A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF IDENTITY FORMATION

AND VOCATIONAL CHOICE IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

by

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# CHAPTER I

## THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Man's work occupies a prominent place in his life and has pervasive influences. It may require eight hours out of twenty-four, five days out of seven, fifty weeks out of fifty-two, fifty years out of seventy. Man's work may prescribe the circle of his friends and associates, affect his leisure time, limit his interests, curtail his aspirations, influence his political affiliations, and set the boundaries of his culture.[1]

If a man cannot "be himself" on his job, he has lost a major segment of his life. If his work is not congenial, if he does not seem to "fit," it is very likely that he has thereby lost many significant satisfactions in life and that his personal adjustments will be inadequate.

Since man's work involves so much, not only in time and effort, but also in the fulfillment of his very self, it is little wonder that it has been regarded by some as the "implementation of a self-concept."[2] The influences which impinge upon one's self may bear directly upon one's work and vice versa. It seems expedient, therefore, that the factors which underlie effective vocational choice be made the subject of serious study.

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[1] Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 293.

[2] Ibid.

# I. THE PROBLEM

## Statement of the Problem

It was the purpose of this investigation to examine some of the interrelationships between one's self and his work. The particular area of investigation involved the study of identity formation as it relates to vocational choice in late adolescence. Or, expressed in another way, the purpose was to show how the task of making a vocational decision in late adolescence brings to the fore problems in identity formation. The combination of identity with vocational choice is important because the forming of an identity, an integral part of the developmental process, comes into focus during late adolescence. Since this period is often the time for making decisive vocational commitments, problems in making an identity are frequently seen as difficulties in choosing a vocation.[3]

It seemed logical to hypothesize that before a person can make a meaningful public declaration saying, "This is who I am," by the choice of his occupation, he must first be able to make a meaningful private declaration within himself saying, "This is who I am," by having a firm grasp on his own identity. If, however, his idea of self is unstable, unsolidified, distorted, and contains many unconscious elements, such a declaration is particularly difficult.[4] It is often at this very point

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[3] M. David Galinsky and Irene Fast, "Vocational Choice as a Focus of the Identity Search," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 13:89, Spring, 1966.

[4] Ibid.

of internal inability to make such a statement that some individuals are immobilized in vocational decisions. Even though many in late adolescence may seek to avoid such declarations of themselves, they are painfully aware that it is being demanded of them. The ensuing incompatibility may result in much discomfort.

## The Scope and Limitations of the Problem

The problem was approached by attempting to find some logical, working relationships between Erik Erikson's psychosocial developmental theory and Donald Super's self-concept vocational theory. It was anticipated that the two were mutually complementary and that their juxtapositioning would yield some fruitful implications for vocational counseling.

The orientation of the study was toward the psychoanalytic point of view, as modified by Erikson. This meant that the approach was not from the classical Freudian standpoint, but tended toward the neo-Freudian, ego-psychology school of thought. Many of Freud's traditional concepts were used, such as the influence of the unconscious, the psychosexual stages, the id, superego, ego, and others. The new dimension of the active, exploratory character of the ego processes was added. The ego is not considered just a "passive uncertain monitor of a chaotic impulse life," but it has goal-striving energies of its own. It is an active explorer and organizer of reality. It can operate within its own "conflict-free" areas. It can exercise autonomy, reach outwardly in self-realization, and be responsive to the environment.

Erikson's point of view might be described as psychoanalytic neo-Freudianism reorganized in the light of anthropological and social findings. This view brought with it into the study a necessary and important expansive foundation on which to build and to compare. It allowed for a climate in which the origins of identity formation may be investigated in the light of the developmental process. It equally allowed for the workings of the processes of socialization and environmental pressures to be brought to bear upon the individual. It did not introduce,as a primary concern, traditional psychoanalysis necessitating hours on the doctor's couch probing the unconscious. It, however, was so adapted as to be geared to practical vocational problems encountered in the counselor's office.[5]

## The Importance of the Study

Theories of vocational choice may tend toward superficiality unless they are undergirded by a strong theoretical base. Even Super's well-developed theory, tends in this direction. He is often very close to promoting a matching game (similar to Frank Parsons' approach) between a hypothetical "real" self and an imagined "ideal" self. He, along with others who emphasize the self-concept and self-actualization, seems to have a near-moral belief that man has the capacity to "make and remake

[5]Raymond C. Hummel, "Ego-Counseling in Guidance," Guidance An Examination, Ralph L. Mosher, Richard R. Carle, and Chris D. Kehas, editors (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1965), p. 87.

himself as he grows toward perfection."[6]

Erikson's approach helps supplement the self-concept area. His view is persuasive, not so much for its optimism, as it is for its comprehensiveness. He shares some of Freud's regard for the underlying drives, instincts, and unconscious motivations which exist within man— a regard which Super has not so fully joined. But in addition to this, he adds the social arena as being significant. By this unique combination, he has been enabled to point out certain personality "structures" through which the developmental experiences are related. He has thus attempted to show how these psychosocial stages influence human choice and action at any given moment of time. The self-concept theorists, on the other hand, tend to emphasize the "right kind of relationship" as being the panacea for adjustment. However, they have not adequately conceptualized the details of their "process of experiencing."[7]

Though Super espouses concepts in vocational theory, it appears advantageous to link Super's theory of vocational development to Erikson's theory of psychosocial development. The combination of the two would tend to yield not only clarification in the area of vocational choice, but also a more balanced view of man. The view would not be completely engulfed in the Freudian approach regarding the human condition, nor would it be overly optimistic as to human potentiality. It would present a view of

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[6] _Ibid._, p. 88.

[7] _Ibid._

man as both animalistic and humanistic. Such a view of man would, in turn, have an influence on counseling theory.

## The Organization of the Problem

The problem of identity formation and vocational choice was approached in the following sequence: (1) the presentation of Erikson's psychosocial stages and the epigenetic principle; (2) the focusing upon the identity crisis as it is manifested in late adolescence; (3) the way identity formation influences vocational choice; (4) some implications which are appropriate for vocational counseling practice; and (5) a summary and a concluding statement.

## II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

### Identity Formation

Superficially, identity formation may be called "the creation of a more or less integrated sense of self."[8] But its use in this paper was within the confines of Erikson's definition and not by popular definition. It might better be called the process of acquiring an ego-identity. Many have used the term "identity" in many different ways. For some it means little more than a firm self-concept. However, Erikson means much more than this.

Ego-identity, according to Cumming, is a "harmonious relationship . . . successful alignment of basic drives, individual endowments, and the

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[8] Galinsky and Fast, loc. cit.

situation--that is, of the impulse life, the synthetic and executive

portions of the ego and the opportunities of the situation."[9] A harmony

of these elements would allow the individual to maintain a sense of con-

tinuity, both of himself and of the situation. When he achieves this

harmony, the person has, according to Erikson, "the accured confidence

that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity (one's

ego in the psychological sense) is matched by the sameness and continuity

of one's meaning for others."[10]

As viewed from its crisis point in late adolescence, it is

defined by Erikson as being the integration taking place which is

. . . more than the sum of childhood identifications. It is
the inner capital accured from all those experiences of each succes-
sive stage, when successful identifications led to a successful align-
ment of the individual's basic drives with his endowment and his oppor-
tunities.[11]

Such a successful "alignment" is due to "ego synthesis." The

ego values thus arrived at in childhood, culminate in a "sense of identity."

This means that if self-esteem can be confirmed at the end of

each major developmental crisis, then there grows a conviction within the

child that one is learning effective steps toward a tangible future (or

"career"). He learns also that he is developing a personality with

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[9] John Cumming, Ego and Milieu--Theory and Practice of Environ-
mental Therapy (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), pp. 18-19.

[10] Erik H. Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality,"
Psychological Issues. "Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers by
Erik H. Erikson, Monograph 1, 1:89, 1959.

[11] Ibid.

meaning to himself and to others.  It is important that, at every step,
the child derives a "vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that
his individual way of mastering experience is a successful variant of
the way other people around him master experience and recognize such
mastery."[12]

## Vocational Choice

Vocational choice was utilized in the sense of many choices
on a continuum of development.  It followed Super's view that vocational
choice is a process, not a point.  It is a development, not a once-for-
all irrevocable commitment.  However, the word "choice" is retained in
the title because it connotes a "commitment" (albeit any number of them)
which the late adolescent is forced to face again and again.  It carries
the idea of a point or points to be crossed, possibly under great stress.

The word "vocational" was used as being synonymous with such
words as occupation, job, work, and career.  Vocational was perferred
because it had overtones of a "calling."  This was not to be taken in
the religious sense, but in the sense of a certain peculiar suitability
which each individual has in the world of work due to his outcome in the
psychosocial stages.

The word vocational was found appropriate, also, because if one's
occupation is an attempt to implement a self-concept, and if it is an
attempted objectification of one's inner identity, then one's work becomes

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[12]Ibid.

a unique, expressive living-out of what one inwardly is. In this sense it may be thought of as a kind of <u>vacatio</u>—"a calling."

## Late Adolescence

This report was primarily limited to the stage of life called late adolescence. The term intended to span a broad range from about age eighteen through age twenty-five. It, thus, may extend into what may be designated as young adulthood. The beginning and terminal ages were not thought as being accurate, but only approximations.

Late adolescence in our society was conceived as being that period when most young people have either dropped out of school, graduated from high school, or entered some type of work or post-high school training. This period of time appeared to be a time of radical transition and adjustment, both by way of the internal demands for making an identity and of the external social pressures to make decisive commitments.

# CHAPTER II

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDENTITY FORMATION AS FOUND
## IN ERIKSON'S PSYCHOSOCIAL STAGES

If vocational choice in late adolescence is one of the major expressions of an identity concern, then it is of primary importance to understand identity. But since identity is an integral part of a developmental process, it then becomes necessary to investigate the process as it contributes to identity formation.

It was the purpose of this chapter to help provide the adequate background necessary for a clearer comprehension of the future adolescent with his concomitant problems of identity and vocational choice. The chapter sought to probe the developmental process involved in identity formation and apply some of its implications to vocational choice in late adolescence.

The following areas were explored in the chapter: (1) the importance of childhood, (2) Erikson's Eight Ages of Man, (3) a description of the individual psychosocial stages, and (4) a concluding summary.

## I. CHILDHOOD IS IMPORTANT

### Early Origins are Important

The origins of identity formation reach back into the child's earliest experiencing of bodily sensation and his first dealing with growth and separation. Erikson took childhood seriously. His writings

reiterated many times the simple, but often overlooked fact that "every adult, whether he is a follower or a leader, a member of a mass or of an elite, was once a child."[1] He pointed out the fact clearly when he stated:

> . . . students of history continue to ignore the simple fact that all individuals are born by mothers; that everybody was once a child; that people and peoples begin in their nurseries; and that society consists of individuals in the process of developing from children into parents.[2]

## The Struggle against Smallness

The truth that man was once small, forms a sense of smallness, a substratum in his mind, that is indelibly impressed. His entire life struggle seems to be an attempt to go from smallness to bigness. Erikson pointed out that "his triumphs will be measured against this smallness, his defeats will substantiate it."[3] Humans have a long childhood. Civilized humans have an even longer childhood. Such a long childhood may make a man into a mental and technical giant or it may leave him an emotional cripple with a lifelong residue of immaturity. Erikson bemoaned the fact that we must begin with the beginning when we know so little about beginnings.[4]

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[1] Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (second edition, revised and enlarged; New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1963), p. 404.

[2] Erik H. Erikson, "Ego Development and Historical Change," Psychological Issues, "Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers by Erik H. Erikson," 1:18, 1959.

[3] Erikson, Childhood and Society. loc. cit.

[4] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op. cit., p. 64.

## II.   ERIKSON'S EIGHT AGES OF MAN

### The Epigenetic Principle

The emphasis which Erikson placed upon the importance of childhood was illustrated by his statement of the epigenetic principle. In this statement he conceived of human personality growth as a series of epigenetic developmental stages (or "ages"). He defined the epigenetic principle as follows:

> . . . 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 function-
> ing whole . . . . Personality can be said to develop according to
> steps predetermined in the human organism's readiness to be driven
> toward, to be aware of, and to interact with, a widening social
> radius, beginning with the dim image of a mother and ending with
> mankind. . . .[5]

Erikson hypothesized that there are inner laws of development which, if followed, will, as he stated, "create a succession of poten-tialities for significant interaction." This interaction must remain within the "proper rate and the proper sequence which govern the growth of a personality as well as that of an organism."[6]

### The "Eight Ages of Man"

In the "Eight Ages of Man," Erikson outlined the sequence of the phases of psychosocial development and related them to psychosexual epi-

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[5]Ibid., p. 52.

[6]Ibid.

genesis.[7] Thus, he laid the groundwork for his study of ego epigenesis.
The sequence of the phases parallels that of libido development and goes
beyond it, spanning the whole life cycle.[8] In this attempt, Erikson was
unique. He even encompassed those phases of the life cycle which are
customarily subsumed under the single concept of genital maturity.[9]

Rapaport in his "Historical Introduction" to Erikson's works
stated:

> Each phase of the life cycle is characterized by a phase-specific
> developmental task which must be solved in it, though this solution
> is prepared in the previous phases and is worked out further in sub-
> sequent ones. Each phase is described in terms of the extremes of
> successful and unsuccessful solutions which can be arrived at in it,
> though in reality the outcome is a balance between these extremes.[10]

In order for a child to acquire a strong and healthy ego identity,
he must receive consistent, meaningful recognition of his achievements and
accomplishments in each developmental task. If the ratio between the two
possible outcomes is satisfactory, then a positive quality is built into
the ego and further healthy development can take place. But if conflicts
persist or are not satisfactorily resolved, then the ego is damaged and
negative qualities are incorporated into the ego.[11]

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[7] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., pp. 247-74.

[8] Erikson, "Ego Development and Historical Change," op. cit., p. 14.

[9] Ibid., p. 15.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Rolf E. Muuss, Theories of Adolescence (New York: Random House,
1964), p. 35.

<u>The Epigenetic Chart</u>

Figure 1 presents Erikson's epigenetic chart with the crises to be resolved in each stage.[12] The Appendix Figure is a worksheet which gives additional material.[13] The double-lined squares in Figure 1 represent the normative sequence of psychosocial gains. Above the diagonal there is space for the precursors of each of these solutions, all of which begin with the beginning. Below the diagonal there is space for the derivatives of these gains.

The underlying assumptions of such a charting are: (1) the human personality develops according to the epigenetic principle; (2) society, in principle, tends to invite and safeguard these potentialities and encourage them in the proper rate and sequence of enfolding.[14]

The diagram formalizes, as Erikson said, "a progression through time of a differentiation of parts."[15] He indicated that in this regard,

(1) that each item of the healthy personality . . . is <u>system-atically related to all others</u>, and that they all depend on the <u>proper development in the proper sequence of each item</u>; and (2) that each item exists <u>in</u> some form before "its" decisive and critical time normally arrives.[16]

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[12] Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," <u>Psychological Issues</u>, "Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers by Erik H. Erikson," 1:120, 1959.

[13] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 166.

[14] Erikson, <u>Childhood and Society</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 270.

[15] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," <u>op. cit</u>., p. 54.

[16] <u>Ibid</u>.

| | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. INFANCY | Trust vs. Mistrust | | | | Unipolarity vs. Premature Self-Differentiation | | | |
| II. EARLY CHILDHOOD | | Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt | | | Bipolarity vs. Autism | | | |
| III. PLAY AGE | | | Initiative vs. Guilt | | Play Identification vs. (oedipal) Fantasy Identities | | | |
| IV. SCHOOL AGE | | | | Industry vs. Inferiority | Work Identification vs. Identity Foreclosure | | | |
| V. ADOLESCENCE | Time Perspective vs. Time Diffusion | Self-Certainty vs. Identity Consciousness | Role Experimentation vs. Negative Identity | Anticipation of Achievement vs. Work Paralysis | Identity vs. Identity Diffusion | Sexual Identity vs. Bisexual Diffusion | Leadership Polarization vs. Authority Diffusion | Ideological Polarization vs. Diffusion of Ideals |
| VI. YOUNG ADULT | | | | | Solidarity vs. Social Isolation | Intimacy vs. Isolation | | |
| VII. ADULTHOOD | | | | | | | Generativity vs. Self-Absorption | |
| VIII. MATURE AGE | | | | | | | | Integrity vs. Disgust, Despair |

FIGURE 1

ERIKSON'S EPIGENETIC CHART OF PSYCHOSOCIAL STAGES, WITH OTHER OUTCOMES ADDED

Each phase comes to its ascendance, meets its crisis, and finds its solution toward the end of the stage. Though each stage may be studied separately, its study must always be kept with the total configuration in mind.[17] The psychosocial development proceeds by critical steps, called "crisis points." They are called "critical" because they are characteristic of turning points, of moments of decision, between progress and regression, integration and retardation.[18]

In considering the chart, a note of caution needs to be sounded. The chart is not an achievement scale. The negative outcomes of each stage must be kept in dynamic tension with the positive ones throughout life. Nothing "achieved" is impervious to new inner conflicts. The personality is engaged with the hazards of existence continuously, even as the body's metabolism copes with decay.[19] The chart is only a tool to think with and not a prescription for exact methods of child training or psychotherapy, though applications can certainly be made in these areas.

### III. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL STAGES

An Introduction

After the presentation of the nature of the total configuration of the psychosocial stages as parts interrelated to the whole, the next

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[17] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 272.

[18] Ibid., p. 34.

[19] Ibid., p. 274.

goal was to consider each of the stages separately. In each presen-
tation an attempt was made to do the following: (1) give a description
of the stage, and (2) find any implications which might relate to identity
formation and vocational choice in late adolescence. Figure 1, page 15,
was followed in the progression from stage to stage.

## Trust versus Mistrust (Stage I)

The first component of the healthy personality is trust.
It is an attitude toward oneself and the world derived from the experiences
of the first year. By "trust" Erikson meant a "reasonable trustfulness as
far as others are concerned and a simple sense of trustworthiness as far
as oneself is concerned."[20]

The establishment of a favorable ratio of trust over mistrust is
the first task of the budding personality. It becomes primarily a task
for maternal care. What is important is not the amount of trust provided,
but the quality of the trust as perceived by the infant.

The infant's first social achievement is his willingness to let
the mother out of sight without undue anxiety or rage. When this can be
accomplished, the mother has become, as Erikson said, "an inner certainty
as well as an outer predictability."[21]

Trust is the original optimism. It is the assumption that "some-

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[20] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op.
cit., p. 56.

[21] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 247.

body is there" who cares and without whom one cannot live. A favorable
ratio here helps produce the strengths of drive and hope. The infant
is saying, "I am what I am given."[22]

Early trust forms the basis of the sense of identity which,
later on, will combine into a sense of being "all right," of being
oneself, and of becoming what other people trust one will become.
There is in this sense an inner conviction that there is meaning in what
one is doing.[23]

Trust becomes the anchor-point of all developments which culmi-
nate in late adolescence in the establishment of psychosocial identity.
All subsequent securities rest on the security or insecurity of, what
Erikson called, this "first polarization of a self and a maternal matrix."[24]

Greenacre[25] and Mahler[26] both stressed the fact that identity has
its origins in earliest childhood. The child's first identity formation
originates from his experiencing of bodily sensation and from his first
dealings with growth and separation.

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[22]Ibid., p. 274.

[23]Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op.
cit., p. 63.

[24]Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther--A Study in Psychoanalysis
and History (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1962), p. 118.

[25]Phyllis Greenacre, "Early Physical Determinants in the Develop-
ment of the Sense of Identity," Journal of the American Psychoanalytic
Association, 6:612-27, 1958.

[26]M.S. Mahler, "In Panel Reports, Problems of Identity," Journal
of the American Psychoanalytic Association, 6:131-142, 1958. (Abstract)

Vocational choice in late adolescence will most surely be affected if there is a lack of trustworthiness. A mistrust in one's self and in the world and a lack of hope, may combine into producing a withdrawal and a hesitancy for commitment and decision.

## Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt (Stage II)

During Stage II the child (about 2-3 years of age) is struggling for autonomy. If he obtains a sense of self-control without a loss of self-esteem, there will arise a lasting sense of autonomy and pride. If, however, he encounters parental overcontrol, he will have a lasting sense of doubt and shame. The child must come to feel that faith in himself and in the world (the treasure saved from his oral stage) "will not," as Erikson says, "be jeopardized by this sudden violent wish to have a choice, to appropriate demandingly, and to eliminate stubbornly."[27] His society must encourage him to "stand on his own feet" and must protect him against meaningless and arbitary experiences of shame and early doubt. Otherwise, he will turn against himself.

Erikson summarized the importance of this stage:

This stage, therefore, becomes decisive for the ratio of love and hate, cooperation and willfulness, freedom of self-expression and its suppression. From a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem comes a lasting sense of goodwill and pride; from a sense of loss of self-control and of foreign overcontrol comes a lasting propensity for doubt and shame.[28]

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[27] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op. cit., p. 68.

[28] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 254.

A favorable ratio at this stage will allow the budding identity to have the strength of self-control and willpower. The young child will acquire the sense of self-certainty, a confidence that "I am what I will," and a freedom from shame and doubt. From these elements a strong identity is encouraged and the ability, in late adolescence, to make effective vocational choices will be increased.[29]

## Initiative versus Guilt (Stage III)

Upon being firmly convinced that the child is a person, he now goes about to find out what kind of a person he is going to be. He wants to be like his parents and identifies with them. Initiative adds to autonomy the attempts to undertake, to plan, and to attack. The child is active and on the move. While autonomy concentrates on keeping potential rivals out, initiative brings in rivals.[30]

At no time is the child more ready to learn quickly. He becomes bigger in the sense of sharing obligations and performance. He is set in the direction of the possible and the tangible. He feels that his dreams can be fulfilled. While the danger at this stage is a sense of guilt over the things he contemplates and the acts he does. Conscience is being firmly established.[31]

In this stage there is developed a sense of direction and purpose.

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[29] Ibid., p. 274.

[30] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op. cit., p. 74.

[31] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 255.

Accretions of satisfaction here may be used later on in adolescence
in the acts of role experimentation as against negative identity. The
child is beginning to learn to believe, "I am what I can imagine I will
be." This fact may later issue into the confidence to be able to project
his self-concept into an appropriate occupation.

## Industry versus Inferiority (Stage IV)

The child (school age, 6-12) is beginning to sense in this stage
that "I am what I learn." This is the time to go to school—a time to
get busy with something and with others. The child learns to win recog-
nition by producing things. He becomes restless in play and now wants
a sense of being useful.

A possible outcome here is the development of a sense of inade-
quacy and inferiority—the feeling that he will never be any good.[32] If
he despairs of his tools and skills or of his status among his peers, he
may be discouraged from identification with them and with a section of
the world of work. He may feel doomed to mediocrity. The more literate
his society, the more specialization will occur, and the more pressure
there will be for him to learn. Consequently, he will have a greater
chance of failure in initiative to come up to the expectations.[33]

This stage is different from the earlier ones. It is not a

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[32] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op.
cit., p. 87.

[33] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 259.

swing from an inner upheaval, to a new mastery. One of the reasons for
this is that this is the latency stage and violent drives are normally
dormant. However, latency is only the calm before the storm of puberty.[34]

Deficiency in this stage may limit the options available in
vocational choice later on. One will not be so free to be what he may
want to be. An unfavorable ratio here may destroy the sense of competence
and anticipation for achievement and introduce, instead, work paralysis
and inferiority.

## Intimacy versus Isolation (Stage VI)

If youth can emerge from the vicissitudes of pubescence with
a reasonably stable identity, he is then ready for intimacy, commitment,
and affiliation.[35] He has accured sufficient ego strength to allow some
degree of self-abandonment and ego loss. This helps give him the capacity
for love and affiliation. However, if the youth is not sure of himself,
he will tend to shy away from interpersonal intimacy and intimacy with
his own inner resources as well. He may tend to isolate himself from
others or his relationships with them will be highly sterotyped. Erikson
said that, "The condition of a true twoness is that one must first become
oneself."[36]

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[34]Ibid., p. 60.

[35]Stage V, "Identity versus Identity Diffusion," was omitted here
in order to enable a fuller discussion in CHAPTER III.

[36]Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op.
cit., p. 95.

Since vocational choice and adjustment is a form of commitment and affiliation, it involves a degree of intimacy. If ego identity is not sufficiently strong in this task, vocational development and adjustment may come hard.

## Generativity versus Stagnation, Self-absorption (Stage VII)

The adulthood stage involves the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation. A favorable ratio will produce the strength for production and care.[37] Where a positive potentiality fails to develop there may be found an obsessive need for psuedo intimacy, a stagnation, and an interpersonal impoverishment. Often this impoverishment leads to a form of self-indulgence, as though a person where his one and only child.[38]

This stage is vital in vocational establishment and maintenance in that any lasting contributions to society will be made at this point. If this does not develop, there may be a tendency to have a stupifying self-preoccupation, where pleasure seeking and material gratification replace social responsibility and contribution.

## Ego Integrity versus Despair, Disgust (Stage VIII)

The final stage involves "Mature Age." Only as a person has found successful resolutions in the previous seven stages, will he find ego integ-

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[37] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 274.

[38] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," Op. cit., p. 97.

rity here. Erikson stated some of the characteristics of ego integrity as follows: (1) finding an order and meaning in life; (2) having "an acceptance of one's one and only life cycle as something that had to be and that by necessity permitted no substitutions"; and (3) a readiness to defend the dignity of one's own life style. The danger here is despair. It may be a thousand little disgusts with life adding up to one big disgust.[39]

For Erikson, ego integrity is the goal toward which the whole developmental process moves. He said that "it implies an emotional integration which permits participation by followership as well as acceptance of the responsibility of leadership."[40] The lack of this ego integration is signified by the fear of death: one's life cycle is not accepted as the ultimate of life and time is too short to change it.

## IV. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter sought to describe the development of identity as it is found in the psychosocial stages, as outlined by Erikson. The discovery of the dynamics of identity formation was considered of importance because vocational choice in late adolescence will reflect the effects of the identity strength or weakness accured in the process of development.

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[39] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 268.

[40] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op. cit., p. 99.

Since the child is the father of the man, childhood is important. The importance is recognized as one traces the epigenetic growth of the child through adulthood. The child experiences throughout his development, critical periods which need successful resolution. If unfavorable results ensue, then retardation of growth may result and later stages will in trun be affected.

If personality develops epigenetically, as Erikson asserted, then many implications come to the fore. The developmental process is a delicate affair and merits careful attention if the eventual goal of ego integrity is to be attained. Any external manifestations, such as vocational choice maladjustments, merit an internal investigation of the person choosing. With this added dimension, another approach is available with which to make sense out of overt behavior.

# CHAPTER III

## THE IDENTITY CRISIS IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

Though the beginnings of identity formation originate in childhood, most discussions of the identity process concentrate on the period of late adolescence. This is the time when identity comes into focus. The late adolescence period is unique in many ways and contains many demanding problems. One of the problems is that of vocational choice. This problem may, on the surface, appear to be superficial and easily understood. However, when the problem is more carefully examined it is found to have an expansive under-layer of controlling and motivating forces. Out of this tangled morass of often conflicting forces—both unconscious and conscious—the besieged adolescent must somehow assemble an identity. His success or failure in this endeavor will to a large measure determine his success or failure in his vocational choices and development.

It was the purpose of this chapter to consider the underlying dynamics operating within and upon the adolescent and to relate these to his identity formation. This purpose was implemented by the following steps: (1) considering some characteristics of the adolescent period; (2) stating the major crisis of adolescence; (3) presenting the dangers of identity diffusion; (4) describing the moratorium period; (5) concluding with a chapter summary. The chapter considered in detail Stage V, "Identity versus Identity Diffusion," which was omitted from the survey of the other stages in the previous chapter.

## I.  SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ADOLESCENT PERIOD

### Understanding the Adolescent

The problem of vocational choice in late adolescence cannot be bifurcated from the living, pulsating adolescent himself.  In fact, it would seem that the more one takes seriously the changes going on in this period, the better equipped one will be to understand and counsel. It was the purpose of this section to pinpoint some of these important factors and, thus, seek to increase the understanding of the counselor for the adolescent.

### Pubescence Perplexities

With the advent of pubescence, the youth is caught in the throes of many inexplicable movements.  There is the rapidity of body growth, genital maturity, and sexual awareness.  The latter two aspects are quite different from those experienced in early years.  Immediately there enters an element of discontinuity with the development of the past.  The new physiological revolution threatens the body image and the presently accured ego identity.[1]

Anna Freud brought this physiological revolution into vivid perspective as she said:

. . .Aggressive impulses are intensified to the point of complete unruliness; hunger becomes voracity and the naughtiness of the latency-period turns into the criminal behavior of adolescence . . . The reaction formations, which seemed to be firmly established in the structure

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[1] Muuss, loc. cit.

of the ego, threaten to fall to pieces. At the same time, old
tendencies which had disappeared come into consciousness . . .
There are very few new elements in the invading forces. Their
onslaught merely brings once more to the surface the familar
content of the early infantile sexuality of little children.[2]

## The Ensuing Search for Identity

In the midst of these changes, the adolescent's main drive
is a vigorous search for identity. He is preoccupied with his per-
ception by others as compared with his self-perception. He is trying
to establish and reestablish the sameness with his previous experiences
and is making a conscious attempt to make sense out of the future. He
is, thus, trying to reestablish a sense of ego identity in the light of
his earlier experiences and at the same time accept his new body changes
and libidinal feelings as part of himself. At no other time does the
individual feel so exposed to what Erikson called "the anarchic manifes-
tations of his drives."[3] And at no other time does he so desperately need
a semblance of order in his inner world.

The adolescent is in a state of flux and transition, shifting
interests, and inconsistent progress toward goals. He is at once ego-
tistical and yet capable of extreme self-sacrifice and devotion.[4] He

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[2] Anna Freud, The Ego and the Mechanism of Defence, trans. C.
Baines (New York: International Universities Press, 1948), p. 160.

[3] Erikson, Young Man Luther, op. cit., p. 134.

[4] Paul T. King, "Psychoanalytic Adaptations," Theories of
Counseling, Buford Stefflre, editor (New York: McGraw-Hill Book
Company, 1965), p. 120.

stands between the past and the future, both in his individual life and in society. He stands between alternate ways, searching for both freedom and discipline; adventure and tradition.[5]

The adolescent experiences, as Erikson says, an invasion by "a newly mobilized and vastly augmented id as though from a hostile inner world, and inner outer world."[6] The regressing, growing, rebelling, maturing youth is concerned primarily with who and what he is in the eyes of significant others as compared to what he feels himself to be.

## II.  THE MAJOR CRISIS OF ADOLESCENCE

### The Central Question

The central question of the adolescent in search of an identity is, "Just who am I?  Am I a child or an adult?"[7] His major crisis is the "identity crisis."[8] The crisis occurs at a period in the life cycle when the youth must find for himself some sense of direction, some working unity, some sense out of childhood, and some anticipation for adulthood. For some, it may come easy; for others it will be a complex achievement, if achieved at all.  What the individual really wants is not yet present—his adult personality.  Yet in his confused state of life, he is being

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[5] Erikson, Young Man Luther, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

[6] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 307.

[7] Gordon W. Allport, Pattern and Growth in Personality (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 124.

[8] Erikson, Young Man Luther, op. cit., p. 14.

called upon to make adult decisions affecting his adult life, which
is still very much a mystery to him.[9]

## The New Integration

The integration which should now be taking place is called by
Erikson, "ego-identity." It is an alignment of his drives with his
endowment and his opportunities.[10] Here the ego values acquired in
childhood come into focus. A sense of sameness and continuity takes
shape. Self-esteem accured through finding a "favorable ratio" in each
previous life stage, begins to bear the fruit of hope and expectancy.
Ego-identity is an evolving configuration; a new integration resulting
in a new Gestalt with a uniqueness all of its own.[11] The task is to make
an integration of the diversity of previous identifications and role expe-
riences, which is more than the sum of the parts. It is the "problem,"
Galinsky said, "of establishing and integrating character modes into a
unified pattern of functioning."[12]

Erikson considered the ego-identity to be a configuration inte-
grating "constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored
capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful

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[9] Allport, op. cit., p. 125.

[10] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op.
cit., p. 89.

[11] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," op. cit., p. 133.

[12] Galinsky and Fast, op. cit., p. 89.

sublimations and consistent roles."[13]

While identity formation may come to a crisis in adolescence, it neither begins nor ends there. It is the result of a lifelong development, largely unconscious. It has been growing throughout childhood with every new ego synthesis and resynthesis. Its beginnings go back to the very first self-recognition. As the baby exchanges smiles there is the hint, Erikson said, of a "self-realization coupled with a mutual recognition."[14] Identity formation extends on through mature adulthood where one accepts his one and only life cycle as uniquely his and gratifying. The final assembly and assimilation of all these converging elements of ego structure comes at the end of childhood. One is led to wonder how a stage as "abnormal" as adolescence can be trusted to accomplish such a formidable task![15]

## III.   THE DANGER IN ADOLESCENCE

A Relevant Concern

Erikson said that "the study of identity . . . becomes as strategic in our time as the study of sexuality was in Freud's time."[16] This fact is due to the historical character of our day. Youth is often

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[13] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," op. cit., pp. 116-15. Italics in the original.

[14] Ibid., p. 113.

[15] Ibid., p. 116.

[16] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 282.

bewildered by the pressure of a standardization inherent in our society. More is expected of youth than ever before. More opportunities and respon- sibilities are there to be taken. The plethora of choices and opportun- ities are made more complex as many go on to college and see an even greater bewildering array of offerings laid before them.[17]

## Identity Diffusion

The danger of adolescence is identity diffusion which is experi- enced as a sense of an unpleasant disjunction between self and society. It is the opposite of the sense of identity which, according to Cumming, is "a pervasive, affective tone . . . a feeling of appropriateness and satisfaction or even euphoria."[18] Diffusion, on the other hand, is the feeling that everything is not all right. Biff put it in the Death of a Salesman, when he said, "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of life."[19]

Identity diffusion may be evident at adolescence because it is a time when youth is exposed to a combination of experiences which demand simultaneous commitment. Such commitments are: physical intimacy (not only overtly sexual), decisive occupational choice, energetic competition, psychosocial self-definition. Any choices in these areas narrows down the

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[17] Robert J. Havighurst, "Youth in Exploration and Man Emergent," Man in a World of Work, Henry Borow, editor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 230.

[18] Cumming, op. cit., p. 20.

[19] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 307.

available options and, consequently, has a binding quality which an uncertain youth cannot tolerate.[20]

If a firm, well integrated ego-identity is not established at this stage, there is the possibility of its negative counterpart, diffusion, to arise and endanger further ego development. Erikson said that "where there is a strong previous doubt as to one's sexual identity, delinquent, and outright psychotic episodes are not uncommon . . . In most instances, however, it is the inability to settle on an occupational identity which disturbs individual young people."[21]

The Temptation to Overidentity

In order to keep themselves together, many young people over-identity to the point of almost complete loss of identity. They may overidentity with movie heroes, leaders of cliques, athletes, and many other significant persons. They rarely identify with parents, but instead rebel against them. Their peer group affiliations, evident clannishness, intolerance, cruel exclusion of those that are "different," appear to be necessary defenses against the dangers of self-diffusion.

When so many internal disruptions are occurring, the adolescent "relies," wrote Muuss, "on his peers for comfort by stereotyping himself, his ideals, and his adversaries."[22] He is prone to be loyal to an ideological

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[20] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," op. cit., p. 123.

[21] Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 262.

[22] Muuss, op. cit., p. 37.

system, a totalitarianism, which supplies him with a fixed identity. On the other hand, a democratic identity has less appeal because it requires a choice. It does not supply a ready-made identity, but insists on a "self-made identity."

## Newly Developed Cognitive Gifts

Adding to the dangers and possibilities of diffusion are the newly developed cognitive gifts. The youth now has the ability to conjure up a whole array of "hypothetical propositions," wrote Erikson, "possible variables, potential relations, alternate possibilities."[23] From among all of these possible and imaginable relations, the youth must ever choose. The wider the range of possible identities available, the more necessary and problematical becomes the choice and consequent formation of a firm sense of ego-identity.

## Attempts at Avoidance

Externalism. Because the individual has some awareness of his internal confusion, he tries to avoid it or end it. This may be done by a sudden choice in order to end it all or by an externalization wherein he seeks to find a ready-made fixed identity.[24] He feels that a fixed identity will make it possible for him to avoid coming to terms with his

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[23] Erik H. Erikson, "Fidelity and Diversity," Youth: Change and Challenge, Erik H. Erikson, editor (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), p. 11.

[24] Ernest G. Schachtel, "On Alienated Concepts of Identity," American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 21:120, 1961.

uncertainties, ambivalences, and incompatible desires. He wants to
believe that his problem lies outside himself. The finding of that
"ideal goal," or "career" is equated with finding himself. Too often
parents or counselors join him in this externalization and fail to encour-
age him to adequately bridge his inner and outer reality. His efforts
are doomed to failure for, "finding a goal," is not "out there" for the
taking, but it is "in here" for the searching.[25]

Alienation. Horney has expressed a concept similar to diffusion
and externalism in her definition of alienation. She said that "aliena-
tion is the loss of the feeling of being an active determining force in
his [the adolescent's] own life . . .[it is a] remoteness from his own
feelings, wishes, beliefs and energies . . . a loss of feeling himself
as an organic whole . . . an alienation from the real self."[26] This
results in an unavailability of the sources of growth.

Alienation may lead to self-idealization in which one seeks to
escape his "real self" in the pursuit of his "ideal self."[27] This "search
for glory" consumes energy that should be used in constructive channels
for pursuing reality. It is the wish and push not to be oneself, but
someone else—an escape into fantasy. If the person can remain alienated

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[25]Galinsky and Fast, op. cit., p. 90.

[26]Joseph W. Vollmerhausen, "Alienation in the Light of Karen
Horney's Theory of Neurosis," American Journal of Psychoanalysis,
21:157, 1961.

[27]Ibid., p. 148.

from himself and detached from others, he may thus avoid the anxiety
connected with emotional involvement in conflict.[28] Self-alienation is
a moving away from and against the "real self." It is an escape, as
Weiss said, by way of "self-anaesthesia . . . self-elimination . . .
self-idealization."[29] But the price for such an alienation is stiff:
the loss of one's very self. He loses autonomy and turns into self-
hate. He evidences indecisiveness and lack of direction.

<div align="center">IV.   THE MORATORIUM</div>

The Psychosocial Latency Period

        While the crisis is being waged between identity and identity
diffusion within the turbulent adolescent, there is a period during
which this takes place called "the moratorium."[30] As the latency
period has a psychosexual moratorium between childhood and adolescence
when the drives are reasonably dormant, so adolescence has a kind of
psychosocial moratorium between childhood and adulthood when the youth
is given time to battle out his inner conflicts. Society seems to allow
a sanctioned span of time for youth to experiment and explore before
counting their deeds toward a realistic future identity. This may be
in various forms, such as, an apprenticeship, the armed services, job
mobility, public education, post-high school training of some sort.

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        [28] Frederick A. Weiss, "Self-Alienation: Dynamics and Therapy,"
American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 21:210-11, 1961.

        [29] Ibid.

        [30] Erikson, Young Man Luther, op. cit., p. 43.

Not only is there a social sanctioned period for role experimen-
tation, but there is within the individual himself a moratorium period
in which he searches for something and someone to whom he may be true.
It is an internal period of delay in which the youth casts about from
one extreme to another. He seems to be looking for, as Erikson said,
some "rock-bottom" truths before allowing himself the risk of commitment.[31]
It is, wrote Erikson, "an attempt to find that immutable bedrock on which
the struggle for a new existence can safely begin and be assured of a
future. . . He wants to have the right to act like nobody, and yet to be
treated as quite a somebody . . . [It is often characterized] at one
time by shame over what one is already sure one is, and at another time
by doubt as to what one may become."[32]

## Luther's Moratorium

An illustration of a moratorium is found in Erikson's book,
Young Man Luther, which describes in the form of a psychoanalytic bio-
graphy, Luther's severe identity crisis in late adolescence. Luther
found his moratorium in the silence of the monastery. During this time
he fought against identity diffusion. The battle is illustrated graph-
ically by Luther's fit in the choir when he fell upon the ground shouting,
"Ich bin's nit! Ich bin's nit!" This may be translated, "It isn't me!"
or "I am not!" This fit occurred during the reading of the Scripture in

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[31] Erikson, "Fidelity and Diversity," op. cit., p. 103.

[32] Erikson, Young Man Luther, op. cit., p. 103.

Mark 9:17, where Christ cured the man possessed by a dumb spirit. What Luther seemed to be saying was that he was _not_ what his father said he was and what his conscience, in bad moments, tended to confirm he was. Erikson said:  "I suspect that the words, "I am not!" revealed the fit to be part of a most severe identity crisis—a crisis in which the young monk felt obliged to protest what he was not (possessed, sick, sinful) perhaps in order to break through to what he was or was to be."[33] In any case, Luther came out of his moratorium having learned to speak a new language, _his_ language. In fact, he spoke so well that he talked himself out of the monastery and much of his country out of the Roman Church.

Erikson also pointed out that many famous men with creative genius, such as G. B. Shaw, Freud, and Darwin, all fought their way through a kind of moratorium before they found their identity and a productive life. Some young people, however, never survive their moratorium, or, if they do, prolong it unduly.  Such often chose to face nothingness and are lost to themselves and to the world.[34]

## V.  CHAPTER SUMMARY

The tribulations of the adolescent are both internal and external. His attempts to bring about a successful reconciliation may be called "the search for identity."  These attempts at integration are fraught with dangers, the chief of which is "identity diffusion."

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[33] Ibid., p. 36.

[34] Ibid., p. 44.

The dangers of diffusion may be manifested in such ways as overidentification, externalization, and alienation. During this distressing period, the youth is allowed a sanctioned period of time by society in which he may conduct his search both internally and externally. This period is called a "moratorium." How the youth survives his moratorium, will be reflected greatly in his future adjustments.

# CHAPTER IV

## THE MANIFESTATION OF IDENTITY FORMATION
## IN VOCATIONAL CHOICE

Identity formation has implications for a broad range of adolescent tasks. The particular emphasis of this chapter was on the implications which identity formation manifests in the process of vocational choice. The choosing of one's vocation, as well as the realizing of one's identity, are often difficult to accomplish and are permeated with overtones of indelible consequences. A better understanding of some of the underlying dynamics of these problems would appear to be beneficial.

The theories of Super and Erikson were compared in this chapter with the hope of adding some depth to the area of vocational theory. In accomplishing this purpose, the chapter considered the following areas: (1) the core of the identity problem; (2) Super's vocational theory; (3) some interrelationships between the theories of Super and Erikson; (4) validating research studies; and (5) a chapter summary.

### I. THE CORE OF THE IDENTITY PROBLEM

#### The Statement of the Problem

The previous chapters delineated the complexity of factors involved in the growth of identity and its crisis formation in late adolescence. The pitfalls and problems were seen to be multiple and an unsatisfactory completion was not uncommon. However, one of the major elements

in the identity problem for the late adolescent is evident in the process of vocational choice and development. Erikson pointed out the importance of this problem as he stated: "In most instances . . . it is the inability to settle on an _occupational identity_ which disturbs individual young people."[1] Erikson also stated that identity diffusion usually manifests itself when the young person is confronted with various commitments, one of which is "decisive occupational choice."[2] However, if a youth achieves a satisfactory ratio in his efforts at identity formation, he is then in a position to begin to narrow down his searching and begin to focus, as Havighurst said, upon "personal, _occupational_, sexual, and ideological commitments by getting started in _one occupation_, getting married and starting a family, and beginning to take part in the community civic life . . ."[3]

## A Reason for the Problem

One reason that difficulty may be encountered in an occupational declaration is that the ego may not have been sufficiently nurtured in a positive way throughout the previous life stages. Now the individual's resulting identity is too uncertain, too diffuse, to risk a public self-definition. Erikson indicated that in such a state of affairs one's work

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[1] Erikson, _Childhood and Society_, op. cit., p. 262. Italics not in the original.

[2] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," op. cit., p. 124.

[3] Havighurst, op. cit., p. 229. Italics not in the original.

is affected and that "extreme work paralysis (V,4) [refers to Stage V,4 in Figure 1, page 15] is the logical sequence of a deep sense of inadequacy (regressed to a sense of basic mistrust) of one's general equipment . . . [such] sick youth stop extending experimental feelers toward the future."[4] They repudiate themselves and refuse to commit themselves. Career inhibition may be a logical outcome, for a career commitment would tend to bind the individual to a role and status which he is not ready to accept.[5]

## II.   THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SUPER'S THEORY

### The Implementation of a Self-Concept

Super joins Erikson at the crucial juncture of work and self and adds an essential dimension for a clearer understanding of vocational choice. Super believes that vocational choice is a process of implementing a self-concept. He stated:

> The choice of an occupation is one of the points in life at which a young person is called upon to state rather explicitly his concept of himself, to say definitely, "I am this or that kind of person." . . . In choosing an occupation one is in effect choosing a means of implementing a self-concept.[6]

Super conceived of vocational choice and adjustment as being essentially two processes, that of (1) "developing a picture of the kind of

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[4] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," op. cit., p. 144.

[5] Erikson, "Fidelity and Diversity," op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[6] Donald E. Super, "Vocational Adjustment: Implementing a Self-Concept," Occupations—The Vocational Guidance Journal, 30:90-92, November, 1951.

person one is," and (2) "that of trying to make that concept a reality."[7] There is an interaction between the individual's intrapersonal-intra-psychic structure and the individual's social-interpersonal relationships which results in some type of synthesis of the two. Anything which affects one member of the synthesis will thereby affect the other member.

Underlying all of these components is the "proposition," wrote Super, "that vocational adjustment is a function of the degree to which an individual is able to implement his self-concept, to play the kind of role he wants to play, to meet his important needs in his work and career. This means self-realization."[8]

Super outlined the process of self-concept development in the following steps: (1) formation of the self-concept through the life stages in development, (2) translation of the self-concept into occupa-tional terms, and (3) the implementation of the self-concept which is the end result of the formation and translation process.[9]

Field and others stated that according to this theory of the self-concept, those who chose a vocation chose according to their current notions of the following:

(1) what they are like; (2) what they can be like; (3) what

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[7] Ibid., p. 156.

[8] Donald E. Super, The Psychology of Careers—An Introduction to Vocational Development (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 300.

[9] John L. Holland, "Major Programs of Research on Vocational Behavior," Man in a World at Work, Henry Borow, editor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 262.

they want to be like; (4) what their situation is like; and (5) the way in which they see those aspects of self and situation as being related.[10]

## The Developmental Process

According to Super, the implementation of the self-concept is a developmental process. It is the outcome of a developmental history characterized by specific tasks, hurdles, and experiences.[11] By this approach, Super bridged the gap between personality theory and vocational psychology. He stated that the self-concept begins its development in infancy and evolves through the stages of self-differentiation, identification, and role playing to reality testing.[12]

Thus, Super saw an unfolding, developmental nature in vocational choice and adjustment. An individual with certain inner potentialities, inherited equipment (his personal resources) interacts with the resources of his environment to accomplish developmental tasks. If these tasks are successfully accomplished, then vocational maturity will result. Vocational development is a process, not a moment. It is a whole series of choices through-out the lifetime. The word "choice" by itself connotes an event

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[10] Roy B. Hackman, "The Problem of Vocational Choice in Vocational Guidance," Counseling and Guidance—A Summary View, James F. Adams, editor (New York: Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 244. Citing F.L. Field, C.D. Kehas, and D.V. Tiedeman, "The Self-Concept in Career Development: A Construct in Transition," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 41:767-71, 1963.

[11] Holland, op. cit., p. 262.

[12] Hackman, op. cit., p. 242.

a point in time, a certain instantaneousness.  Super did not agree with this.  He insisted, instead, on a word in vocational psychology similar to the word "socialization" in sociology.  He would link vocational development with personal development.[13]

## Buehler's Life Stages

In instituting his developmental approach, Super ties his theory of vocational development into Buehler's psychological life stages.[14]  Though Super was careful to state that these stages were not to be taken simply vocationally, but that they involved all aspects of life and living; he went on to present his theory of vocational development within these structures.  Buehler's life stages, as adopted by Super, are as follow:[15]

Growth Stage (conception to age 14)

- the early period when the self-concept is developing

Exploratory Stage  (age 15-25)

- vocational choices may proceed through the substage
  periods of fantasy, tentative, and realistic (or initial)

- adolescent exploration takes place while the self-concept
  is coming into clearer focus

- a time for the floundering or trial and error process:
  an attempt to implement the self-concept

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[13]Super, The Psychology of Careers, op. cit., p. 283.

[14]Charlotte Buehler, Der menschliche Lebenslauf als psychologisches Problem (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1933)

[15]Super, The Psychology of Careers, op. cit., p. vii.

Establishment Stage (ages 25-45)

- self-concept is being modified and implemented

- begins with trial and progresses to stability

Maintenance Stage (ages 45-65)

- the time of preserving or being nagged by a self-concept

- stability in the field

Decline (ages 65- on)

- a time of deceleration and retirement

- the adjustment to a new self

From the above stages, it can be clearly seen that Super linked vocational development with personal development. Anything which affects one will affect the other. Vocational choice is, to a great extent, an emotional thing, because it involves the self at such close levels of growth.

## The Adolescent as Explorer

Throughout the developmental stages, Super put special emphasis on the exploratory aspects of vocational development. Exploration is clearly seen to take place in late adolescence. This is the period "in which," wrote Super, "there is a good deal of trial and error, and some systematic exploration of the world of work, a good deal of testing of the realism of the self-concept."[16]

Adolescence lives up to its literal meaning, "growing up." It

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[16] Ibid., p. 129.

is a period where the youth tries on various modes of adult behavior
to find which one fits. This involves cultural adaptation when one
learns to shift from a teenage subculture to an adult subculture.
Society supports the individual in this shift, primarily through the
means of formal education.

During the period of exploration, the adolescent not only learns
what is going on in the adult world, but he also brings himself to this
world. He tries to find and test himself. Super acknowledged that this
process may involve many conflicts and anxieties, but through trial and
error, environmental changes, and by many other means, the youth will
hopefully find a personal integration of it all.[17]

Exploration requires time. Super allowed for this time in his
"exploratory stage" in adolescence. This is the time for assimilation
and self-understanding to take place. Finding a place in the world of
work is more than choosing appropriate work, but it also involves adjust-
ing one's inner life to it.

It would be expected that this exploratory period would be a
time of great occupational mobility. Super confirmed this when he said:

> Young people just out of school average eight job changes per
> year. The average man has three different jobs of eight months
> or more duration before age thirty-five, and only one such job
> during the succeeding years . . . .[18]

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[17] Ibid., p. 82.

[18] Ibid., p. 125.

III.   SOME INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ERIKSON AND SUPER

Having described in detail the major principles in the theories
of Erikson and Super, it was the purpose of this section to attempt to
integrate the two by way of noting their significant similarities and
differences.  By this comparison the way would be prepared for a more
meaningful vocational theory and a more effective counseling approach
to adolescents in the throes of vocational choice.

## A Chart of Comparison

A chart, Figure 2, was inserted in order to facilitate a more
lucid comparison between the main points of Erikson and Super.  The
chart sought to pull together the salient points which bear on human
personality growth and vocational development.  (see Figure 2)

## Self-Concept and Ego-Identity

Figure 2 shows that there are many parallels between the theories
of Super and Erikson.  One such parallel which holds a prime position in
both theories is that of the self-concept and ego-identity.  Super con-
ceived of occupational development as being a continual projection of the
self-concept image upon the screen of vocational reality.  The vocational
picture thus seen will be but a prototype of the self being projected.
Vocational choice becomes an outward implementation of an inward self
conception.  This self-concept is the result of a "socialization" process.
It is the end-product of the synthesis between one's personal resources
and one's social reality.

| SUPER'S THEORY | ERIKSON'S THEORY |
|---|---|

### ORIENTATION

| | |
|---|---|
| social conditioning<br>learning theory<br>role playing<br>developmental psychology<br>vocational centered | modified psychoanalytic<br>  approach<br>neo-Freudian, ego-psychology<br>psychosocial development<br>personality centered |

### CORE CONCEPT

| Self-Concept | Ego-Identity |
|---|---|
| - arrived at by: exploration of world and self; role playing; self-differentiation; identification; reality testing; synthesis of person and environment | - arrived at by: resolutions of a series of psychosocial stages; epigenetic growth; somatic-social-ego processes; integration of self-concepts |
| - helps determine one's vocational choice | - helps determine one's entire personal adjustment |
| - mostly available to the consciousness | - unconscious and conscious |

### DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH

| Growth Stage (birth to 14 yrs) | Childhood* |
|---|---|
| - self-concept in formation<br><br>- vocational roles acted out<br><br>- Super gives little detail about the process | Stage I (1st yr.)<br> - trust vs. mistrust<br> - roots for identity<br>Stage II (2-3 yrs)<br> - autonomy vs. shame and doubt<br>Stage III (4-5 yrs)<br> - initiative vs. guilt<br>Stage IV (6-12 yrs)<br> - industry vs. inferiority<br><br>*Childhood is given in great detail; absolutely necessary for a solid identity in adolescence and for vocational choice. |

FIGURE 2

A COMPARISON OF THE THEORIES OF
SUPER AND ERIKSON

| SUPER'S THEORY | ERIKSON'S THEORY |
|---|---|
| **DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH** (continued) | |
| <u>Exploratory Stage</u> (ages 15-25)<br><br>- self-concept now coming into clearer focus<br><br>- time for trial and error in vocational development<br><br>- substage periods: fantasy, tentative, realistic<br><br>- adolescent period important<br><br>- exploration<br><br><br><u>Establishment Stage</u> (ages 25-45)<br><br>- trial and stable substages<br>- self-concept modified and implemented<br><br><u>Maintenance</u> (ages 45-65)<br><br>- stability<br>- preserving or being nagged by a self-concept<br><br><u>Decline Stage</u> (age 65 on)<br><br>- deceleration and retirement<br>- adjustment to a new self | <u>Adolescence</u> (begins at age 13)<br><br>Stage V: Adolescence<br>- identity vs. diffusion<br>- identity crisis critical<br>- occupational choices come to the fore<br>- moratorium<br>- adolescent changes<br><br>Stage VI: Young Adulthood<br>- intimacy vs. isolation<br>- late adolescence extends into this Stage<br>- prolonged moratorium may continue here<br><br><u>Adulthood</u><br><br>Stage VII: Adulthood<br>- generativity vs. self-absorption<br><br>Stage VIII: Mature Age<br><br>- integrity vs. disgust and despair<br>- integrity, goal of the psychosocial Stages |

FIGURE 2

(continued)

Erikson's ego-identity is closely related to Super's self-concept except for some qualitative differences. Along with Super, Erikson also acknowledged the fact that a person chooses his occupation as a reflection of a certain inner dimension. Erikson, however, calls this dimension "ego-identity" and not a "self-concept." The difference between the two is rather hard to define. Erikson himself struggles for a difference. He admits that much that has been called "self" is covered in the term "identity." He rather likes Hartmann's definition as being the "libidnal cathexis of the ego in narcissism" which in reality is "a self which is thus being cathected." He likes to find in "identity" a "self-representation" as differentiated from "object-representation." Erikson stated the matter as follows:

> Identity formation thus can be said to have a self-aspect, and an ego aspect. It is part of the ego in the sense that it represents the ego's synthesizing function on one of its frontiers, namely, the actual social structure of the environment and the image of reality as transmitted to the child during successive childhood crises . . . Until the matter of ego vs. self is sufficiently defined to permit a terminological decision, I shall use the bare term identity in order to suggest a social function of the ego which results, in adolescence, in a relative psychosocial equilibrium essential to the tasks of young adulthood.[19]

Erikson's "ego-identity" is the integration of all one's multiple self-concepts, identifications, role playing. It is the successful fitting together and owning up to, as one's own, all the previous gains or losses in the life stages. It is an evolved configuration of the deep issues of the personality—a new Gestalt. The "new person" emerging from the besieging chaos is very unique and very idiosyncratic—unmatched by anyone before

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[19] Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," op. cit., pp. 147-150.

or after. The individual has a _sense_ that all is well; he _feels_ he can stand on his own two feet. He _senses_ he can trust and is being trusted. He experiences a sense of strength which allows him to dare, risk, try, and precariously hang over the precipice of the unknown. The sense of ego-identity which emerges in late adolescence is the victor from the heat of many an epigenetic battle. An ego that has this caliber of confidence, is the basis of a healthy personality and is most certainly reflected in appropriate vocational choices.

Super's "self-concept" is similar to ego identity in that it, too, is a more or less integrated sense of self. But it does not have the depth of Erikson's identity. The self-concept is more the product of social interaction, rather than a psychosocial epigenesis. It is a resultant of various interactions and syntheses. It is more available to the consciousness. It is more superficial and socially created. Both of these concepts, however, have profound implications on vocational choice. If in either case, one of them is not strong, confident, and well-defined, then difficulties in public vocational commitment will result.

## The Developmental Approach

Another area of similarity between Super and Erikson is seen in their use of a developmental approach. Super's approach is primarily vocationally oriented with the underlying personal growth acknowledged. Erikson's approach is primarily personality growth oriented with some resultant vocational overtones acknowledged in late adolescence. The two theories have a way of complementing each other. Where Super is

content to give a nod in the direction of the "Growth Stage" (birth to age 14), Erikson puts forth his greatest efforts. Where Erikson gives scant details about vocational implications, Super majors in convincing effort.

One is given the uneasy feeling, however, that Super makes progress in his developmental approach just a bit too automatic and simple. Growth seems to be simply a matter of adapting to the best socially approved roles and rejecting the non-socially approved ones. All is solved so neatly through role playing, role testing, identification, trial and error, modification, and, finally, by implementation.

Erikson somehow does not lend himself to such easy, optimistic "solutions." He struggles seriously with the vicissitudes of each psycho-social stage. He wrestles with many crises that can influence a future by a past. He precariously perches the growth of man upn the positive favorable outcomes of two extreme possibilities. He allows plenty of room for malformation and retardation, as well as for success. Failure is a stark reality that breathes upon the human being from _in utero_ until death. One is impressed that growth is an exceedingly complex affair, fraught with many pitfalls, yet loaded with many inner potentialities for growth.

Exploration and Moratorium

Both Super and Erikson allow for a period of exploration as being vital to the growing adolescent. Super's exploratory period dwells upon the opportunity it affords for reality testing—a time for matching the

self-concept with vocational reality.

Erikson's moratorium comes in the life cycle at the same time
as Super's exploratory stage—the coincidence is certainly not accidental.
Erikson's emphasis is on the fact that this is the time when the adolescent
is naturally attempting a pulling together, in a unique integration, all
of the fragments of his past and all of the newly insurging elements of
his present. Vocational choice, which comes to the fore at this very time,
is but one of many things that is caught in this fluctuating tide. The
moratorium is a needed time for searching, reintegrating, and finding a
rock-bottom attitude as to what is true. It is a time to find out who
one is and what others think one is. It is a time of personal, emotional
realignment, of ego synthesis, before the inevitable decisions are called
for.

There seems to be a very necessary reason why Super introduces
an exploratory stage in vocational development—in external reality test-
ing. It is because the process of exploration is already going on with-
in the adolescent at a deeper level. Vocational development must, there-
fore, involve a moratorium of sorts because it in no way can disassociate
itself from the living person involved. The person's inner turmoil is
bound to have outer manifestations—in this case, vocational exploration.
Thus, while Super describes the outer symptoms, Erikson delineates the
inner, hidden, and underlying movements that make it so.

IV.  THE VALIDATION BY RESEARCH STUDIES

If vocational development is but an outer form of a corresponding

inner personality development, then the two processes must be held in a unity. In this sense there is no such thing as an isolated vocational problem without it being meshed with the corresponding personal development of the very person making the vocational choice.

## The Studies Cited

The role that personality development plays in vocational decisions were carefully validated by several recent studies. These studies applied psychoanalytic personality theory to vocational choice. The studies included the following: Segal, on creative writers and accountants;[20] Nachmann, on dentists, lawyers, and social workers;[21] and Galinsky, on clinical psychologists and physicists.[22] The studies indicated that having a well-delineated sense of identity based on a consistent developmental history is an important requisite for choosing a life's work.

## The Assumptions Stated

The studies began with the assumption that if vocational choice is not a peripheral decision, but is a concrete expression of personality

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[20] Stanley J. Segal, "A Psychoanalytic Analysis of Personality Factors in Vocational Choice," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 8:202-10, Fall, 1961.

[21] Barbara Nachmann, "Childhood Experience and Vocational Choice in Law, Dentistry, and Social Work," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 7:243-50, Winter, 1960.

[22] M. David Galinsky, "Personality Development and Vocational Choice of Clinical Psychologists and Physicists," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 9:299-305, Winter, 1962.

development, then the same factors which help in the understanding of personality development should be applicable to understanding vocational choice. If the career into which one pours a lifetime of energy, is one of the major adult behaviors, then it should be relevant to the field of vocational choice and personality theory, to determine whether or not one can predict ways in which the early experience and parental backgrounds of different groups vary.[23]

## The Hypotheses Validated

The majority of the hypotheses tested were confirmed. The studies showed the following: (1) that occupational choice is a dimension of personality development, rather than just an aptitude matching game; (2) that occupations can be described in terms of major personality dimensions and that they differ significantly in important personality characteristics; (3) different occupations afford different opportunities for the expression of impulses, utilization of defenses, and the organization of one's adaptive approach to the world.[24] It was also shown that the personality factors tested, and which had such in-fluence on occupational choice, took place at least ten years prior to the actual time of the vocational choice.[25] It was concluded that developmental experiences play an important part in predisposing one to choose a particular

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[23] Nachmann, op. cit., p. 243.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 250.

occupation and that inconsistent experiences may lead to incoherencies in development and make occupational choice and identity crystallization quite problematic.[26]

The final aim of research is to compile an expanded list of occupations with accompanying developmental histories. This would enable one to better assess the likelihood of satisfaction in a particular choice of vocation.

## V. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The manifestation of identity formation in vocational choice was presented in this chapter. It was done by, first, presenting Super's theory in detail. When Super's and Erikson's theories were joined, they brought about a full complement of vocational and personal implications. The comparisons showed that external vocational problems were often evidences of internal workings in the individual. Recent research studies were cited as validating the fact that there is a close connection between vocational development and personal development.

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[26]Galinsky and Fast, op. cit., p. 90.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS FOR VOCATIONAL COUNSELING
WITHIN THE IDENTITY REFERENCE

The close relationship between vocational choice and personal
growth has been clearly indicated in the previous chapter. From this
theoretical base practical implications were deducted. These impli-
cations were proposed for the purpose of helping in the process of
guiding the youth in late adolescence.

What does the theoretical base imply by way of suggesting practical
guidance for the adolescent by the home, by the school, and by the coun-
selor? The answer to this question was dealt with in Chapter V and was
approached by the following steps: (1) taking childhood seriously; (2)
giving some methods and goals applicable in counseling late adolescents;
(3) pointing out the value of the counselor's view of the client; and
(4) a chapter summary.

## I. TAKE CHILDHOOD SERIOUSLY

### Where the Counselor Begins

If any one thing stands out as prominent in the previous chapters,
it is the repeated emphasis placed on the importance of childhood. If
it is acknowledged that every adolescent was once a child, then it is
vital that the counselor recognize this fact in his work. Other factors
certainly have their place, but in no wise should the client's past devel-
opmental history be neglected. Clues from the early life may be just those

elements needed in finding a way to a possible "solution." Two levels
of approach were considered important to the problem: (1) the home,
and (2) the school.

## In the Home

To help eliminate some of the future trouble in late adolescence,
a bit of "preventive counseling" is in order. Prevention would seem
better than any amount of post-facto counseling. The first logical place
to begin such prevention would be where the individual begins, namely, in
the home—close to mother. Maternal care is the first and most basic of
all "counseling methods." The infant should be given the childhood trea-
sure of "trust" within the very first moments of life. Nothing will go
any further toward a well-integrated identity, than the beginning roots
of "trust." The quality of maternal care, as recognized by the infant,
is what counts. The unconscious taking in of "trust" by the new infant
will be just the base needed for sound mental health.

As the child grows and proceeds from one crisis stage to another,
it becomes imperative that efforts be made to gear into full power the
successive potentialities inherent in the groundplan of each stage. Not
only must "trust" be nurtured, but also "autonomy," with its strengths
of self-control and will-power; and "initiative" with its sense of direc-
tion and purpose. Such early acquired personality attitudes tend to in-
fluence the entire structure of the growing individual. Perfection is
not the aim, but simply a favorable ratio on the positive side. Poten-
tiality is there; it need only be encouraged and nourished.

Frustrations will be inevitable in the best of ordered homes. It is not so much the prevention of frustrations that is needed, but rather making the frustrations meaningful. A child will grow when he sees _meaning_, even in frustration. He wants meaningful recognition in all other areas, as well. Such "meaningful living" will create a confident horizon of hope and expectation. What better gifts could a parent wish for his child?

If people develop epigenetically, and identity formation in adolescence is the result of this development, the motto might very well be: Better homes for better humans. Civilized childhood is long. It is fortunate, however, that while it may be clear what _must_ happen to a child and what _must not_ happen, there is a certain leeway in regard as to what _may_ happen. This is a welcomed thought! For if a child is upset at one stage, it can often be made up in another stage. Other things can often compensate for the loss. Erikson, in his clinical work with children, learned to have the greatest respect for the resilency and resourcefulness of a child, if given the proper support. Compensation was found in cases where even the most grevious early misfortunes had taken place.[1]

## In the School

Next to the home, the school becomes the child's second major influence. The teacher becomes crucial in the area of "preventive counseling." The attitudes toward work and one's self which are fostered in

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[1] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," _op. cit._, pp. 57-59.

the classroom are far-reaching in lifelong implications. Instead of just teaching _facts_, there must be efforts made to teach _pupils_—individuals in their own right, unique, and different. One of the prime aims of public education of the child should be to instill a _sense_ _of_ _industry_. The child should somehow be led to feel that he is good enough to accomplish some useful work. Recognition of even the smallest accomplishment is essential. Failures are to be minimized, while positive gains are to be maximized. The dreaded sense of inferiority is to be shunned with all vigor. The classroom should radiate accomplishment of responsible, progressive, and meaningful work. Comparisons between individual pupils should be avoided and each, instead, should be rated in the light of his own abilities. Though failure and competition are unavoidable and, indeed, may be useful in some cases; they should be always meaningful.

If such a _sense_ _of_ _industry_ can be achieved in the pupil, it will aid, later on, toward positive identity formation and decisive vocational commitment. Here is where real vocational guidance begins! If childhood is taken seriously by the home and by the school, they will be giving the child his greatestlegacy: a chance to be himself, whatever that may be and can be.

## II. COUNSELING WITH ADOLESCENTS

### No Easy Solutions

If the home and the school have done their jobs, then the counselor will be greatly relieved of much erstwhile clientele. Though prevention is acknowledged as being the best approach, other means of help

are necessarily required. Funneling through the life stages are multitudes of young people who have negatively accured ego-identities. The problems resulting are multiple, especially in late adolescence. The counselor should immediately recognize that in dealing with adolescents there are no easy solutions. This is partly due, in the first place, to the fact that the adolescent is not "easy" to understand. A complexity of factors are involved within and without. The more complex the client; the more complex the counseling. Often long-term, intensive counseling cannot be maintained in late adolescence. This is because the necessary motivation for character change cannot be mobilized. It only becomes possible when the youth has shown to himself again and again that whatever maneuvers he employs, he cannot succeed in fulfilling his desires. The modern adolescent often has not had enough "hard knocks" to drive him to a "real" solution. He usually is still employing evasive tactics which repel him further and further from his real self. Some analytically oriented therapists feel that deep therapy for this age bracket will not succeed, because there are so many demands on the youth and so much change and conflict to harmonize.[2]

## Understanding the Client

Though high expectations should not be raised, there are ways of dealing with adolescent problems. One of the first and best preparations for doing so would be for the counselor to seek to have a thorough understanding of the upheavals taking place within his adolescent client. A better understanding here, may tend toward a more empathic concern. For,

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[2] King, "Psychoanalytic Adaptations," op. cit., p. 121.

above all, the youth wants to be understood for what he is—inconsis-
tencies and all. He does not want to be stereotyped. He wants the
counselor to appreciate what he must face: the big task of integration
in such an "abnormal" stage. Karl Menninger's words are pertinent at
this point, "It is hard for a free fish—not on a hook—to understand
what is happening to a hooked one."[3]

## The Vocational Facade

Along with this empathy, the counselor should immediately be
alerted to the fact that many vocational problems may demand a prior
personality adjustment before any resolution is possible.[4] It is quite
respectable to come to the counselor's office with a "vocational problem,"
however, but only people with emotional problems go to a "head shrinker."
This may be only a vocational facade, while underneath lies a silent, yet
agonizing, plea for deeper help. The counselor would do well to be aware
of this possibility.

## Overcoming Alienation

The underlying identity concerns and their possible vocational
maladjustments, may manifest themselves in various forms, such as, identity
diffusion, overidentification, avoidance choices, alienation, and external-
ization. The counselor should be aware of these possible dangers. He

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[3] William C. Menninger, M.D., "The Meaning of Work in Western Society,"
citing Karl Menninger, The Human Mind (n.d., n.p.), Man in a World at Work,
Henry Borow, editor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. xvi.

[4] Super, The Psychology of Careers, op. cit., pp. 129-301.

should not allow himself to be carried away by the external problem entirely, but should endeavor to bring about an articulation between the client's inner and outer reality.

One such common danger, which may be frequently encountered, is the client who is seeking self-idealization as opposed to self-realization. The client thinks he is finding an answer (though not completely satisfied) through an unrealistic view of himself. He is moving in a "centrifugal" direction away from himself, while the counselor is trying to move the client in a "centripetal" direction toward himself. All too often the client gets what he wants by the means of a permissive, reassuring counselor. The client gets a painless (because changeless) "cure."[5] The counselor should not try to remove the anxiety too quickly and, thus, perpetuate the present alienation. The client's anxiety may be useful in helping bring him to the place of self-confrontation and to the surrender of his cherished illusions.[6]

The process of removing alienation may involve the bringing of the unconscious under the domain of the conscious—as standard psycho-analytic methods would dictate.[7] However, the fact that the unconscious is made conscious will not necessarily prove therapeutically effective. The client may know all about his hindering unconscious drives and nega-tive life stage resolutions, and be able to "present his own case" quite

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[5] Weiss, op. cit., p. 213.

[6] Ibid.

[7] King, op. cit., p. 103.

convincingly, but he will still remain alienated. What seems to be needed in addition to self-knowledge and insight is to experientially own up to his self-knowledge (Erikson's "ego integrity"). He needs the emotional shock which may result from the process of self-confrontation. What is important, then, is not only to "know yourself," but also to "choose yourself." When a person both knows himself and then chooses himself, he is about to realize himself.[8] Weiss expressed this change in these words:

> It is the change from the feeling of being a victim of fate, constitution, the environment, or "the unconscious," to experiencing one's conflicts within oneself, and oneself as an active force in one's life. It is a prerequisite for moving in the direction of freedom, choice, and responsibility.[9]

At this point it should be mentioned that an entirely different possibility might be employed to bring about results, particularly in a vocational maladjustment problem. Not only should personal adjustment be enhanced by the removal of alienation, but the actual changing of one's work may in turn effect personal adjustment. Thus, in some cases, it might be found helpful to use both approaches simultaneously: attention is directed toward the problems of inner psychodynamics, while at the same time active steps are being taken in job change and adjustment. An actual physical change of jobs may in some cases be such a radical relief of inner tension, that the personality will be improved. Thus, changing either member of the self-work synthesis may have salutary effects.

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[8] Weiss, op. cit., p. 214. Citing S. Kierkegaard, Either - Or (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1944), I, p. 217.

[9] Ibid., p. 214.

## The Counselor's Responsibility

Many adolescents, with alienation problems, come to the counselor with the conviction that nobody cares or understands him. He feels that communicating his true feelings to anybody, including the counselor, is a sheer waste of time. He who has refused to participate in life, may also refuse to participate in counseling. It often becomes necessary, therefore, for the counselor to help the client "open up" or "defrost." Though it is impossible to generalize for all cases, it is usually found beneficial for the counselor to supply a warm, mutually trusting relationship. The client must be made to feel accepted, possibly for the first time in his life. He is accepted even with all those things which he had previously felt compelled to reject or repress. This feeling of trust is very essential when he begins to experience the "dizziness of freedom."[10]

Weiss, speaking as a psychoanalyst, summarized the situation well:

The road from self-alienation and self-rejection to self-acceptance and self-realization leads through steadily growing self-awareness, which is made possible by the new creative experience of acceptance and meeting. Thus, the main therapeutic factor becomes the doctor-patient relationship itself.[11]

## Some Possible Goals and Methods

In attempting to sum up some of the factors involved in counseling with adolescents, some therapeutic client goals and counselor methods were suggested in Figure 3. The list includes many overlapping concepts. They

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[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

| CLIENT GOALS* | COUNSELOR METHODS* |
|---|---|
| Manifest real-selfness | No tranquilizing reassurance |
| Self-confrontation | Use anxiety and conflict |
| Centripetal movement back to real self | Develop a warm, truly mutual relationship |
| Know and choose self | Humanness |
| Self-understanding | Accepting and meeting |
| Self-acceptance | Collaborator to help build ego strength |
| Accurate projection of self into proper vocation | Love + understanding |
| Assume responsibility for decisions and implement them | No mere permissiveness |
| Accept the past | Keep client responsible |
| Surrender illusions | Intervene, if necessary |
| Remove self-idealization | Confront |
| Experientially own up to one's self-knowledge | Interpret |
| Emotionally experience, not just explanations | Diagnose |
| Develop autonomy | Note counselor biases |
| Integration sought | Promote emotional experience, feeling |
| Growth | No conversion of client, but join him in mutual effort to understand |
| Ego strength | |
| Unconscious under domain of conscious | |
| Willingness to work at the task of finding self | |

\* The above list of Goals and Methods are self-contained. They do not correspond to any item listed directly opposite in the parallel column.

FIGURE 3

COUNSELING GOALS AND METHODS FOR
IDENTITY-VOCATIONAL PROBLEMS

were intended to be more suggestive than comphrensive. They may be used in types of counseling other than just identity-vocational problems, but they are of particular importance there.

The random goals and methods appearing in Figure 3 all aim to overcome one main "fatal flaw," namely, the uncertain, distorted self or ego-identity. The elements of such a view of self contribute to hesitancy, inadequacy, and distrustfulness. Where these exist, there also exists an equal inability for intimacy, commitment, and vocational choice. Therefore, by helping reconstruct the identity, one is thereby helping to reconstruct new possibilities for vocational choice in an atmosphere of freedom and release.

## Counselor Flexibility

In order to promote such a plethora of goals and methods, the counselor must be equally complex in his methodology of approach. He must be able to function with ease in any number of possible situations. Each client is unique and brings an absolutely new combination with him. Such an idiosyncratic client requires an equally idiosyncratic counselor. At one time he may tend toward being a Rogerian; yet at another time he may seem akin to the psychoanalyst. At still other times he may be at any number of points along the continuum. In all cases he must be himself and unafraid to be flexible. Only such a combination is broad enough to fit the expansive adolescent. Such a task is professionally complex and, consequently, requires professional competence on the part of the counselor.

### III.    THE COUNSELOR'S VIEW OF THE CLIENT

Basic to the counselor's approach, whether in his goals or
in his methods, is his view of the client. No matter what the counselor
may do, his views and biases will be perceived by others. It has been
shown, in recent studies, that in diagnostic efforts the counselor tends
to categorize the client the way his biases lead him.[12] Such biases are
unavoidable. However, it is of utmost importance that the counselor recog-
nize what they are and how they affect his counseling.

One such view of the client would appear to have at least two
major elements in it:  (1) It would be partly pessimistic. The reason
for this is that the client is a person and as a person has been develop-
ing. His development involves life tasks and crises resolutions. The
crises imply the unavoidable possibility that there will be failure and
some consequent scars. These scars tend to limit human potentialities
for development. (2) It would be partly optimistic. Though life is
recognized as being problem-populated, there are still potential possibil-
ities within man. The groundplan for man's growth at each successive stage
is set in the direction of successful, positive goal-striving. With proper
nurture, a good ratio of potentiality may be realized and hope and integrity
will result. If failure occurs, then compensation may be found in other
areas. With such a tempered pessimism and a hopeful optimism, the coun-
selor may work with reasonable expectancy, even in late adolescence.

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[12]Ann M. Borresen, "Counselor Influence on Diagnostic Classification
of Client Problems," Journal of Counseling Psychology, 12:257, Fall, 1965.

## IV.  CHAPTER SUMMARY

The implications for vocational counseling within the identity reference were indicated in this chapter. Of importance was preventive counseling in childhood accomplished by the combined concerns of the home and the school. The youth, however, who emerge as troubled adolescents have no easy solution. The counselor should approach such clients with understanding of the changes taking place. He should also be alert to a 'vocational facade' which is often but a legitmate excuse for additional deeper problems.

Alienation and identity diffusion are major problems for the adolescent. The counselor may help in this area by providing a warm and truly mutual relationship. The client may thus be led to see his real self without recourse to self-idealization.

Many goals and methods were suggested as valid in the area of identity-vocational problems. The very complexity of them necessarily requires a complex approach and a flexible, well-trained counselor. The counselor's ability to work effectively will depend greatly upon his understanding of his own views and biases toward the client. Such a view may be both pessimistic and optimistic. It would recognize the problems of the client as well as his potentialities.

# CHAPTER VI

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In seeking to trace the development of man's personality and his consequent vocational choice, there has been a more basic question implied: "Just who and what is man in this process of time?" Man so often is alienated from himself, his world, and his work. Blaise Pascal reflected this philosophical undertone as he wrote in 1661:

> I see those frightful spaces of the universe which surround me, and I find myself tied to one corner of this vast expanse, without knowing why I am put in this place rather than in another, nor why the short time which is given me to live is assigned to me at this point rather than at another of the whole eternity which was before me or which shall come after me.[1]

In the previous chapters one particular problem of this searching man has been presented, that is, the interrelationship of man to his work. This chapter presented (1) a summary of the entire problem, and (2) a concluding statement.

## I. SUMMARY

A critical investigation was made of identity formation and its relationship to vocational choice in late adolescence. The making of a vocational decision in late adolescence was often seen as bringing to the fore problems in identity formation. The hypothesis was stated that before a person can make an outward self-definition of himself through a vocational

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[1] Frederick A. Weiss, M.D., "Introduction: Alienation and The Self," American Journal of Psychoanalysis, 21:117, 1961.

choice, he must first have a rather solid inner conception of who he is.

In helping to foster such an understanding, the psychosocial development theory of Erikson was related to the self-concept vocational theory of Super. The two theories, thus joined, seemed to provide a theoretical basis for a better understanding of the dynamics of vocational choice and its co-relationship with personal adjustment.

If vocational choice may be conceived, at least in part, as being an outward manifestation of an identity, then it became necessary to know about identity and how it is formed. The beginnings of identity were found enfolded with the successive psychosocial stages of man's developmental growth, as outlined by Erikson's "Eight Ages of Man." Each of these stages was found to be vital in its implications for identity formation and vocational choice.

The time when identity comes to its major crisis is in late adolescence. This is the period of life when great upheavals and tendencies toward discontinuity appear. It is at this stage that the adolescent is searching with special intensity for a meaningful integration of all his past, present, and anticipated future. A favorable ratio between identity and identity diffusion will greatly enhance the youth's ability for vocational choice and many other adjustments. The tasks, however, are difficult ones and an unsatisfactory completion is not uncommon. The real danger is identity diffusion, which may result in a sense of alienation of the youth from his real self and the world. A socially sanctioned period is allowed in which this search may be conducted. This period is called by Erikson a "moratorium." The moratorium is an important time of neutrality

when the youth is free to cast about without it being counted against him.

Vocational choice was related to personality development. In fact, Super based his whole vocational theory on the fact that vocational choice is but an attempt to implement a self-concept. If the self-concept is weak, then the resulting choices will in turn be weak. Erikson was related to this process in that he gave the details on how the self-concept ( or, his ego-identity) came to be formed in the first place. The two theories were complementary in this regard. As Super linked self to vocation; so Erikson linked self (ego-identity) to development. They both contributed to a direct line running from infancy through vocational maturity. The relationship between personal adjustment and vocational choice was shown to be a valid one by the citing of recent research studies in this area.

Applications of the theories, thus developed, were made to the practice of counseling. The need for "preventive counseling" in childhood through the home and the school was indicated. The problems of diffusion and alienation were discussed and some methods for overcoming them were presented. The conclusion was drawn that working in late adolescence on the problems of identity formation and vocational choice is an exceedingly complex matter. It requires complex methods and professionally trained counselors. But such problems are not insurmountable. The counselor might approach his young clients with both pessimism and optimism. He may realize, on the one hand, the distortion possible; yet he may understand the potentialities within the client to overcome them and move ahead toward growth.

## II.   A CONCLUDING STATEMENT

### Love and Work

Freud was once asked what he thought a normal person should be able to do well.  The questioner probably expected an intricate answer. But Freud, curtly replied, "Lieben und arbeiten" [to love and to work].[2] In these few words he outlined the whole precarious, yet potential-laden task of every person.  Before one can love he must have a reasonably sure identity.  This establishment of a sure identity comes about by the successful weathering of many an epigenetic crises.  When love of self and of others becomes a felt reality, then work relations more easily follow. One may trust himself on the outside, only when he has first learned to trust himself on the inside.

### The Need for Support

The ability to love and to work does not come without effort, nor is it there for the asking.  It frequently has to won with much personal struggle and outside support.  It is this need for support that comes to the fore when the critical battles of childhood are being waged.  Parents have a responsibility to realize what they are doing for or against their child.  One of the great inequalities in life is not so much the racial, or the economic, or the political, but the inequality that exists between the child and the adult.  It would be helpful if parents would learn not to take advantage of the child and needlessly expose it to the parents'

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[2]Erikson, Childhood and Society, op. cit., p. 265.

own insecurities. Erikson has expressed the idea in this statement: "We have learned not to stunt a child's growing body with child labor; we must now learn not to break his growing spirit by making him the victim of our anxieties . . . If we will only learn to let live, the plan of growth is all there."[3]

So often, however, one finds well-meaning parents "raising" their children in utterly destructive processes. W.H. Auden, in his poem, "The Average," illustrates one such process:

> His peasant parents killed themselves
>     with toil
> To let their darling leave a stingy soil
> For any of those smart professions
>     which
> Encourage shallow breathing, and
>     grow rich.
>
> The pressure of their fond ambition
>     made
> Their shy and country-loving child
>     afraid.
> No sensible career was good enough,
> Only a hero could deserve such love.
>
> So here he was without maps or sup-
>     plies
> A hundred miles from any decent
>     town;
>
> The desert glared into his blood-shot
>     eyes;
> The silence roared displeasure: looking
>     down,
> He saw the shadow of an Average man,
> Attempting the Exceptional, and ran.[4]

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[3] Erikson, "Growth and Crises of the Healthy Personality," op. cit., p. 100.

[4] Weiss, "Self-Alienation: Dynamics and Therapy," citing W. H. Auden (n.n., n.p.), op. cit., p. 208.

If there has been a tendency to point out more dangers than constructive avenues of action, it was perhaps that this was necessary first. Hopefully, man will learn the danger signals of what <u>might happen</u>. He may then be able to proceed freely, confident that he will recognize any signs of trouble when they appear.

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APPENDIX

Worksheet

| | A<br>Psychosocial Crises | B<br>Radius of Significant Relations | C<br>Related Elements of Social Order | D<br>Psychosocial Modalities | E<br>Psychosexual Stages |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | Trust vs. Mistrust | Maternal Person | Cosmic Order | To get<br>To give in return | Oral–Respiratory, Sensory–Kinesthetic (Incorporative Modes) |
| II | Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt | Parental Persons | "Law and Order" | To hold (on)<br>To let (go) | Anal–Urethral, Muscular (Retentive–Eliminative) |
| III | Initiative vs. Guilt | Basic Family | Ideal Prototypes | To make (=going after)<br>To "make like" (=playing) | Infantile–Genital, Locomotor (Intrusive, Inclusive) |
| IV | Industry vs. Inferiority | "Neighborhood," School | Technological Elements | To make things (=completing)<br>To make things together | "Latency" |
| V | Identity and Repudiation vs. Identity Diffusion | Peer Groups and Outgroups; Models of Leadership | Ideological Perspectives | To be oneself (or not to be)<br>To share being oneself | Puberty |
| VI | Intimacy and Solidarity vs. Isolation | Partners in friendship, sex, competition, cooperation | Patterns of Cooperation and Competition | To lose and find oneself in another | Genitality |
| VII | Generativity vs. Self-Absorption | Divided labor and shared household | Currents of Education and Tradition | To make be<br>To take care of | |
| VIII | Integrity vs. Despair | "Mankind"<br>"My Kind" | Wisdom | To be, through having been<br>To face not being | |

APPENDIX FIGURE

A WORKSHEET SUMMARIZING ERIKSON'S
STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF IDENTITY FORMATION

AND VOCATIONAL CHOICE IN LATE ADOLESCENCE

by

RODNEY O. SAWTELL

B. A. , Wheaton College, 1951

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Education

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1967

A critical investigation was made of identity formation and its relationship to vocational choice in late adolescence. The making of a vocational decision in late adolescence was often seen as bringing to the fore problems in identity formation. The hypothesis was stated that before a person can make an outward self-definition of himself through a vocational choice, he must first have a rather solid inner conception of who he is.

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and many other adjustments. The tasks, however, are difficult ones and an unsatisfactory completion is not uncommon. The real danger is identity diffusion, which may result in a sense of alienation of the youth from his real self and the world. A socially sanctioned period is allowed in which this search may be conducted. This period is called by Erikson a "moratorium." The moratorium is an important time of neutrality when the youth is free to cast about without it being counted against him.

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