who am I?" and form a different answer in each stage. If all goes well, at the end of each stage the child's sense of identity is reconfirmed on a new level. Although the development of identity reaches a crisis during adolescence, Erikson noted that it begins when the baby "first recognizes his mother and first feels recognized by her, when her voice tells him he is somebody with a name and he's good" (Evans, 1967, p. 35).

Thus, identity is transformed from one stage to the next, and early forms of identity influence later forms. This process is similar to the reworking of a concept (such as causality) in each successive stage in Piaget's theory.

Erikson, the wandering youth and the American immigrant, had lived with the need to establish an identity: "As an immigrant . . . I faced one of those very important redefinitions that a man has to make who has lost his landscape and his language, and with it all the 'references' on which his first sensory and sensual impressions, and thus also some of his conceptual images, were based" (Evans, 1967, p. 41). His conversations with Huey P. Newton (Erikson, 1973) demonstrate that he was particularly sensitive to the problems that minority groups have when trying to form an identity. He began using the term "identity crisis" to describe the loss of identity he observed in World War II soldiers. He saw a similar problem among troubled adolescents "who war on their society" (1968, p. 17). Eventually, Erikson realized that the problem of identity appears, though usually on a smaller scale, in all lives. Furthermore, he recognized that identity is a central problem of our times: "If the relation of father and son dominated the last century, then this one is concerned with the self-made man asking himself what he is making of himself" (Evans, 1967, p. 41).

EXPANSION OF PSYCHOANALYTIC METHODOLOGY

Erikson contributed to three methods for studying development: direct observation of children, cross-cultural comparisons, and psychohistory. His early experiences with children and his contact with Anna Freud, who was developing child observations and play therapy, immersed him in the world of both normal and disturbed children from the beginning of his career. In moving from the couch to the playroom, he asserted that "we must study man in action and not just man reflecting on reality" (Evans, 1967, p. 91).

Erikson's writings are sprinkled with contrasts between cultures. He is fascinated with how the solutions to the universal stages vary from culture to culture. His forays into cultural anthropology point out the inherent limitations to basic Freudian theory, which was based almost completely on psychologically troubled patients in turn-of-the-century Vienna.

Some of Erikson's most interesting writing is found in his "psychohistories." These are analyses of the psychosocial development of well-known people, based on their own writings and their conversations and behaviors as reported by others. Erikson (1950a) believed that Hitler's rise illustrated the meshing of an individual's particular needs for identity and a nation's need for a more positive identity. In *Young Man*

Luther (1958), Erikson described a troubled youth who defied his strict father who wished him to study law, rebelled against the authority of the church, and followed a belief that gave him an honest sense of identity. Other historical "patients" include Maxim Gorky (1950a) and George Bernard Shaw (1968). His biography *Gandhi's Truth* (1969) won a Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award in philosophy and religion.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STAGES

Erikson divided the entire life cycle into eight "ages of man." The eight stages refer to eight critical periods in which various lifelong ego concerns reach a climax. (The table on page 157 provides an overview of each stage.)

STAGE 1: BASIC TRUST VERSUS BASIC MISTRUST (ROUGHLY BIRTH TO 1 YEAR)

In the table on page 157, we see that the main task of infancy is to acquire a favorable ratio of trust to mistrust. If this balance is weighted toward trust, the child has a better chance of weathering the later crises than if it is weighted toward mistrust. Erikson defines *basic trust* as "an essential trustfulness of others as well as a fundamental sense of one's own trustworthiness" (1968, p. 96) and the sense that "there is some correspondence between your needs and your world" (Evans, 1967, p. 15).

Infants with an attitude of trust can predict that their mother will feed them when they are hungry and comfort them when they are frightened or in pain. They will tolerate having their mother out of sight because they are confident she will return. The mother, then, is all-important: "Mothers create a sense of trust in their children by that kind of administration which in its quality combines sensitive care of the baby's individual needs and a firm sense of personal trustworthiness within the trusted framework of their culture's life style" (Erikson, 1950a, p. 249). Babies develop trust in themselves from the feeling that others accept them and from increased familiarity with their bodily urges. This faith in themselves and their small world corresponds to religious faith in the "cosmic order" of the universe (column C).

From the mother's side of the interaction, there must also be trust—trust in herself as a parent and in the meaningfulness of her caretaking role. Erikson (1950b) refers to a remark from Benjamin Spock: "To be a good parent you have to believe in the species—somehow."

Some mistrust is necessary at all ages in order to detect impending danger or discomfort and to discriminate between honest and dishonest persons. However, if mistrust wins out over trust, the child, or later the adult, may be frustrated, withdrawn, suspicious, and lacking in self-confidence.

The specifically oral experiences—sucking, biting, teething, and weaning—are prototypes for the psychosocial modality of getting and giving (column D). The baby "takes in," or "incorporates," stimulation through all the senses, much as a Piagetian child "assimilates." By taking from the mother and the world, the baby is laying the foundation for her later role as a giver to others.

STAGE 2: AUTONOMY VERSUS SHAME AND DOUBT (ROUGHLY 2 TO 3 YEARS)

With further neurological and muscular development come walking, talking, and the potential for anal control. As the child becomes more independent physically and psychologically, there are new possibilities for personality development. At the same time, however, there are new vulnerabilities, namely, anxiety over separation from the parents, fear that anal control may not always be possible, and loss of self-esteem when failure does come.

A clash of wills is inevitable. Erikson refers to the "sinister forces which are leashed and unleashed, especially in the guerrilla warfare of unequal wills; for the child is often unequal to his own violent drives, and parent and child unequal to each other" (1959, p. 66). Ideally, parents create a supportive atmosphere in which the child can develop a sense of self-control without a loss of self-esteem.

While the positive component of this stage is autonomy, the negative components are shame and doubt: "Shame supposes that one is completely exposed and conscious of being looked at—in a word, self-conscious . . . 'with one's pants down.' Shame is early expressed in an impulse to bury one's face, or to sink, right then and there, into the 'ground'" (1959, pp. 68–69). Doubt has to do with the unknown "behind" that the child cannot see, yet must try to control. Shame and

doubt about one's self-control and independence come if basic trust was insufficiently developed or was lost, when bowel training is too early or too harsh, or when the child's will is "broken" by an overcontrolling parent.

The culture, expressed through the parents, shapes and gives meaning to the toddler's new competencies. For example, cultures vary in how seriously they take training for anal control. Erikson points to the machine age's ideal of a "mechanically trained, faultlessly functioning, and always clean, punctual, and deodorized body" (1959, p. 67), in contrast to the lack of concern with such matters in the Sioux culture. By simply imitating older children, Sioux children achieve bowel control by the time they begin school.

The psychosocial modality is holding on versus letting go, the counterpart to retention and elimination. This ambivalence pervades the child's behavior and attitude. For example, toddlers often zealously hoard toys or other objects and anxiously guard them in their hiding place, then casually throw them out the window of a moving car or give them to a friend. One morning a mother is late to work because her 2-year-old adamantly has insisted on buttoning every single shirt button himself, while the next morning the young Dr. Jekyll—Mr. Hyde screams with rage because his mother has not helped him get dressed. Failure to coordinate the opposing tendencies to hold on and let go can lead to the "anal personality" described by Freud—overcontrolled, compulsive, messy, stingy, or rigid.

In this second stage, the child encounters such rules as when he can have bowel movements or which areas of the house he is allowed to explore. These rules are an early hint of the "law and order" society he will face (column C of the table on page 157). The issue here, according to Erikson, is "whether we remain the masters of the rules by which we want to make things more manageable (not more complicated) or whether the rules master the ruler" (1959, pp. 72–73). In a well-functioning society, the sense of autonomy encouraged in children is maintained throughout their lives by that society's economic and political structures.

STAGE 3: INITIATIVE VERSUS GUILT (ROUGHLY 4 TO 5 YEARS)

"Being firmly convinced that he is a person, the child must now find out *what kind* of a person he is going to be. And here he hitches his wagon to nothing less than a star: he wants to be like his parents, who to him

appear very powerful and very beautiful, although quite unreasonably dangerous" (Erikson, 1959, p. 74). The theme of this stage is children's identification with their parents, who are perceived as big, powerful, and intrusive. Erikson accepts the basic outline of Freud's account of how children achieve identification through the Oedipus complex, but he emphasizes the social components more than the sexual. As we saw in Freud's theory, identification brings with it a conscience and a set of interests, attitudes, and sex-typed behaviors.

The basic psychosocial modality is "making," namely, intrusion, taking the initiative, forming and carrying out goals, and competing. After T. S. Eliot, we might conclude that the stage-3 child dares to disturb the universe. The child intrudes "into other bodies by physical attack . . . into other people's ears and minds by aggressive talking . . . into space by vigorous locomotion . . . into the unknown by consuming curiosity" (Erikson, 1959, p. 76). This initiative is supported by advances in mobility, physical dexterity, language, cognition, and creative imagination.

The child settles somewhere along a dimension ranging from successful initiative to overwhelming guilt due to an overly severe conscience that punishes sexual fantasies and immoral thoughts or behavior. In addition to guilt, another danger is that the child may forever feel that he must always be doing something, always competing, always "making," in order to have any worth as a person.

For this stage the related elements of social order are "ideal prototypes" (column C). These refer to social roles, such as police officer, teacher, astronaut, president, and "hero."

STAGE 4: INDUSTRY VERSUS INFERIORITY (ROUGHLY 6 YEARS TO PUBERTY)

The "industrial age" begins. Children now want to enter the larger world of knowledge and work. Their theme is "I am what I learn" (Erikson, 1959, p. 82). The great event is the entry into school, where they are exposed to the technology of their society: books, multiplication tables, arts and crafts, maps, microscopes, films, tape recorders, and computers. Learning, however, occurs not only in school but also on the street, in friends' houses, and at home.

Successful experiences give the child a sense of industry, a feeling of competence and mastery, while failure brings a sense of inadequacy and

inferiority, a feeling that one is a good-for-nothing. Children strive to make things well and complete what they have begun. The years spent establishing basic trust, autonomy, and initiative were preparation for this energetic entry into our technological society. Erikson noted that this stage differs from the first three in that "it does not consist of a swing from a violent inner upheaval to a new mastery" (1959, p. 88). It is a calmer period, a time of psychosexual latency.

STAGE 5: IDENTITY AND REPUDIATION VERSUS IDENTITY DIFFUSION (ADOLESCENCE)

Erikson quoted a saying that hangs in a cowboys' bar in the West: "I ain't what I ought to be, I ain't what I'm going to be, but I ain't what I was" (1959, p. 93). In an earlier section, we saw that the quest for identity is the undercurrent running through all the stages:

The process of identity formation emerges as an *evolving configuration*—a configuration which is gradually established by successive ego syntheses and resyntheses throughout childhood; it is a configuration gradually integrating *constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent roles.*

[1959, p. 116]

Trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry all contribute to the child's identity. In the fifth stage, however, this concern reaches a climax. Rapid physiological changes produce a "new" body with unfamiliar sexual urges. These changes, along with social pressure to make occupational and educational decisions, force the youth to consider a variety of roles. The basic task for adolescents is to integrate the various identifications they bring from childhood into a more complete identity. Erikson emphasized that this whole (the identity) is greater than the sum of its parts (previous identifications). This reassembled identity is appropriate for the new needs, skills, and goals of adolescence. If adolescents cannot integrate their identifications, roles, or selves, they face "identity diffusion." The personality is fragmented, lacking a core. Erikson quoted Biff in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*: "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life" (1959, p. 91). The problem may be exacerbated by one's minority-group status, uncertainty about one's sexual orientation, an overly strong identification with a parent, or too many occupational roles from which to choose.

The psychosocial modality of this stage is to be oneself or not to be oneself. Hamlet's "to be or not to be" soliloquy voices this alienation and role confusion (Erikson, 1968). Youths seek their true selves through peer groups, clubs, religion, political movements, and so on. These groups provide opportunities to try out new roles much in the way someone might try on jackets in a store until finding one that fits. The ideology of society, this stage's counterpart in the social order, guides this role playing by conveying which roles are valued by society.

STAGE 6: INTIMACY AND SOLIDARITY VERSUS ISOLATION (YOUNG ADULTHOOD)

Only if a reasonably well-integrated identity emerges from stage 5 can psychological intimacy with other people (or even oneself) be possible. If a youth fears that she may lose herself in someone else, she is unable to fuse her identity with someone else. Although young people usually form important relationships with the opposite sex during this time, their friendships with the same sex and even their access to their own intimate feelings and thoughts also mark this stage. These relationships, by enhancing one's own identity, further the growth of personality. One aspect of intimacy is the feeling of solidarity of "us" and the defense against "them," the threatening "forces and people whose essence seems dangerous to one's own" (Erikson, 1959, pp. 96-97). If a youth's attempts at intimacy fail, she retreats into isolation. In this case, social relationships are stereotyped, cold, and empty.

STAGE 7: GENERATIVITY VERSUS STAGNATION AND SELF-ABSORPTION (MIDDLE ADULTHOOD)

Generativity refers to "the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation" (Erikson, 1959, p. 97) through child rearing or creative or productive endeavors. Simply bearing children does not, of course, ensure that the parent will develop a sense of generativity. Faith in the future, a belief in the species, and the ability to care about others seem to be prerequisites for development in this stage. Instead of having children, one may work to create a better world for the children of

others. Stage 7, then, provides the mechanism for the continuity of society from generation to generation. A lack of generativity is expressed in stagnation, self-absorption (self-indulgence), boredom, and lack of psychological growth.

STAGE 8: INTEGRITY VERSUS DESPAIR (LATE ADULTHOOD)

In the final stage, people must live with what they have in their lifetime. Ideally, they will have achieved integrity. *Integrity* is the acceptance of the limitations of life, a sense of being a part of the larger history that includes previous generations, a sense of the wisdom of the ages, and a final integration of all the previous stages. The antithesis of integrity is despair—regret for what one has not done with one's life, fear of approaching death, and disgust with oneself. A recent book, *Vital Involvement in Old Age* (Erikson, 1986), describes the importance of a person's capacity to stimulate and challenge the environment as the environment in turn has that effect on the person.

COMMENT: CONTEMPORARY ERIKSONIAN RESEARCH ON STAGES

Marcia (1967, 1980) expanded two of Erikson's notions, crisis and commitment: "Crisis refers to times during adolescence when the individual seems to be actively involved in choosing among alternative occupations and beliefs. Commitment refers to the degree of investment the individual expresses in an occupation or belief (p. 119). The presence or absence of crisis or commitment defines *identity statuses*. The *identity-diffused* person, because she has not experienced either an identity crisis nor a commitment, is influenced by others and changes her beliefs often. The *foreclosure* person has made commitments without experiencing an identity crisis, questioning or accepting beliefs, attitudes, and an occupation based on the views of others. The *moratorium* person is in a severe state of crisis and is not yet able to make commitments. Finally, the *achieved* person has successfully passed through an identity crisis and has made a set of personal commitments.

Erikson's sequences may not be universal. For example, the stage sequence may differ for men and women and across various cultures. Although identity may precede intimacy for men, Gilligan pointed out that "for women these tasks seem instead to be fused. Intimacy goes along with identity" (1982, p. 12).

A final example of contemporary Eriksonian work is the renewed interest in ego development. Snarey, Kohlberg, and Noam (1983) provided a useful framework for comparing theories of ego development; they saw three types of such theories. The first type includes structurally defined stages, such as Piaget's cognitive stages. In the second, stages are culturally defined in terms of ages, for example, starting school at ages 5 through 7. The third type, exemplified by Erikson's theory, has functionally defined stages that arise because of the interaction between structural and cultural factors. For example, children start school and are faced with the task of establishing their competence both because they generally have the requisite cognitive structures to deal with this task and because society says they are at the age when children must begin school. Other contemporary theoretical work aimed at refining or clarifying Erikson's stages of ego development includes that of Côté and Levine (1987) and Meacham and Santilli (1982).

MECHANISMS OF DEVELOPMENT

The epigenetic principle describes the forces that underlie movement through the stages. Physical maturation writes the general timetable for development. Within these limits, one's culture pushes, slows down, nurtures, and destroys. In Erikson's view, society exerts its influence on the developing organism at many levels, ranging all the way from its abstract ideology to a parent's caress. Many of Freud's mechanisms of development can join Erikson's list of mechanisms of development: drives, frustrations from external and internal forces, attachment, and identification. However, Erikson made little use of Freud's tension-reduction equilibration process. Instead, he viewed development as the resolution of conflict from opposing forces. The child integrates holding on and letting go, initiative and guilt, the biological and psychological, and so on.

Erikson (1977) elaborated on a more specific mechanism of development: play. Play is used in a broad sense to mean the use of imagination to try out ways of mastering and adapting to the world, to express

emotions, to recreate past situations or imagine future situations, and to develop new models of existence. Problems that cannot be solved in reality can be solved through doll play, dramatics, sports, art, block play, "playing house," and so on. Play, however, is not limited to children. Play includes Einstein visualizing a model of time and space, an adolescent fantasizing about entering various occupations, or a lab technician rehearsing what to say to the boss the next day. Play is often ritualized and becomes a somewhat formal, enduring, culturally agreed-upon way of interacting with others. For example, an adolescent who is "hanging out" with friends is acquiring culturally approved patterns for interacting with other people. Or the child-care rituals of infancy pass on "proper" ways of recognizing and greeting other people. Rituals are mechanisms of development because they bring humans in every stage into the cultural mainstream and provide ready-made solutions to the problems of everyday life.

POSITION ON DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES

Erikson's position on the four issues is close to Freud's, except for differences in emphasis. Erikson, like Piaget, had a more optimistic view of human nature. Children and adults not only seek to avoid pain but also actively seek to develop a positive sense of identity. The existential human is in a process of "becoming" throughout life. This development is primarily qualitative because changes are stagelike, but it is also somewhat quantitative in that one's identity becomes stronger and one's convictions solidify.

Unlike Freud's theory, Erikson's has elements of the contextualist world view. He saw a changing child in a changing world and a system of culturally constructed contexts devoted to the socialization of children into the culture. The nature of these settings contributes to and affects the resolution of the crisis of each stage.

Like Freud, Erikson believed that nature determines the sequence of the stages and sets the limits within which nurture operates. If heredity ensures that certain crises arise, then the environment determines how they are resolved. Erikson, however, more than Freud, emphasized the role of culture in nurturing and shaping the developing child or adult. Not only the person's past and present but also society's past and present influence the developing person. In addition, Erikson did not accept Freud's claim that development is essentially complete after the

first five years of life. Development is a lifelong process; sometimes childhood conflicts are not resolved satisfactorily until adulthood. Finally, for Erikson, the essence of development is the formation of an identity that gives coherence to one's personality.

THEORETICAL NATURE OF THE THEORY

Erikson presented his theory as would a novelist or an artist rather than a scientist. At most, the theory is a loosely connected set of ideas and observations that could not, strictly speaking, be called a deductive, an inductive, or a functional theory. Two models are implicit in the theory. The Darwinian evolutionary model describes the development of social institutions that ensure the physical and psychological survival of the species. In addition, the dialectic model of history is evident in the resolution of opposing forces in each stage of development and the integration of each stage into the next.

EVALUATION OF THE THEORY

Because Erikson's theory is an extension of psychoanalytic theory, the earlier evaluation of Freud's theory is relevant here. Instead of reiterating those comments, this section focuses on the unique strengths and weaknesses of Erikson's theory.

STRENGTHS

Expansion of Psychoanalytic Theory

By widening the empirical base of psychoanalytic theory, Erikson increased its credibility and application. He added the psychosocial to the psychosexual, the cultural to the biological, the ego identity to the ego defenses, the normal to the abnormal, the cross-cultural to the culture-specific, child observations to adult reconstructions from childhood, and adult development to child development. The theory is remarkable

in its power to integrate a wide variety of situations. Erikson's version of development seems well grounded in the everyday lives of the majority of people, as they struggle to find coherence and meaning in their lives. He "looks for the hopeful and active part of the person and for how human experience and human potential are organized in the communal environment, within a radius of significant social encounters" (Schlein, 1987, p. xxv). This broadened psychoanalytic framework has been a valuable heuristic for counseling and therapy, especially with adolescents. Erikson influenced the field of developmental psychology in a general way, in that he provided a new view of development. His emphasis on cultural factors and life-span development were especially important. However, his work stimulated little research on the specific claims of his theory, such as the ordering of the stages or, at a more concrete level, sex differences in children's play.

Broad Perspective

Erikson's relevance for contemporary views of development lies in the broad perspective he gives to a child's behavior. A specific behavior of a specific child is influenced by his past history, the present situation, and the past and present history of his own culture and even the world's society. All levels of society, from international relations to the nation's political structure to the interaction within the family, influence behavior. Erikson's writings conjure up the image of a system of interlocking forces uniting the child and the universe, the distant past and the distant future. Although many developmentalists pay lip service to this position, with few exceptions (see Vygotskian-contextualist theories in Chapter 7) they do not seriously examine these social and historical variables. Instead, the behavior of children is typically studied in isolation.

WEAKNESSES

Lack of Systematicity

Erikson's theory is a loose connection of observations, empirical generalizations, and abstract theoretical claims. Consequently, it is difficult to state his claims in a way that can be tested or relate his empirical findings to the more abstract levels of the theory. As with Freud, much

of the problem lies in the methodological inadequacies, particularly the lack of controlled experimentation. In Erikson's case, the observations are laden with interpretations that are difficult to evaluate. For example, in Erikson's observation at the beginning of this chapter, do boys build towers because of their phallic, intrusive orientation, as Erikson claimed, or simply because they like to knock tall things down? His psychohistories are fascinating but are necessarily speculative. A related problem is that the terms he selected often mislead rather than elucidate. For example, *generativity* and *integrity* do not have their usual meanings. It is not surprising, then, that many of Erikson's concepts are often misunderstood.

Lack of Specific Mechanisms of Development

It became clear in the earlier section on mechanisms of development that Erikson's theory does not explain in any detail how a child moves from stage to stage or even how he resolves the crisis within a stage. It states *what* influences the movement (for example, physical maturation, parents, cultural beliefs, to what extent earlier crises were resolved), but not specifically *how* the movement comes about. By what mechanisms does an infant learn when to trust and when to mistrust? Why does the resolution of the initiative-guilt polarity lead to the industry-inferiority conflict rather than to some other conflict? The validity of many of Erikson's notions, such as the conflict-resolution model, rests on the ability to describe in detail the mechanisms of development.

SUMMARY

Two of Freud's ideas have formed the backbone of developmental psychology. First, he proposed that the first few years of life are critical because the basic personality is formed during that time. Second, he believed that personality is developed as the child copes with an invariant sequence of conflicts. Each conflict involves a different domain: the oral, anal, phallic, and adult genital. The way children satisfy the drives in each stage forms the basis of their personality. Although Freud's psychosexual focus is less influential today in academic psychology, the notion of stages has greatly influenced research and therapy with children in this century.

Using an energy model from physics, Freud described a system of psychological energy that is distributed, transformed, and discharged

within a psychological structure. This structure consists of the id, ego, and superego in a delicate balance. The ego considers its available defenses, its perceptions of reality, the demands of the id for drive reduction, and the prohibitions of the superego before deciding on a course of action. Most of the "mind" is unconscious because knowledge of the thoughts and wishes hidden in the id, ego, and superego would cause unbearable anxiety.

Most of Freud's evidence came from his patients' free associations concerning their childhood, dreams, and present concerns. Freud believed that the workings of the abnormal mind clarify the nature of normal personality because there is a continuum of behaviors ranging from the abnormal to the normal.

Freud viewed humans as being driven by instincts but actively trying to cope with various internal and external conflicts. He stressed qualitative, stagelike changes in development, but he also included quantitative change. Although he emphasized biological influences, especially drives, he also recognized the role of experience, particularly in the first five years of life. The essence of development is the emergence of psychological structures that mediate all experience and behavior. Freud's theory introduced new psychological phenomena to Western culture and has the potential to broaden future research on cognitive development by including emotion-laden thoughts and defense mechanisms. However, the theory has methodological inadequacies, and its claims may not be testable. In addition, its focus on infantile sexuality has limited its acceptance in academic psychology.

Erikson's psychosocial theory of development modified Freudian theory in two important ways. First, it identifies important social influences on development. Erikson's research in various cultures and various social settings within a culture suggests that every society tries to deal with the biologically based changes occurring during development. Ideally, there is a fit between the child's needs and the society's needs at each point in development. In each of eight stages, there is a psychosocial crisis in which there are two possible extreme outcomes: (1) trust versus mistrust, (2) autonomy versus shame and doubt, (3) initiative versus guilt, (4) industry versus inferiority, (5) identity and repudiation versus identity diffusion, (6) intimacy and solidarity versus isolation, (7) generativity versus stagnation and self-absorption, and (8) integrity versus despair.

Erikson's second major contribution to psychoanalytic theory is his notion that life is a quest for identity. Thus, it focuses on ego processes. The work on both social and ego processes greatly expanded psychoanalytic theory and provided a broad perspective on develop-

ment. However, the theory is rather unsystematic and lacks specific mechanisms of development.

Freud and Erikson produced unique yet complementary perspectives on development. A remark by Kierkegaard expresses an integration of the two views: "Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards."

SUGGESTED READINGS

This paperback is a short, lucid introduction to Freud's theory.

Hall, C. S. (1954). *A primer of Freudian psychology*. New York: World.

For a metatheoretical look at Freud's theory, the reader should consult David Rapaport's writings, especially the following.

Rapaport, D. (1960). *The structure of psychoanalytic theory: A systematizing attempt*. *Psychological Issues*, Monograph 6. New York: International Universities Press.

The following provides a nice integration of psychoanalytic theories of development and other developmental work.

Tyson, P., & Tyson, R. L. (1990). *Psychoanalytic theories of development*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Because Freud is a talented and provocative writer, his ideas should be explored in his own writings.

Strachey, J. (Ed. and Trans.) (1953-1966). *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*. 24 vols. London: Hogarth Press. Particularly recommended are "An outline of psychoanalysis" (Vol. 23, pp. 144-207), "New introductory lectures on psycho-analysis" (Vol. 22, pp. 5-182), and any of the case studies.

The following is a comprehensive introduction to Erikson's theory.

Gross, F. L. (1986). *Introducing Erik Erikson: An invitation to his thinking*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Two of Erikson's books and a fairly recent collection of his papers provide a comprehensive look at his ideas.

Erikson, E. H. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Schlein, S. (Ed.). (1987). *A way of looking at things: Selected papers from 1930 to 1980*. Erik H. Erikson. New York: Norton.

Erikson's psychohistories are a source of fascinating reading. Especially recommended is the following.

Erikson, E. H. (1958). *Young man Luther*. New York: Norton.

A biography clarifies some of Erikson's ideas.

Coles, R. (1970). Erik H. Erikson: *The growth of his work*. Boston: Little, Brown.