

processing of emotional information in the mother's voice, face, and touch. This developed circuitry in turn supports further social interaction and infants' emotional self-regulation, including coping with stressors. Insecure attachments may make babies vulnerable to psychopathology. According to this "neuropsychanalysis," the attachment relationship is a major organizer of brain development; it promotes the development and maintenance of neural networks in the right hemisphere. In short, the implicit self-system of the right brain underlies the dynamic unconscious. More generally, one of the hottest areas of current developmental research is on developmental social cognitive neuroscience. Topics such as the processing of emotional information and the often unconscious role of emotions in cognitive processing now can be examined in terms of neural pathways.

A second main Freudian-inspired area of contemporary research is unconscious processes that cognitive psychologists used to think required conscious awareness (e.g., Bargh & Morsella, 2008). For example, *implicit memory* refers to memory without awareness; people remember how to ride a bicycle or play the piano without consciously thinking about it or being able to verbalize it. More generally, connectionist models of thinking in cognitive science (see Chapter 6) posit that we construct concepts as we detect, without our awareness, regularities in object and events, such as extracting what is common across many dogs to form the concept of "dog." Consistent with Freud's theory, our emotions can bias these associations, and we often believe to be true what we wish or expect to be true.

Erikson

Powerful theories spawn "neo's": neo-Piagetians, neo-Freudians, neobehaviorists, 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-Freudians' ego integrates and organizes personality. Hartmann described an ego that is partly independent of the id and its drives. 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) identifies 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. (See Gedo, 1999, for an account of recent psychoanalytic approaches.)

Second, many neo-Freudians moved away from Freud's biological approach and considered the vast influence of society on development. The 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 near 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. Despite his lack of any college degree, 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, to Harvard, and to several other eastern universities. He died in 1994 at age 91.

These diverse settings, from clinician's 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 ex-

pressed in many publications, including the well-known *Childhood and Society* (1963) 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. He was a gifted author whose writings have been described as “Freud in sonnet form” (Hopkins, 1995, p. 796). 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. However, he expanded Freud’s theory by developing a set of eight psychosocial stages covering the life span, 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. He has been described as “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” (Bruner, 1987, p. 8).

Psychosocial Stages

Erikson’s work in various cultures convinced him of the need to add a life-span psychosocial dimension to Freud’s theory of psychosexual development. In Table 3.1, 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 a child and his culture. Societies have evolved agreed-upon ways of meeting a 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 speaks 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). A child is surrounded by others who are also passing through various stages. While the culture, over many generations, has adapted itself to the needs of children, each child in turn adapts himself to the culture, as when a new kindergartner adjusts to a bewildering new set of experiences called "school."

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 a child's behavior at each age. For example, Erikson observed that the Sioux allowed nursing for several years in the spirit of 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 Table 3.1, 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

Table 3.1 Erikson's "worksheets" 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-kinaesthetic (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	Genitality
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	

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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 a 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, a 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 that of 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" (quoted in 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 is more positive. He holds 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 a child's sense of identity is reconfirmed on a new level. Although the

development of identity reaches a crisis during adolescence, Erikson notes that it begins when a 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" (quoted in 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 child with a mixed cultural heritage, the wandering youth, and the American immigrant—had felt marginalized in society. He 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" (quoted in 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" (Erikson, 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" (quoted in Evans, 1967, p. 41).

Expansion of Psychoanalytic Methodology

Erikson contributed to three methods for studying development: direct observation of children, cross-cultural comparisons, and psychobiography. 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" (quoted in Evans, 1967, p. 91).

Erikson's writings are sprinkled with contrasts between cultures. He was fascinated with how the solutions to the challenges of universal stages vary from culture to culture. His forays into cultural anthropology pointed out the limitations of 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 "psychobiographies." These are analyses of the psychosocial development of well-known people, which show how a single person can represent the central preoccupation of a society at a particular time. Erikson believed that Hitler's rise illustrates the meshing of an individual's particular needs for identity and a nation's need for a more positive identity (Erikson, 1963). In *Young Man Luther* (1958), Erikson describes 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 (1963) 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 "the eight ages of man." These eight ages refer to eight critical periods, when various lifelong ego concerns reach a climax. (Table 3.1 provides an overview of each stage.)

Stage 1: Basic Trust Versus Basic Mistrust (Roughly Birth to 1 Year)

In Table 3.1, we see that the main task of infancy is to acquire a favorable ratio of trust to mistrust. If the balance is weighted toward trust, a child has a better chance of weathering the later crises than if it is weighted toward mistrust. Erikson defined *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" (quoted in 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. Babies also 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 (1950) referred 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 (Table 3.1, column D). Babies “take in,” or “incorporate,” stimulation through all the senses, much as a Piagetian child “assimilates.” By taking from the mother and the world, babies are laying the foundation for their 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 children become 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 their 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 children 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” (Erikson, 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, if bowel training is too early or too harsh, or if 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 but 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, children encounter rules such as when they can have bowel movements or which areas of the house they are allowed to explore. These rules are an early hint of the "law and order" society they will face (column C of Table 3.1). 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 accepted the basic outline of Freud's account of how

children achieve identification through the Oedipus complex, but he emphasized 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. We might conclude, with T. S. Eliot, 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.

Children settle 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 children may forever feel that they 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 are 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 entry into school, where they are exposed to the technology of their society: books, multiplication tables, arts and crafts, maps, microscopes, films, and tape recorders. Learning, however, occurs not only in school but also on the street, in friends' houses, and at home.

Successful experiences give children 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 quotes a saying that hangs in a cowboy 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.*

(Erikson, 1959, p. 116)

Trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry all contribute to a 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 rational and educational decisions, force adolescents to consider a variety of roles. The basic task for them 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 this final stage, people must live with what they have built over their lifetime. Ideally, they will have achieved integrity. *Integrity* involves the acceptance of the limitations of life, a sense of being a part of a larger history that includes previous generations, a sense of owning 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 done or not done with one's life, fear of approaching death, and disgust with oneself.

> 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. A child integrates holding on and letting go, initiative and guilt, the biological and psychological, and so on.

Erikson (1977) has 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 re-create 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 man rehearsing what he will say to his 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 "messing around" with his friends is acquiring culturally approved patterns for interacting with other people. Another example is that 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 but differs 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 worldview. He saw a changing child in a changing world and a system of culturally constructed contexts devoted to the socialization of children into that 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 5 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.

> Applications

As mentioned earlier, Erikson applied his theory to problems such as adolescent identity crises, conflict between generations, post-war adjustment of soldiers, race relations, and child rearing. Today, counselors continue to draw on his work on adolescence in particular to help young people successfully make personal and occupational decisions. Adults can facilitate their children's development by helping them achieve a balance between each end of the continuum in each stage, such as both trust and healthy mistrust.

> 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, the present 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 adults' 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's emphasis on cultural factors and life-span development was especially important for developmental psychology. 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 children's behavior. He has been described as "perhaps one of the last great synthesizers in the behavioral sciences" (Hopkins, 1995, p. 796). 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 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 and sociocultural theories in Chapter 4) 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 claims, or simply because they like to knock tall things down? His psychobiographies are fascinating but are necessarily speculative. A related problem is that the terms he selects 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 did not explain in any detail how a child moves from stage to stage or even how he resolves the crisis within a stage. He states *what* influences the movement (for example, physical maturation, parents, cultural beliefs, the extent to which 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 mechanism of development.

> Contemporary Research

Unlike Piaget and Freud, Erikson emphasized life-span development over the entire life span, a very strong area of research today. Some contemporary research continues to examine Eriksonian issues, such as generativity and adult development. As the number of aging adults has increased, researchers have become increasingly interested in this final phase of life. And as more and more people attend college and delay marriage, parenthood, and entry into full-time employment in industrialized societies, researchers have identified a new phase in the life span between adolescence and young adulthood, which they call *emerging adulthood* (Arnett, 2004). During this developmental phase, from the late teens through the mid-twenties, young people are adults in terms of age but typically not yet adults in terms of entering adult roles and achieving financial independence. Although college undergraduates have been convenient sources of research participants for years, and data on them is

the basis of most of our knowledge about many areas of psychology, this now also is seen as an age group undergoing development, as youths continue to explore their identities in work and relationships, as well as philosophy of life. Emerging adulthood is marked by identity exploration, instability, focus on self, feeling in-between childhood and adulthood, and a focus on possibilities (Arnett, 2004). Consistent with Erikson's focus on culture, researchers have studied cultural variation in emerging adulthood (Arnett & Eisenberg, 2007). For example, in Japan few young women could go against convention and stay single for a long period of time, and have a time of emerging adulthood, until recent years (Rosenberger, 2007). In the United States, those of Latin American or Asian backgrounds, especially from East Asian backgrounds, often feel torn, during emerging adulthood, between their sense of duty to enter the roles that their families desire for them and their wish to explore other identities and careers (Fuligni, 2007). Given the variations in the prevalence of emerging adulthood across a country's history, as well as across cultures and across social classes and subcultures in North America, one controversy is whether it makes sense to consider this period a stage of life (Arnett, Kloep, Hendry, & Tanner, 2010).

A main active area of current research is ego development and the search for identity during adolescence and early adulthood (e.g., Kroger, 2007). For example, Marcia (1967, 1999) has 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 personal investment the individual expresses in an occupation or belief" (1967, p. 119). The presence or absence of crisis or commitment defines four *identity statuses*. An *identity-diffused* person, because she has experienced neither an identity crisis nor a commitment, is easily influenced by others and may change her beliefs often. A *foreclosure* person has made commitments without experiencing an identity crisis. She unquestioningly accepts beliefs, attitudes, and an occupation based on the views of others. A *moratorium* person is in a severe state of identity crisis and is not yet able to make commitments. Finally, an *identity-achieved* person has successfully passed through an identity crisis and has made a set of personal commitments. Recent research has explored possible influences on one's category. For example, achieving identity is associated with having a secure attachment style and having achieved intimacy (Arseth, Kroger, Martinussen, & Marcia, 2009). Other studies have examined whether adolescents and adults in the four identity statuses have different backgrounds and

characteristics and whether the four statuses do in fact follow a developmental sequence (Marcia, 1999).

Contemporary research on identity explores diversity in the development of identity. As feminist critiques point out, Erikson's sequences regarding identity may not be universal across cultures and for both men and women. Although identity may precede intimacy for men, Gilligan points out that "for women these tasks seem instead to be fused. Intimacy goes along with identity" (1982, p. 12). Moreover, one's identities relate to intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, and nationality, and thus the task is to integrate these various identities. This task is particularly challenging for those who hold minority status in these categories, because discrimination against these nondominant statuses may make it difficult for adolescents and young adults to express these statuses. Immigrant youth may face not only the usual identity developmental task, but also, like Erikson, the challenges of adjusting to a new culture. Social marginality sometimes accentuates one's need to project a positive self-identity (Mahalingam, 2006). That is, ethnic minorities may redefine their self-identities and idealize their ethnic or gender identities in order to successfully challenge negative social representations of them and to cope with their marginalized social status. For example, Asian Americans who held idealized patriarchal beliefs about gender (e.g., female chastity and male privilege) tended to have strong ethnic pride, which in turn was positively related to resilience and negatively related to depression. The fact that first-generation Asian Americans endorsed model minority pride more strongly than second-generation Asian Americans shows that the generational status of immigrants influences how they cope with social marginality.

> 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: oral, anal, phallic, and adult genital. The way that 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. Also, his account of attachment has stimulated current research on internal working models and their long-term effects on development.

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 also included quantitative change. Although he emphasized biological influences, especially drives, he also recognized the role of experience, particularly in the first 5 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. Contemporary research on relations among attachment, self-regulation of emotions, and psychopathology, as well as a recent resurgence of interest in unconscious mental processes, indicates that many of the developmental issues raised by Freud are still relevant.

What is Freud's heritage for developmental psychology? He began by asking why his patients suffered and ended by giving us a new perspective on human development. 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's psychosocial theory of development modified Freudian theory in two important ways. First, Erikson identified important social influences on development throughout the life span. His 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. Eriksonian-inspired research on identity continues today.

Erikson's second major contribution to psychoanalytic theory is his notion that life is a quest for identity. Thus, he focused on ego processes. The work on both social and ego processes greatly expanded psychoanalytic theory and provided a broad perspective on development. However, the theory is rather unsystematic and lacks specific mechanisms of development. Erikson's influence can be seen in contemporary research on emergent adulthood and the diversity of identity 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.

This book includes applications of psychoanalytic theories to development:

Masling, J. M., & Bornstein, R. F. (1996). *Psychoanalytic perspectives on developmental psychology*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

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 Psycho-Analysis" (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.

Three of Erikson's books, including his last one, provide a comprehensive look at his ideas:

Erikson, E. H. (1963). *Childhood and society* (2nd ed.). New York: Norton.

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

Erikson, E. H. (1982). *The life cycle completed: A review*. New York: Norton.

Erikson's psychobiographies are a source of fascinating reading, especially this Pulitzer Prize-winning one:

Erikson, E. H. (1969). *Gandhi's truth*. New York: Norton.

This biography clarifies some of Erikson's ideas:

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