

CHAPTER SEVEN



Erik and Joan Eriksons' Approach to Human Development in Counseling

Michael J. Karcher and Kristine Benne

Joan and Erik Erikson developed a theory of human development that charts stage-wise progression in the social, emotional, and cognitive skills that individuals use in their relationships with significant others across the lifespan. Initially, this theory was referred to as a bio-psycho-social theory of human development, but over time and across their careers of writing about human growth, the Eriksons placed more emphasis on charting how individuals manage interpersonal tasks and demands than on the biology of Freud's drive psychology that served as the initial impetus for the model. In fact, the biological dimension of the theory, drawn in part from Freud's model and from the ways in which physiological maturation affects the demands and tasks placed upon individuals, has been the least referenced component of the theory. Instead, the psychological and social constructs have come to signify the theory and most directly reveal its use in counseling.

Best known are the key constructs of industry, identity, and generativity. Yet these constructs, at least as descriptions of individuals' behaviors and beliefs, belie that this is a theory about social as much as psychological development. The theory addresses the psychosocial demands placed upon us and our development in response to changing interpersonal situations from birth to death, all of which are embedded in relationships with significant others. Therefore this theory, when

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Michael Karcher

In 1994 I was living in Boston, working as a school counselor trainee at Curley Middle School in Roxbury, and reading developmental theory with a passion. My friend, Dennis Barr, was able to spend time with the Eriksons at one of their famed sing-alongs in their house in Cambridge. I hoped to meet the Eriksons. I possessed all of their books (and had read almost half of them) and felt a connection with them partly as a function of the time I, too, lived in Vienna. I remember where I was, in the basement counseling center of the school, when I heard on the radio that Erik Erikson had passed away. I like to think I was very close to meeting them.



Michael J. Karcher

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currently conducts the Study of Mentoring in the Learning Environment (SMILE) funded by the William T. Grant Foundation (www.utsasmile.org). He lives in his hometown of San Antonio with his wife Sara and their son Reed.

Kristine Benne

In 2003 I had the privilege of taking a counseling theories class taught by my co-author on this chapter, Dr. Michael Karcher. Through his teaching and obvious passion for developmental theory, my interest was sparked. Since then I have sought out readings and research by Erik and Joan Erikson. My excitement for developmental theory was solidified by Joan Erikson's *The Woven Life Cycle*. I would encourage anyone who enjoys our chapter to read this selection.



Kristine Benne

Kristine Benne graduated from the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) with a Master of Arts in counseling. While at UTSA, Dr. Michael Karcher gave her the opportunity to work on and eventually manage a three-year grant-funded project called the Study of Mentoring in the Learning Environment (SMILE). The SMILE project focused specifically on the effectiveness of school-based mentoring. Kristine currently is working on the steps to become a licensed professional counselor (LPC) and has recently accepted a position providing case management and psychosocial support services for children and families. Kristine resides in San Antonio with her husband Michael and their two dogs Sophie and Ellie.

viewed more deeply, is about the tension of human growth in relationships and the resulting balance between needs for intimacy and connectedness, as well as for individuation. Viewed from this perspective, the Eriksons' theory provides a unique lens to the work of counselors, from those in community settings working with adults to those counselors in schools who try to bridge the lives of children and adults through child-focused interventions.

The Eriksons' Biopsychosocial Model of Human Development: An Overview

All introductions to the work of Erik Erikson present his psychosocial stages of development. These are well known. Nevertheless, we review them here as well. We do this partly to reveal how most of what has been written about the Eriksons' approach may be considered andro(male)- and ethno(white)-centric if not considered within the larger scope of what Joan and Erik wrote during their professional careers. Namely, most of the stages in his model—certainly the stages most often referenced and studied by researchers who wrote about Erik Erikson—are the stages describing how the individual develops through individuation, through separation and increasing distinctiveness. These, as we are slowly learning through research in the fields of psychology, counseling, and other social studies, may not be the best

terms for describing the essential characteristics of healthy developmental processes for women and people from ethnic minority groups. Therefore, something is missing, at least in the usual descriptions of this theory.

We feel, however, that when the work of Joan and Erik Erikson are considered together, in their totality, a different picture emerges. We will lay out this picture visually and descriptively in the sections that follow. In the second half of the chapter, we apply this wider picture to a case study involving a school counselor supervising an adult mentor working with a younger mentee in a school setting.

There is no doubt that Erik Erikson, in most of his seminal works, addressed the issues of culture, race, and marginality as well as perhaps any theorist of his era. In *Childhood and Society* (1950), Erikson prominently places descriptions of psychosocial development among Native Americans. As fodder for this work, both of the Eriksons lived in these indigenous communities, which allowed them to write about culture as a participator rather than from the distanced perspective of an academic writer. In *Identity: Youth in Crisis*, Erik Erikson applied the concept of identity across gender and culture. Identity is a construct we take for granted, but it was not until Erikson identified, named, defined, and illustrated identity as a life stage that it became part of common parlance. Before him, the construct was virtually not discussed in psychology.

Nevertheless, the Eriksons' works have not been beyond reproach from cultural and feminist critiques. In *Identity: Youth in Crisis*, Erikson himself introduced two chapters that highlight the limitations of his theory. Descriptions of the core characteristics of development among White males are not sufficient to fully capture the experiences of women and ethnic minorities. Therefore, generalizability of his theory may be called into question. Yet in two chapters in *Identity*, "Womanhood and the inner space" and "Race and the wider identity," he set the stage for the wider applied developmental perspective that we introduce here.

Eriksonian Theory and the Marriage of Two Minds: Joan and Erik

Erik was clear that in most of his writings Joan played a central role. *A Way of Looking at Things* (Schlein, S., 1987), an edited compilation of Erikson's works, opens with a quote from Erik: "[I]n this whole collection

there does not seem to be one bit of good writing that was not shared by [Joan] in thought as well as in formulation" (p. ix). The ways in which Joan may have widened Erik's theoretical perspective may be best illustrated in the content of *Wisdom and the Senses* (Erikson, J., 1988), which she alone penned. What Joan's perspective brought to the corpus of Erik's (and her) work is attention to the central role of relationships in psychosocial development. Yet this emerged most prominently in an essay in 1968 that revealed the connection between psychosocial development and what E. Erikson referred to as the "radius of significant relations."

Consistent with models of ethnic identity development and gender development, such as those of Jean Phinney and Carol Gilligan respectively, E. Erikson directly embeds each psychosocial crisis in the group of individuals with whom the developing person has the most significant relations at that point in development. Erikson's theory is commonly viewed as characterizing development in terms of the increasingly abstract and wider perspectives that individuals bring to their self and personal development over time. Less often does one find this sequence of individual development fully embedded within those groups constituting one's radius or sphere of influence, which also become more differentiated over time with each developmental advance. At each stage of development, the individual moves into a new relational context, such as into the neighborhood or school, as well as a new psychosocial role, such as by becoming a romantic partner or a parent. As we review the well-known psychosocial stages of development below and cover more directly their relations to the work of counselors, we highlight what appear to be the healthy and unhealthy reactions to each developmental crisis. We reveal how the Eriksons viewed each of these crises as embedded in interpersonal relationships.

We also wish to highlight a point of view not always prominent in chapters on Erik Erikson's theory, namely, the construct of virtues or basic strengths. Erikson believed these basic strengths (i.e., hope, will, purpose) emerge from the healthy movement through each developmental crisis requiring that the individual experiences both intense connection as well as differentiation, balancing two opposing but interrelated developmental reactions. These reactions—intense experiences of intimacy and autonomy—take place, of course, with and against those individuals within the radius of one's significant relationships. Therefore, we argue, understanding how development occurs within relationships and against a backdrop of prior development in relationships reveals the ways in which counselors can assist clients through a tandem focus on connectedness and distinctiveness as interrelated propellers of growth.

ABOUT ERIK & JOAN ERIKSON

Erik H. Erikson

Erik H. Erikson was born on June 15, 1902, near Frankfurt, Germany. His parents were both of Danish descent but separated before Erik was born. His mother, Karla, relocated their family from Denmark in order to be near friends and eventually settled in Karlsruhe, Germany. At the age of three Erik became ill and was treated by a local pediatrician, Dr. Homburger. Karla married the Jewish doctor, creating a new family for Erik, but signaling a difficult phase in his life. Tall, blonde, and blue eyed, he was picked on by his Jewish neighbors. In response, he attempted to fit in at school by becoming a “German Superpatriot” but found that his Jewish heritage was not appreciated by his peers, and their anti-Semitism was offensive to him. Feeling as though he did not fit in with either culture, Erikson became sensitive to the adolescent’s struggle to establish an identity through a series of societal affiliation choices.

Growing up, Erik was an avid reader and loved the arts. He was extraordinarily interested in human relationships, specifically the relationship between parent and child. However, he was not interested in academics and did not do well in school. Instead of going off to a university, Erik became a wondering artist. He traveled across Europe learning about art and the human existence. He would call this time of his life his moratorium. He had difficulty establishing a self-identity and, despite their differences, Erik was always grateful to his stepfather for funding his search.

At the age of twenty-five, Erik found himself back in his hometown preparing to study and teach art when he received a life-changing letter from his old friend Peter Blos. Peter asked Erik to come to Vienna to teach at the Hietzing School. He not only taught at Peter’s school but also studied Montessori education. These six productive years in Vienna would profoundly change his professional and personal paths in life. During his time in Vienna, Erik met the Freud family and began training in child psychoanalysis under Anna Freud. He focused on becoming a psychoanalyst, eventually graduating from the Vienna Psychoanalytic

Institute. During this time, Erik met his future wife, Joan, and his story became theirs together (and is detailed in her biography below).

Joan Erikson

Joan Serson was born in the small town of Gananoque, Ontario. Her Canadian father, John, was the local Episcopal pastor. Her American mother, Mary, came from a wealthy New York railroad family. Often hospitalized for depression, Mary contributed little stability to the family. John seemed to favor Joan's youngest sibling and acted indifferently toward Joan. He died when Joan was only eight, and for the remainder of her youth, Joan lived on and off with her grandmother, Nama. Childhood left Joan angry at her parents but appreciative of Nama for providing her only source of nurturing support.

Her childhood difficulties motivated Joan to leave home as soon as possible. College presented just that opportunity. She received more formal academic training than Erik, including a B.A. in education from Columbia and a Masters degree in sociology from the University of Pennsylvania. She was interested in completing a Ph.D. and traveled to Germany to work on her dissertation. There Joan was analyzed by one of Freud's first disciples, Ludwig Jekels. In 1929 she traveled to Vienna and interviewed for a teaching position at the Hietzing School, where she first noticed Erik. In that same year, Erik attended a Mardi Gras masked ball and was formally introduced to his future life partner.

Within months of their introduction at the ball, Joan and Erik became involved in a serious relationship. In the spring of 1930, Joan discovered she was pregnant and wanted to marry Erik. Surprisingly, Erik entered into marriage reluctantly and had to be persuaded by friends. He was concerned that his family would be disappointed that he was marrying a non-Jew. Ultimately, it was their reminding him of his mother's plight as a young single mom and of the absence of his own biological father that convinced him he should act responsibly for his new family. Erik and Joan married soon after and moved to a rural cottage outside of Vienna. Their emotional union solidified the professional relationship that Erik Erikson credited for all of his work. Although Erik was given

most of the professional accolades, by his own admission Joan provided significant contributions at every step of the process. Together they not only pioneered a theory but also produced three children, Kai, Jon, and Sue. In 1933, when Hitler took power in Germany, the Erikson family migrated to the United States, and Erik became the first child analyst in Boston.

Leaving Vienna marked a geographical separation from Freud that allowed the Eriksons more autonomy to expand the psychoanalytic theory beyond its focus on biological drives. Studying different cultures helped to facilitate a shift of focus from strict biology to a biopsychosocial framework. This shift began when Erik Erikson traveled to the Sioux Indian reservation of South Dakota to observe children. Unable to balance the beliefs of their own culture with the demands of American society, the Sioux children were left in a state of confusion and apathy. The Eriksons documented firsthand how society has a significant effect on the personality development of a child and believed that understanding the social context was key to understanding a child's personality development. Armed with this fundamental idea, Erik Erikson went on to head a longitudinal study at Berkeley, which followed "normal" American children for an entire generation. Through his work on this project and his study of diverse cultures, the theory of the eight stages of psychosocial development was born. The Eriksons can be credited with expanding the psychoanalytic theory to include environmental factors, specifically the cultural and social context of the individual.

Erik and Joan Erikson went on to write twelve books, including the acclaimed *Childhood and Society* (1950), and continued to teach, consult, and provide therapy throughout their careers. Erik Erikson worked for many prestigious institutions, including Harvard Medical School and Yale. He died in Harwich, Massachusetts, in 1994. Joan died in 1997.

Trust Versus Mistrust

Erikson's theory of psychosocial development begins in infancy with the developmental crisis of trust versus mistrust. This is the hallmark experience of connection and intimacy against which other experiences will be judged. By striking a balance between trust and mistrust within

one's first significant relationship—that is, with the [maternal] caregiver—the virtue of hope emerges.

Trust can be fostered in the infant through familial love and support. When an infant cries and the primary caregiver responds in a positive way, the issue that has upset the child is remedied (e.g., hunger or isolation). At that point in time, trust begins to take hold in that relationship. As the primary caregiver continues to respond to the infant's needs in a consistent manner, the experience of a safe, predictable world is created for the infant. By contrast, when an infant's needs are satisfied rarely and inconsistently, feelings of mistrust develop, and trust becomes harder to achieve both in the present and most likely in later relationships.

Mistrust, however, is not development's enemy. Mistrust can be a critical, adaptive reaction, which can help to ensure survival in some contexts and relationships (J. Erikson, 1988). Rather, it is the balance between trust and mistrust that endows the individual with a healthy character. Consider the child who knows to run away from the stranger who offers the child a ride home from school. However, the virtue of hope emerges among those individuals who develop an enduring belief that, although life will continue to fluctuate through moments of sorrow as well as of fear, safety can be experienced within the radius of one's significant relations. Attachment research confirms that these beliefs, established early in this primary relationship, tend to be lasting and color the lenses through which one views later relationships.

Autonomy Versus Shame and Doubt

Autonomy, while not central to our case study other than through its role supporting the development of subsequent virtues, provides perhaps the best example of the kind of differentiation that we feel has been highlighted too much in prior work on Erikson's theory. Similar in nature to the concepts of individuation and individualistic, autonomy and autonomous suggest the person stands alone, on no one's shoulders. Yet this notion of the self-made man is exactly the sort of ethnocentric and androcentric representation of development that need not be ascribed to Erikson's work.

This stage highlights a second key assumption held by the Eriksons but often omitted when discussing their model, namely, that the healthiest resolution of a developmental crisis is to achieve a balance between the two crisis reactions characteristic of each developmental stage (e.g., between complete autonomy and complete shame and doubt). Albeit momentary from a lifespan point of view (as it is likely to be revisited

countless times in later developmental crises), this balance creates a healthy tension through which development occurs best.

During the second stage of psychosocial development, toddlers begin to exercise their autonomy through evolving motor and verbalization skills (Schlein, 1987). The toddler begins to investigate the world around him or her, testing the limits at every turn. The crisis constitutes the child's need to find a balance between feelings of confidence resulting from newfound autonomy and feelings of shame and doubt at unsuccessful efforts to separate and stand alone. The toddler faces the double demand to demonstrate self-direction and to attain the approval and affection of primary caregivers (E. Erikson, 1964) through which the virtue of will or willpower is developed. Yet sustainable, genuine willpower—the type that can be drawn upon during subsequent developmental crises—can only be developed through the experience of both autonomy successes and failures.

The way this developmental crisis occurs and gets resolved is somewhat at odds with feminist critiques of the role of connectedness in girls' development (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1980) and crosscultural differences in parental rewards for autonomous behavior. Girls' efforts to express autonomy are not rewarded the same way as with boys', and this can complicate this developmental crisis for them. When examined from a sociocultural and historical perspective, girls (and children of both sexes in many societies) are kept close to the family (literally) and rewarded for conforming (figuratively). Joan Erikson also observed that even in Western societies, overanxious parents inadvertently inhibit their toddlers' autonomy by evoking shame and doubt by inconsistently reprimanding the toddler for curious, exploratory behavior (J. Erikson, 1988). This suggests that although there appears to be a positive valance applied to "autonomy" strivings and a negative valance applied to feelings of "shame and doubt," healthy development requires that both be experienced, in tandem, for a resilient experience of willpower to develop.

Initiative Versus Guilt

The third stage of psychosocial development presents the crisis between initiative and guilt, which represents another in this series of stages that seems to favor the differentiation and individuation processes. Notice, however, that the emergence of this crisis occurs as a result of the child actively engaging with playmates in a new, nonfamily environment (J. Erikson, 1988). The crisis occurs when the child initiates contact with

the surrounding world through social exploration and through manipulation of objects. This personal enterprise invites the development of perspective taking, such as the sense of guilt that results from an awareness that a child experiences when she or he has disregarded other people's boundaries through an age-appropriate initiative. Indeed, not experiencing guilt when one's own needs affect others adversely is consistent with definitions of conduct disorders among children and narcissistic personality disorders during adulthood.

During this stage, goal setting emerges and actions become purpose driven; purpose is the virtue that develops through a balanced reaction to this crisis. Children also begin to purposefully manipulate objects such as toys by taking them apart, not out of destructiveness, but out of a genuine curiosity. However, if children encounter consistently severe punishment or reprimand for these actions, initiative may decrease and children may become paralyzed with guilt (Muuss, 1996).

A skill that is awakened during this stage and that is used in an increasingly elaborate and abstract fashion throughout the teen and adult years is role taking. It also can provide a powerful clinical tool, such as in Gestalt therapy's "empty chair" technique, or even in the cognitive-behavioral approaches to imagining successful resolutions to a difficult circumstance. It also provides the foundation for the role-taking or perspective-taking skills that are required in late adolescence to experience mutuality and intimacy in relationships (Selman, 1980). From a counseling perspective, role playing allows children to act out negative feelings, which can evoke manageable feelings of inner guilt as the child destroys something loved and needed (J. Erikson, 1988). Winnicott's (1965) *transitional object* phenomenon is an early, developmentally critical example of this need to engage in fantasy to symbolically act out feelings of anger that result from the guilt a child experiences when her or his behavior has threatened the radius of significant relations.

Industry Versus Inferiority

Children across societies receive the instruction and preparation they need to enter and navigate their social and future worlds (E. Erikson, 1959). The child learns that by producing things, he or she is recognized in a positive manner (E. Erikson, 1968). The developmental crisis occurs when the child tries to tolerate both the joy of working hard toward a job well done and the feelings of inadequacy that result from

the inevitable failures that precede the mastery of any skill. An important factor in the outcome of this stage is the ability of significant adults to recognize and emphasize with the positive achievements that the child produces (E. Erikson, 1968).

This technique is central to fostering hope in the counseling relationship. Clients are like children in that when a sense of industry is effectively nurtured, the person will strive for recognition of successfully completed assignments or tasks and will seek out more work, culminating in a feeling of workmanship or competence in her or his abilities (Muuss, 1996). However, the child must internalize feelings of competence in her or his abilities through the attention and accolades of others (for children, of significant adults); but if satisfaction becomes dependent solely on the external feedback of others, feelings of uselessness and inadequacy can overpower feelings of industry. Through this stage, as a result of securing a balance between industry and inferiority, and through the mastery of some but not all available tasks, the virtue of competence emerges (J. Erikson, 1988).

Erik Erikson was one of the first “culturalists,” those psychodynamically oriented theorists who embedded development within a wider culture of intergroup relations. (Two other culturalists are Karen Horney, who described the impact of gender socialization on psychodynamics and development, and Sullivan, who described the way in which anxiety is borne out of close relationships with significant others.) Erik Erikson described most directly how culture informs self-awareness and psychological crisis resolution. For example, when considering the experience of youth of color during this developmental crisis, he suggests that often it is at this point the child “finds out immediately that the color of his skin or the background of his parents rather than his wish and will to learn are the factors that decide his worth as a pupil or apprentice” (1968, p. 125). In this case, the powerful influences of media, social stratification across cultural lines (e.g., seeing no one who looks like you in high prestige jobs), and the often unconscious responses from passersby who convey one’s difference simply by shifting their eyes or clutching their possessions, all threaten to trump the influences of those in one’s radius of significant relations. Both become internalized. Feelings of inferiority are bred not out of the actual trial-and-error performances made toward skill mastery but also by those ascriptions of worth that are unrelated to one’s effort but reflect a caste or lot in life as a function of one’s race, sex, or economic status. Again, Erik Erikson was clear that the experience of each developmental crisis was not just unique to the individual but also differentiated along

the lines of group membership. Counselors must keep this second layer of influence in mind at all times to best and deeply understand their clients.

Erik Erikson also provided examples wherein an overemphasis on industriousness can undermine one's faith and joy in work. Erik Erikson argued that if the child identifies too heavily with his or her industrious side, play and imagination may be sacrificed too early, leading the individual to believe that the only thing that makes him or her worthwhile are others' perceptions of her or his effectiveness in the world of work (E. Erikson, 1968). This proposition foreshadows the concept of a false self that subsequently emerged in several objection relations theories of psychopathology, such as in the work of Sullivan, Kohut, and Winnicott. If one's experience of industry precludes appreciation of it as a process rather than a goal—that is, if productivity remains external and is not internalized as meaningful to the individual—she or he may become beholden to the wishes of others. Surely the Eriksons would have had something to say about the way in which high-stakes testing might adversely affect the development of youth, particularly those in underachieving schools.

Identity Versus Role Confusion

Identity development is the last of the stages that are commonly described almost entirely as if its achievement did not depend upon the youth *signifying* a radius of important others. Of course, the challenges one faces in pursuit of personal identity require sustained effort by the individual to select out her or his uniqueness from the confusion of the many possible values, beliefs, goals, and behavior traits. A reluctance to work actively toward personal identity can result in role diffusion, and such an inability to define oneself can result in a subsequent estrangement and seclusion from others.

There is a temporality, or time-centeredness, involved in this stage that has been absent in the stages up to this point. Youth will explore and reflect upon past, present, and future selves in their attempts to find continuity (Muuss, 1996). Foremost, however, the formation of one's identity requires that youths rely on their peers for guidance and support in their exploration of new values and ideologies (E. Erikson, 1963). That is, while the stage of identity development heralds unprecedented use of emerging skills in abstract thinking (and perspective taking practiced earlier), it is even more so a social process involving others. This is why a sense of fidelity or loyalty becomes the virtue

that is developed at this point—not just a certainty, focus, or commitment to ideas alone but also loyalty to others through one's identification with them. It is partly for this reason that some have argued that intimacy precedes identity and perhaps especially so among girls. The virtue of fidelity becomes ever harder to maintain over time, surprisingly, because of the advances in one's, ability to entertain possible and various ideological perspectives. Fidelity reflects the ability to maintain allegiance despite the contradiction of value systems that emerge over time (E. Erikson, 1964). This is the stage at which decisions must be made about who one is and who one is going to be; but perhaps more difficult, this is a time of choosing with whom one will form an allegiance and from whom one must turn away in order to maintain ideological consistency.

Intimacy Versus Isolation

A reading of many developmental psychology text books might lead one to think Erik Erikson did not see others playing a central role in development after trust is formed and before intimacy is brought to the table. At this point in the young adult's life, finding another person with whom to develop an intimate sexual relationship becomes the goal. Love is the virtue to be developed. An intimate relationship involves sacrifice, compromise, and an ethical strength to commit oneself to a relationship (E. Erikson, 1963). However, in order for one to give her or his complete self to the relationship, there has to be a self to give, just as for one to identify with others in the formation of an identity, there must have developed some interpersonal connections that have been given priority. In other words, the development of identity is crucial in order to successfully navigate this stage of psychosocial development, but identity also was dependent on an earlier form of connectedness. Yet truly intimate relationships involve sharing of one's life, work, goals, and ideologies (J. Erikson, 1988), which require more complex cognitive and identity development than have been present prior to adolescence. For intimacy to occur, cognitive developments such as mature perspective-taking abilities are necessary but not sufficient (Selman, 1980). If identity has not begun to be established, mature love cannot grow because individuals will bring little to the relationship in terms of a unique self. In this case fear of engulfment can occur and the individual may retreat into isolation as has been well described by Kohut (1971) and Winnicott (1965). Clearly, this is not

the first stage in which love has surfaced; however if love was lacking in one's earlier stages, if connectedness at prior stages was weak and insincere, the young adult at this point is likely to disengage from this normative pursuit of connection, choosing solitude instead of intimacy (J. Erikson, 1988).

Generativity Versus Stagnation

The seventh stage of psychosocial development finds a mature adult dealing with the challenge of generativity versus stagnation. The virtue to be developed is care through a broadening concern for what one has created (E. Erikson, 1964). Generativity is the need to selflessly guide the next generation (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; Schlein, 1987). This can be accomplished through either applying this drive to the individual's own offspring or by feeling responsible for the larger society (J. Erikson, 1988). The mature adult wants to be useful and effective, contributing to the world. Adults feel a need to impart their own knowledge and teach younger generations (E. Erikson, 1964). The counterpull of stagnation can occur when the adult focuses internally, ceasing further psychosocial development. The adult falls into a repetitive routine within the social and work worlds, with the only concern and focus being on oneself.

Integrity Versus Despair

The eighth stage of psychosocial development finds an aging adult entering twilight of his or her life. The developmental crisis of this stage is to find a balance between integrity and despair. The virtue to be developed is wisdom based on accumulated knowledge and mature judgment through life (E. Erikson, 1964). As adults reflect upon their lives, one challenge is to appreciate and integrate previous life experiences while minimizing feelings of despair or resentment. However if the adult feels as though her or his life has been wasted, feelings of discontentment can become overwhelming. Despair can not only contaminate the self but also drive away significant others, further strengthening the associations between despair, isolation, and feelings of failure. As an individual reviews her or his life story, the developmentally ideal result is a sense of acceptance and overall integrity for a life well lived. (See Table 7.1 for a summary of the Erikson's developmental sequence.)

TABLE 7.1 A Developmental Sequence in Virtue Development as the Product of the Weaving Tension of Developmental Growth

	Developmental Crises and Resulting Self-Developments	Basic Strengths or Virtues	Radius of Connectedness in Significant Relations
I.	Trust vs. Mistrust	HOPE	Maternal Persons
II.	Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt	WILL	Parental Persons
III.	Initiative vs. Guilt	PURPOSE	Basic Family
IV.	Industry vs. Inferiority	COMPETENCE	Neighborhood, School
V.	Identity vs. Role Confusion	FIDELITY	Peer Groups and Outgroups; Models of Leadership
VI.	Intimacy vs. Isolation	LOVE	Partners in Friendship, Sex, Competition, Cooperation
VII.	Generativity vs. Stagnation	CARE	Divided and Shared Household
VIII.	Integrity vs. Despair	WISDOM	"Mankind" "My Kind"

Note. Adapted from *The Human Life Cycle* (E. Erikson, 1971). Copyright 2005 by Michael Karcher.

Underlying Assumptions of the Theory

Erik Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development include several core assumptions that set the foundation for the larger theory. The first assumption is that although the stages are linear and generally occur at certain ages, rates of progression through the eight stages will vary depending on individuals' internal (i.e., biological) and external (i.e., social and cultural context) circumstances and prior experiences. People continue to develop, in part, because biological changes propel them into new tasks imposed by new contexts and accompanying interpersonal demands. Thus, the stages and their corresponding age ranges are not meant to be restrictive or finite but rather represent the central developmental crises that individuals most commonly deal with at particular points in the life cycle.

A second element of this first assumption about the diversity of developmental pathways is that the residual experiences of past crises reactions as well as the seeds of subsequent developmental crises are present in every stage: Prior crisis resolutions provide the foundation upon which current developmental crises are played out; each crisis reaction and resolution, then, sets the stage for future crises. For example, although individuals in their late twenties and early thirties tend to face head on the developmental crisis of intimacy versus isolation, the residue of trust versus mistrust struggles from earlier stages and the identifications that emerged from the crisis of identity versus role confusion inform how intimacy is approached (e.g., how much trust is bestowed on others) and with whom (typically people consistent with the identifications chosen earlier).

All of which brings us to a second important assumption. Each stage should not be looked at as a success or failure but as a process, the results of which are the strengths and virtues we carry with us (and continue to cultivate) throughout life. It is true that each stage represents a crisis, but it is the individual's ability to strike a balance between the two poles that facilitates growth and development. An individual should and will experience struggles at each stage of her or his psychosocial development. Why? Because like the effect of fire on metal, challenges and strong reactions to each crisis make the resultant resolution and virtues stronger.

The fourth assumption is that life demands constant rebalancing. No crisis resolution is finite and immutable. That the individual finds a balance between the two poles during the initial crisis resolution does not mean that the issues just overcome will not arise again later. New life stages provide multiple opportunities to rework prior crisis resolutions.

The fifth and final assumption that we highlight is not one that stands out in most discussions of the Eriksons' model of psychosocial development, namely, that life is about a weaving back and forth between developmental priorities. Each priority reflects a greater or lesser emphasis on connectedness and individuation, but at no point can the developmental crises that reveal these priorities be seen in isolation from each other. Just as each crisis has a positive and negative reaction, each crisis also reflects the need to establish a balance that leans either more toward connectedness or more toward individuation. Notably, as Selman's model of interpersonal negotiation strategies reveals, as individuals mature, the width of the gap between connection and individuation narrows. Selman and Schultz (1990) suggest that based on how individuals respond to conflict—viz. in terms of

which participant changes or transforms her or his own needs and wants—the person can be characterized as acting in more self-transforming or other-transforming ways. As people mature from their use of egocentrism toward the use of cooperation as interpersonal conflict resolution approaches, these two styles (self- and other-transforming) become less extreme or distinct. Like the Eriksons' stages, which are viewed for the most part as occurring in a predictable sequence, Selman (1980) also presents a series of states in which social cognition, namely perspective-taking abilities, unfold in a predictable fashion across the lifespan. In Selman's final stage of social cognitive maturity, collaborative interpersonal negotiation strategies emerge wherein the self- and other-transforming styles become indistinguishable because collaboration reflects accommodation and assertiveness simultaneously. Similarly, as individuals approach the stages or developmental priorities of generativity and integrity, it becomes hard to determine whether these stages reflect expressions of connection or separation because these priorities reflect both. That is, both models illustrate that as the individual matures, there is a developmental movement toward unity where previously in development there were clearly competing poles and clearly evidenced tension between them.

An assumption we add to those above, all of which can be found easily in the voluminous writings of the Eriksons—an assumption that we think has been less commonly reflected in prior writings on the Eriksons' theory—is the importance of connectedness as a propeller of the better known self-developments: industry, initiative, and identity. Yet when one takes seriously the role of the “radius of significant relations” that accompanies each of these developmental priorities for individuation, it becomes clear that connectedness and individuation or self-developments go hand-in-hand. For this reason, much as Kegan (1982) has described in *The Evolving Self*, we have arranged the Eriksons' stages figuratively.

In Figure 7.1 the stages are arranged two dimensionally rather than in their usual linear fashion. In this figure, the second dimension is that of the continuum between connectedness and self-developments reflecting the developmental priorities of individuation. The width of the spiral illustrates the distinctiveness of connectedness and individuation at these points in development, with the smallest gap being at the start and end of life. In other words, in this life cycle the individual is most “at odds” with herself or him toward the early middle of life when the tension between self and connectedness developments are most in conflict. This time in the life cycle also may be when the internal experience of

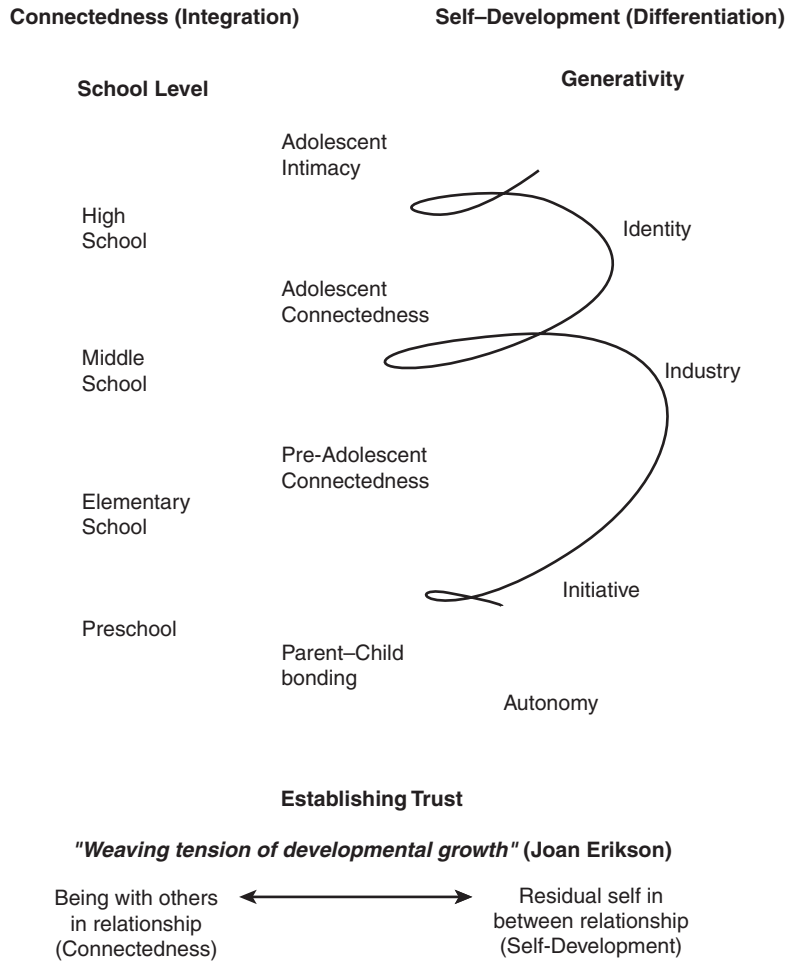


FIGURE 7.1 A Figural Representation of the “Weaving Tension of Developmental Growth” Copyright 2005 by Michael Karcher

tension and developmental imbalance are most different between men and women. In the Eriksons’ work, it seems that the male experience has been given priority and has been held out as the main example, which has sometimes been viewed as either the only or the most important way in which the self and connectedness developmental tension is experienced. This is unfortunate, because their framework clearly affords an application to how both men and women deal with the different

social and biological forces that bear on this developmental crisis. It is perhaps for this reason that Eriksons' framework of developmental tension between self and connectedness is elaborated on by Kegan and has also been used by Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule to give voice to the unique expression of this tension for women in *Women's Ways of Knowing* (1986). Works of others at the Stone Center and that of Carol Gilligan also explore this tension.

The Role of the Eriksons' Theory of Human Development in Counseling and Supervision

Erik Erikson's theory has been used at times as a lens for examining the developing individual's life in relative isolation in terms of individual achievements—for example, to say what stage the *individual* is at or that *she or he* successfully resolved a developmental crisis. We believe, however, that he did not intend for it to be used in that way. Only by embedding one's understanding of another person within the "radius of their significant relations" (as the Eriksons called it in *Insight and Responsibility*) and then placing the totality of these relations within their sociocultural, gendered, and historical context can a full understanding be approximated.

For these reasons, no intervention, counseling, consulting, or other help is likely to take hold unless it directly or indirectly affects that web of connections within the client's radius of significant relations. Joan Erikson (1988) suggests "if any intervention can break the *dullness of the graying pattern*, it will be the experience of an intimate relationship. Only by means of such a genuine mutuality can empathy slowly retrieve some of the lost vitality of the insecure basic strengths" (p. 99).

What form of intimate relationship develops between the counselor and client, or in what manner a counselor is able to help facilitate meaningful and intimate relationships for the client outside the therapeutic relationship, varies according to intervention structure and goals. The intimate relationship may be the client-counselor relationship. It may be the relationship that forms within a counseling group or the family relationships that are made more meaningful through family counseling. But from an ecological perspective, the counselor also can work in a consulting or supervisory role with people whose role it is to establish strong, meaningful, and intimate relationships with others, such as the teacher with a student, a boss with her staff, or a mentor with her mentee.

Kerry, Sam's Mentor

Sharon is a school counselor at an urban middle school in a large metropolitan area. She has been at the same school for five years and has been a school counselor for eight years, after four years as an elementary school teacher. In her graduate studies in school counseling, she became interested in the lifespan model written by the Eriksons and wrote her thesis on its use in school counseling. Although her thesis focused on how teachers' developmental crises may interact with their students' crises and how she could use the Eriksons' model to help facilitate teacher–student relationships, currently she is experiencing a supervision challenge she did not anticipate.

In the fall, Sharon set up a school-based mentoring program at her school in which she invites adults working in local businesses, retirees, and both college and graduate students to work one hour a week with her middle school students. Sharon enlisted all of the known mentoring best practices and created a strong program. For example, she spends two hours with potential mentors training them, provides them a one-hour school orientation, and makes available ongoing training. She, of course, has the school run background checks on potential mentors, but she also uses innovative procedures to match mentors with mentees, makes available a variety of academic and recreational activities for the mentors and their mentees to engage in, and maintains regular contact with the mentors and mentees to monitor the development of their relationship. It is in this last capacity, as a supervisor of mentors, that Sharon has found the Eriksons' model particularly useful.

Kerry is a mentor working at Sharon's school once a week with Sam. Sam is a Latino youth who has average grades at school, is social and well accepted by peers, but who is at risk for involvement in local gangs. While Sam has fairly good relationships with teachers at school, he has more contact, time-wise, with older teens in his neighborhood who discourage his afterschool involvement in homework or extracurricular sports. Having an older brother who is a member of a gang, and to whom Sam looks up, creates a considerable challenge to dissuading Sam from spending time with kids in his neighborhood who are involved in gang activities.

This problem has risen to the foreground in Kerry's mentoring relationship with Sam. While Kerry spends much of her effort trying to engage Sam in instrumental or goal-oriented mentoring activities and conversations, such as about the value of a high school diploma, the

benefits of participating in school-sponsored sports, and the benefits of being successful in school, Kerry feels the constant pull on Sam's attention from the world he encounters after school each day.

Sam is from a large family. His mother works two jobs and Sam does not know his father. Sam does not participate in any youth clubs or religious organization, and does not have any particularly strong connections with teachers at school. Given this absence of other adult role models in Sam's life, Kerry feels particularly responsible for providing guidance to Sam that will help redirect his attention away from gang activities and potential membership. Using the Hemingway Measure of Adolescent Connectedness (Karcher, 2003; Karcher, Holcomb, & Zambrano, in press) as a screening tool to assess the degrees of connectedness Sam reports across his radius of significant relations, Sharon has found that Sam has high levels of connectedness to peers and far less connectedness to teachers, which is a sign that Sam is more engaged outside school than to school and relies more on peer relationships to shape his inchoate, developing identity. His connectedness to school, however, is high, suggesting that strengthened relations with adults at school may be what could benefit him most.

Although Sam reports a healthy sense of competence both in his neighborhood and at school, Sam grapples with the burden of choosing a path: join a gang or become more involved with school activities. His loyalties are constantly being questioned and tested by peer and adult influences. Sam struggles to choose one world to which he can assign his loyalty and experience the virtue of fidelity resulting in identity development. Sam sees Kerry as a positive influence in his life but is uncomfortable with the pace and depth of their relationship. Thus at this point, Kerry may actually be jeopardizing Sam's commitment to a better life.

Through their weekly discussions, Sharon has discovered that Kerry has become emotionally overinvolved, attempting to serve a savior role in Sam's life. It is spring. The school year is winding down. With summer looming and threatening to further expose Sam to unsupervised time with friends and "associates" in his neighborhood, Kerry has become anxious and almost obsessed with protecting and caring for Sam. This has become most problematic in that Kerry has talked about wanting to meet with Sam regularly over the summer. She even discussed taking Sam to the beach for a few weeks in the summer to help get him out of his neighborhood. But Kerry has not discussed any of this with Sam's mother, and summer contact outside of the school is not condoned or sanctioned by the parameters of Sharon's school-based mentoring

program. Sharon is faced with the task of enforcing the rules of the mentoring program without offending Kerry and jeopardizing the supportive presence of Kerry in Sam's life. What Sharon has noticed through her discussions with Kerry is that there is a dearth of other significant, important relationships in Kerry's life, such that Sam seems to be the most significant person in her life at this time. Kerry seems to focus on Sam's life and struggles to such an extent that she neglects her own social life and interpersonal relationships.

Kerry works at a local television station as a news anchor. She is known by virtually everyone in the community, but she has virtually no friendships and has never mentioned involvement in a romantic relationship. Although Kerry is a very interesting person with lots of interests and a clear sense of who she is professionally, interpersonally Kerry is hard to profile. Her connectedness with others seems only surface deep, not superficial, but simply not given enough time to allow her relationships with others to mature and provide meaning in her life.

One final element of this situation is that Sharon knows that if this mentoring relationship works out, Kerry is likely to encourage others at the station to mentor youth, and there is the possibility that the station might even run a service announcement that could bring even more mentors to Sharon's school. So Sharon has many reasons to want to make this match work out well.

As Sharon begins to think seriously about how best to reach out to Kerry, she turns to the materials in Kerry's mentor application. Because Sharon once read that high scores on generativity measurements may contribute to longer-lasting, more meaningful mentoring relationships, Sharon has each mentor who applies complete the Loyola Generativity Scale (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992) and the Measures of Psychosocial Development (MPD; Garbarino, Gaa, Swank, McPherson, & Gratch, 1995), which provide an assessment of dimensions of generativity and levels of successful crisis resolution for each stage (rather than providing a "level" of development). In Kerry's case, it appears that she has a solid foundation in her developmental history relating to the tasks of industry and identity development, but her strength of the virtues of love and care seem to have been hampered by her prior avoidance of challenge and exploration in romantic relationships. This underdeveloped experience of intimacy now seems to be undermining her ability to develop the virtue of caring, that is, of exploiting her desire for generativity. Kerry's efforts to master a form of caring that is not rooted in her own intimacy needs seem to be inhibiting her ability to step back from her mentoring relationship and see how her own history and

developmental needs may be contributing to her assessment of what she must do to be “a good mentor.”

Thus far in Sharon’s supervision of Kerry, she has found Kerry most receptive to the Eriksons’ theoretical constructs, but these have all been understood by Kerry in terms of how the constructs explain Sam’s situation and developmental needs, not her own. Kerry seems to really understand and appreciate that Sam is struggling with his own inchoate movements toward the establishment of a consistent identity. Sam has developed both academic and social skills through a successful period in which industry strivings led him to explore all of his options for skill development. Kerry also sees that, while Sam’s mother is not currently available, when Sam was younger he had strong, consistent, positive experiences within his early maternal and family relationships. Thus it is easy for Kerry to see present in Sam the virtues of hope, will, purpose, and competence. Kerry understood well when Sharon used the Eriksons’ model to explain the elements of Sam’s success efforts to develop a balance between identity and role confusion. Kerry could see how Sam was wrestling to view himself consistently across his worlds and how, feeling the developmental imperative to experience fidelity in his relationships across contexts, Sam has come to feel the need to become either a good student or a connected member of the “associations” in his neighborhood.

Kerry is not devoid of insight into her own processes, but she struggles to see how her own need to experience love through successfully balancing intimacy and isolation experiences is playing into her mentoring relationship. For example, when Sharon was explaining the striving for identity versus role confusion that Sharon thought Sam might be experiencing, Kerry could connect this to her own career choices and see how making those decisions helped firm up her own sense of self. But Kerry was less able to see how her identity crisis resolution occurred, in part, through her identification with others and specifically the peer groups that defined her identity. Kerry, not experiencing much closeness or affiliation with others at work, saw her identity as a news anchor defined by a set of tasks, skills, and duties. She downplayed the meaning of her affiliation with others in the field of broadcasting, and she did not see how her choice of career also led her to experience isolation from people in other arenas in her life. She did not connect how her career left her little time to spend with family, nor did she link it to her severed relationships with her teammates in college when she abandoned her goal of becoming a professional athlete for broadcasting.

Most striking was Kerry's inability to see how a lack of intimacy in her current life might be contributing to her deeply felt urgency in terms of "saving" Sam. Kerry understood Sam's relationship with his mom might help serve to buffer him from deepening involvement with his older brother's associates, but she did not see how such relationships contributed to her own mental health and psychosocial development.

Sharon asked Kerry if she could try to provide Kerry some more personal insights into the mentoring relationship by discussing the assessments Kerry had completed as part of her application. Kerry agreed, and Sharon began a discussion of the nature of their supervision by assuring confidentiality regarding what was discussed. Following this, Sharon began to ask Kerry about her experiences related to identity and intimacy in the past and more recently. Over the course of two meetings, Kerry shared that she had grown up in a tough neighborhood in Philadelphia where her first love was Lucas, a boy who was actively involved in gangs. He remained involved with gang activity in Philadelphia after Sharon left for college. Through later communications with mutual friends, Sharon learned that Lucas may have been shot and killed during gang activities. Sharon never sought confirmation of Lucas' death, but she related a series of other hostile, aggressive interpersonal relationships she had in high school and later in college; Kerry commented that she lost trust in people as a result of those experiences. She especially lost trust in men through some unpleasant experiences in college and explained that since then she has just focused on her work. Through discussions with Kerry about the lack of intimate relationships in her life, Sharon helped Kerry see her self-imposed isolation and deep desire for intimacy.

As Sharon helped Kerry apply the tenets of Erik and Joan Eriksons' theory to her life and relationship with Sam, Kerry became clearer about how she was trying to meet multiple developmental needs of her own in her work with Sam. She could see how her own intimacy needs were affecting her own resolutions of identity and generativity strivings. Feeling incomplete interpersonally, Kerry experienced intimacy vicariously by seeing herself as Sam's savior, even as a secondary maternal figure for him. Kerry could see how her own failing to experience love resulted in a lack of intimate relationships throughout her adult life, inhibiting her ability to genuinely give that love back to society through caring for others like Sam. She was not able to achieve a sense of herself as generative because she worried that if she could not save Sam then she was a failure. All this underscored that above all Kerry was getting her

intimacy needs met through her intense, personal, and involved dialogues and interactions with Sam. In that light, Kerry could see both how taking Sam on a trip over the summer met her needs more than his and could be seen as inappropriate.

Summary: How the Eriksons' Theory Helps Counselors Mentor the Mentor

Joan and Erik Eriksons' theory of human development charts a stage-wise progression in human development in relationships across the lifespan. The Eriksons placed primary emphasis on charting how individuals manage developmental tasks and relational demands in context. Best known are the self-developments of industry, identity, and generativity that Erik Erikson described. Yet these constructs do not fully capture the true role of social and cultural processes in the theory of psychological development that the Eriksons pioneered. Their theory addresses the psychosocial demands placed upon us and our development from birth to death in response to changing interpersonal situations, all of which are embedded within a radius of relationships with significant others. Therefore, we have described their theory as best characterized by the weaving tension of human growth in relationships and the resulting tension between needs for connectedness and for individuation that Joan articulated in her book *Wisdom and the Senses* (1988).

Viewed from this perspective, the Eriksons' theory provides a unique lens for the work of counselors, from those in community settings working with adults to those counselors in schools who try to bridge the lives of children and adults through child-focused interventions. In the case study, a school counselor helped mentor a school-based mentor using the core principles of the Eriksons' theory. The counselor helped the mentor, Kerry, understand her own inability to achieve a satisfactory balance between intimacy and isolation in her own life. This allowed Kerry to comprehend her own intense feelings about Sam. She gained a greater ability to stand back and observe her relationship with Sam as but one of several positive adult influences in his life. She was better able to see that regardless of *his* choices, she was not a failure if Sam did not succeed in school or go to college. On a more positive note, a full examination of Kerry's own developmental achievements, crisis resolutions, and experiences from the vantage of the Eriksons' sequence of virtues helped her reflect back on the important role her own family and adult mentors had in facilitating her own hope, will, purpose, competence, and identity. Through an introduction and application of the Eriksons' theory by the counselor, Kerry better understood that she would need to achieve a

greater sense of intimacy with others if she was to fully exploit her own trust and initiative in mature, interpersonal relationships with others. This development in relationships, and more specifically relationships embedded within a given culture at a given time in history, is the legacy of the Eriksons that may prove to be the most lasting.

Annotated Bibliography

On Theory Validation

Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing*. New York: Basic Books.

This book details the Eriksons' theory as it applies uniquely to the lives of women, in part by extending the model presented by Kegan (1982) wherein the processes of separation, individuation, and connection across the lifespan are considered key developmental catalysts. This book also builds on the work of Gilligan (1988), who has highlighted the primacy of relationship and connection in the psychosocial development of women.

Kegan, R. (1982). *The evolving self: Problem and process in human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Robert Kegan's work extends the Eriksons' work and integrates it with several other developmental theories to illustrate the processes of separation and individuation throughout the life cycle, but it is unique in its inclusion of connection and intimacy as key developmental processes as well. The "wind tunnel" diagram we present in Figure 7.1 elaborates on Kegan's model. This diagram illustrates how the Eriksons' work typically has been used to detail the processes of individuation. However, Kegan does a wonderful job of showing how these developmental priorities of intimacy and autonomy, which vary systematically and predictably across the lifespan, manifest in people's self-understanding, career choice, and interpersonal challenges. Kegan has gone on to write about the application of this theory to groups, to the workplace, and to adult development more specifically. These works provide a nice illustration of the influence the Eriksons' work has had on later theorizing.

Ochse, R., & Plug, C. (1986). Cross-cultural investigation of the validity of Erikson's theory of personality development. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 50, 1240–1252.

These authors created a self-report measure of Erik Erikson's model of personality development. The focus of the article, beyond reporting on measurement development, is to suggest that individuals' sex and race may play a role in the timing of identity resolution. For example, in this study of South Africans, White women resolved their identity crisis earliest, and Black men the latest. They also found evidence of greater experiences of

intimacy among women than among men, which is an assumption made in our chapter as well.

Sorell, G. T., & Montgomery, M. J. (2001). Feminist perspectives on Erikson's theory: Their relevance for contemporary identity development research. *Identity, 1*, 97–128.

The authors of this article, as well as the three experts who subsequently comment on this essay in their own commentaries (found in the same journal, volume 2), do a nice job of placing the Eriksons' work within its sociopolitical context. They critique the emphasis of biology in the biopsychosocial model, but recognize it reflects to some extent Erik Erikson's debt to Freud. More importantly, perhaps, is their effort to highlight androcentrism in the Eriksons' work. The Eriksons' work provides, at times, an overly male-centered perspective on human development. It is this autonomous, separation-focused aspect of the Eriksons' theory that we have tried hard to counter in our chapter by merging the work of both Eriksons.

On Eriksonian Measurements for Use in Counseling

Kowaz, A. M., & Marcia, J. E. (1991). Development and validation of a measure of Eriksonian industry. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 60*, 390–397.

Marcia is a key researcher of identity theory, and this work focuses squarely on the stage of identity. Although the measure that was developed for this study has not been used much subsequent to this publication, the article does a nice job of both illustrating the essential elements of measurement validation and of teasing apart the underlying construct of industry in the Eriksons' model.

McAdams, D. P., & de St. Aubin, E. (1992). A theory of generativity and its assessment through self-report, behavioral acts, and narrative themes in autobiography. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 62*, 1003–1015.

This article is useful in that it provides both a theoretical extension of Erik Erikson's generativity construct and a measure. The psychometric properties of the Loyola Generativity Scale are reported, and interesting findings are presented (e.g., that fathers reported greater generativity than men who had not fathered children). The article is important in that it provides a definition of generativity with greater specificity than had existed previously. Namely, the authors suggest it includes a cultural demand, an inner desire, generative concern, belief in the species, commitment, generative action, and personal narration, each of which is detailed in the article.

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7*, 156–176.

Jean Phinney changed the landscape of ethnic and intergroup understanding by taking Erik Erikson's identity development processes and using them

as a lens through which to view ethnic identity. This scale has been used frequently in studies that attempt to examine how a youth's stage of ethnic identity exploration may relate to psychological phenomenon, such as depression and self-esteem, and behavioral correlates of ethnic identity, including academic achievement and affiliation with their own and different ethnic groups. The stages of identity exploration, moratorium, and achievement can be better understood by learning how Phinney applies these Eriksonian terms to the processes of ethnic identity.

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