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Managerial Skill Development

Institute of **Open** and **Distance Education**

Faculty of Management

Managerial Skill Development

1MBA5

DR. C.V. RAMAN UNIVERSITY
Chhattisgarh, Bilaspur
A STATUTORY UNIVERSITY UNDER SECTION 2(F) OF THE UGC ACT

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CHAPTER

1

HUMAN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

L E A R N I N G O B J E C T I V E S

After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Nature and Principles of Growth and Development
- Dimensions of Development
- Developmental Tasks
- Concept of Learing
- Moral Values

PART-I

NATURE AND PRINCIPLES OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Human beings develop and grow lifelong. The development process is not static. It does not mean adding inches to one's height and growing in bodymass. The term development means a progressive series of changes occurring in an orderly, predictable pattern as a result of maturation and experience. (Hurlock, 1984)

Human development is a very complex process. It integrates many structures and human functions.

Here we need to understand two terms, namely,

1. Growth, and
2. Development

Growth

It begins at conception and ends at death. This process starts when the life begins in the embryonic phase. It does not end until death since even in the old age the body and the mind change more than others. There is a continuous growth as also decay of the body cells, hair continue to grow. Hence, we need to understand these changes taking place in body and mind as a natural process of growth or evolution.

The pattern of change resembles a bell-shaped curve, rising abruptly at the start and then flattening out during the middle years, only to decline slowly or abruptly during the old age. It never takes a shape of the straight line, though it can show plateau periods of short or long duration in developing differing capabilities.

Developmental Goal

Development enables an individual to adapt to its environment in which she/he lives. According to ' Maslow ' - the main aim is of "Self-Actualization". It can mean different things to different people, such as it may be thought of as an urge - the urge to do what one is capable to do or an urge to become the best. Every individual tries to achieve it by way of his capabilities and experience. This achievement, as also elaborated upon by McClleland

at length, of self should be in accordance with the society. One has to conform to societal expectations in achieving these needs.

Recognition of Growth and Development

Generally growth related changes go unnoticed when they are slow or already growth has taken some definite shape. It is only when rapid changes take place in growth and behaviour that these are noticeable. To take an example, early childhood days and adolescent periods. These two periods in the life span are marked with rapid all round growth and development and thus we usually utter such comments, when we meet some one after few months or year - "Wow! You have really grown since I saw you last" or we generally comment on learning aspects such as child's ability to walk.

Human Development Variations

In its early years, as Siegel has pointed out, "...developmental psychology was preoccupied with ages and stages. Investigators sought to learn the typical age at which various stages of development occurred". The areas selected for research were those considered significant for human evolutionary adaptation, such as upright locomotion and speech. These early studies showed that some individuals reach some of these stages earlier than others; for example, some babies begin to walk at eight months, some at ten, and some at twelve yet others at fourteen. However, because the focus of interest among developmental psychologists has changed over the years, there are gaps in our knowledge of the different developmental phenomena characteristic of the different age periods. There are two major reasons for the erratic emphasis of developmental psychology.

First, the initiative to study a particular period in the developmental pattern has been greatly influenced by a desire to solve some practical problem or problems associated with that period. Research in the area of childhood, for example, was designed first to throw light on educational problems and, later, to deal with problems related to child-training methods. The latest focus of research attention, middle age, is the outgrowth of the realization that good adjustment in the later years of life depends on how well one has adjusted to the physical and psychological changes that normally occur in the middle years.

The second reason is that it is harder to study people at some stages of their life than at others. These difficulties will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Significant Facts About Development

Certain fundamental and predictable facts are central to a proper understanding of the pattern of development. Each of these facts has important implications for development.

Early Foundations: Because early foundations are likely to be persistent, it is important that they be of the kind that will lead to good personal and social adjustments as the individual grows older. As James warned many years ago, "Could the young but realize how quickly they will become mere walking bundles of habits, they would give more heed to their conduct while still in the plastic state".

Early patterns do tend to persist, but they are not unchangeable. There are three conditions under which change is likely to occur. First, change may come about when the individual receives help and guidance in making the change. Some parents, for example, may succeed in training a child to use his right hand in preference to his left.

Second, change is likely to occur when significant people in the individual's life treat him in new and different ways. A child whose parents believe that children should be "seen but not heard" can be encouraged to express himself more freely by a teacher who makes him feel that he has something to contribute to the group.

The third condition which can bring about changes in the foundations laid early in life is a strong motivation on the part of the individual to make the change. When behaviour is rewarded by social approval, there is little motivation to make a change. When, on the other hand, behaviour meets with social disapproval, there will be a strong motivation to change.

Maturation and Learning: Three important facts emerge from our present knowledge of the interrelationship of maturation and learning as the cause of development.

First, because human beings are capable of learning, variation is possible. Individual differences in personality, attitudes, interests, and patterns of behaviour come not from maturation alone but from maturation and learning.

Second, maturation sets limits beyond which development cannot progress, even with the most favorable learning methods and the strongest motivation on the part of the learner. Cattell et al. stressed this point when they said, "All learning and adjustment is limited by inherent properties of the organism" .

The third important fact about the interrelation between maturation and learning is that it suggests a "timetable" for learning. The individual cannot learn until he is ready. "Developmental readiness," or readiness to learn, determines the moment when learning can and should take place. Harris has emphasized the importance of providing an opportunity to learn when the individual is ready: "It is possible, indeed likely, that a person who comes late to his training will never realize the full measure of his potential".

Individual Differences: Because all individuals are different, no two people can be expected to react in the same manner to the same environmental stimuli. What one person perceives as humorous, for example, will depend on his past experiences as well as upon the level of his intellectual development. Another person of the same intellectual development may not find the same thing humorous because his past experiences have been different. Because no two individuals ever have identical hereditary endowments and the same environmental experiences, one can never predict with accuracy how a person will react to a situation, even when there is ample information about his inherited abilities and even when it is known how the average person behaves in similar situations. Nor should one expect the same achievement from people of the same age and intellectual development. Children of the same mental age, for example, will not necessarily be ready to read or do other types of schoolwork at the same time. And, finally, individual differences are significant because they are responsible for individuality in personality makeup. Not only does individuality make people interesting, but it also makes social progress possible.

Characteristic Behaviour: While it is unquestionably true that some stages of growing up are marked by more difficult behaviour than others, there is no stage when the characteristic behaviour is not "problem behaviour" if it is judged by adult standards. Only when an individual's behaviour is atypical for his age and leads to poor adjustment may it justly be considered problem behaviour. In most instances, such behaviour is infantile in that it is characteristic of an earlier age level. The child has not learned to act his age either because no one has taught him how to do so or because he derives more satisfaction from infantile behaviour.

Many of these difficult, unsocial, and often hard-to-understand forms of behaviour which appear at different times during the growing-up years will gradually wane and disappear, only to be replaced by other forms of behaviour as difficult to understand and live with as the ones that have just been outgrown.

However, it is never safe to assume that all difficult behaviour will disappear as the child grows older. Such behaviour may be a warning of possible future trouble and should not be disregarded. When it persists beyond the age at which it is normally found, difficult behaviour suggests that the individual's needs, both personal and social, are not being satisfactorily met.

Developmental Hazards: Each period in the life span has associated with it certain developmental hazards - whether physical, psychological, or environmental in origin-and these inevitably involve adjustment problems. As Lawton has pointed out:

Throughout the life span, people develop techniques of handling each of their difficulties. Some of these techniques are suitable and efficient, others are inappropriate and wasteful, or a method may be suitable for one age period and not another.

It is important to be aware of the hazards commonly associated with each period in the life span because the way in which the individual copes with them has an important effect on his personal and social adjustments.

Traditional Beliefs and Stereotypes: Traditional beliefs and stereotypes influence the individual's behaviour and his attitudes both toward others and toward himself. In our culture, for example, commonly held stereotypes relating to old age can lead to unfavorable treatment of individuals in the later years of their lives. Acceptance of these stereotypes by those who are growing old is responsible for much unhappiness during old age and also is an important factor in physical and mental decline.

The Life Span (Life-Stages Theories)

Today men and women, on the average, live longer than earlier times. There are variations from place to place.

Conditions Influencing Longevity

Heredity.

General physical condition.

Underweight or overweight. People whose body builds more closely approximate the norm tend to live longer.

Sex. Women, as a group, outlive men.

Race. In this country, blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other minority-group members have a shorter lfft! expectancy than whites.

Socioeconomic level. The higher the individual's socioeconomic level, the longer his life span tends to be.

Education. People who are better educated tend to live longer.

Occupation. The kind of work the individual does - affects the length of his life span.

Geographic location. People who live in urban and suburban areas tend to live longer than those who live in rural areas.

How long a given individual will live is impossible to predict. However, Scheinfeld has suggested that if three factors are taken into consideration, a general prediction is possible. According to him:

How long you, personally, may expect to live depends on these principal influences: First, environment-the way in which you were started off in life and the conditions under which you lived thereafter and live now. Second, your inherited vigor or weakness (as applied both to specific diseases and defects and to general resistance factors), with particular attention to your sex. And, third, luck.

Regardless of how short or long the total life span may be, it is divided into ten stages or periods, each of which is characterized by certain developmental and behavioural partterns.

The label life-stages theories is applied to conceptions of development that divide the human life span into a series of periods that are typically defined by age. The central assumption underlying these conceptions is that the people who fit into a given age period share certain characteristics that are different in kind or quantity from the characteristics shared by people at other stages. Thus, children within a stage called infancy are alike in identifiable ways and, in those same ways, are unlike people at other stages of life-later childhood, adolescence, middle age, and such.

A great many life-stage theories exist, including commonsense notions found among members of the general public (naive or folk psychologies) and schemes devised by scholars

(formal or scientific theories). Formal theories differ from each other in four principal ways: (a) in the aspects of development on which they focus, (b) in the number and sizes of stages they include, (c) in the labels they attach to the stages, and (d) in the kinds of markers or indicators used to distinguish one stage from another.

In regard to aspects, some theories encompass many facets of human development, whereas others center attention on only a single feature or perhaps a limited few. One broadly inclusive proposal is a scheme created by Arnold Gesell, a Yale University medical doctor and child-development authority. He described stages of growth for:

1. Motor characteristics (bodily activity, the development of eye and hand coordination)
2. Personal hygiene (eating, sleeping, elimination, bathing, dressing, health, somatic complaints, tensional outlets)
3. Emotional expression (affective attitudes, assertion, anger, crying, and related behaviours)
4. Fears and dreams
5. Self-concept and sexual behaviour
6. Interpersonal relations
7. Play and pastimes (general interests, reading, music, television)
8. School life (adjustment to school, classroom demeanor, progress in school studies)
9. Ethical sense (blaming and alibiing; responsiveness to direction, punishment, praise, and reasoning; sense of good, bad, truth, and property)
10. Philosophic outlook (time, space, language and thought, death, deity) (Gesell, Ilg, Ames, & Bullis, 1977, p. 58).

An example of a narrow-scope theory is a "psychosocial model offered by Erik Erikson, a Harvard University professor and psychoanalyst. Erikson's proposal focuses on the ways individuals resolve discords between opposing psychological tendencies (psychosocial crises) that are faced at successive age levels. The following list identifies the pairs of opposing dispositions and the ages at which the dispositions demand the greatest attention (Erikson, 1959, p. 166):

Stage	Psychosocial Crisis	Age Range
1	trust vs. mistrust	0-1
2	autonomy vs. shame and doubt	2-3
3	initiative vs. guilt	3-6
4	industry vs. inferiority	7-12 or so
5	identity vs. identity diffusion	12-18 or so
6	intimacy vs. isolation	the 20s
7	generativity vs. isolation	late 20s to 50s
8	integrity vs. despair	50s and beyond

Other stage theories address different aspects of growth. Piaget's (1950) model focuses on intellectual skills, Freud's (1938) on psychosexual characteristics, and Kohlberg's (1984) on moral reasoning.

The number of stages into which the life span is divided can differ from one theory to another and even from one version of a scholar's model to a later version. Gesell & Ilg (1949) divided the period from birth to age 10 into 10 single-year stages. Erikson, as noted above, recognized eight stages between birth and death. One variation of Piaget's scheme identifies

four major stages over the first two decades of life, whereas other variations portray mental development as consisting of three main periods, with each involving two or more substages.

Labels for stages often vary from one scheme to another. Furthermore, some authors avoid the word stage entirely, preferring to identify their proposed development segments as periods, levels, ages, or gradients.

Theorists often differ over the types of indicators they consider most appropriate for distinguishing one stage from another. The evidence used by Gesell was in the form of physical measurements, observations of social behaviour, and children's habits as reported by parents, with these data organized according to children's ages. Piaget's stages were based on children's answers to reasoning problems posed in interviews, with the answers clustered by types of reasoning children displayed. Kohlberg's stages were founded on the judgments adolescents offered about moral dilemmas described in anecdotes, with each respondent assigned to a stage marked by a particular kind of reasoning offered in support of the youth's decisions.

The example selected for illustrating the way culture can be viewed through the lens of a stage theory is one that evolved in the United States during the progressive -education movement of the 1930s and 194Os.

Development Task Theory, as popularized by Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago.

According to this model, the life span can usefully be divided into a sequence of periods, with each period characterized by tasks that an individual is expected to accomplish in order to become a reasonably happy and competent person.

Stages in The Life Span

- ***Prenatal period:*** conception to birth
- ***Infancy:*** birth to the end of the second week
- ***Babyhood:*** end of the second week to end of the second year
- ***Early childhood:*** two to six years
- ***Late childhood:*** six to ten or twelve years
- ***Puberty or preadolescence:*** ten or twelve to thirteen or fourteen years
- ***Adolescence:*** thirteen or fourteen tu eighteen years
- ***Early adulthood:*** eighteen to forty years
- ***Middle age:*** forty to sixty years
- ***Old age or senescence:*** sixty years to death

All cultures divide the life span into periods, although different names are applied to them from culture to culture and the age levels encompassed by the different stages vary. As Neugarten and Moore have explained:

In all societies, age is one of the important factors in determining the way people behave toward each other. Certain biological and social events come to be regarded as significant punctuation marks in the life line and to signify the transition from one age stage to the next. . .. In all societies, age-status systems emerge in which duties, rights and rewards are differentially distributed to age groups which themselves have been socially defined.

PART-II

DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

Cognition

Jean Piaget (1970), A Swiss biologist, philosopher, and psychologist who has developed the most detailed and comprehensive theory of cognitive development called his approach genetic epistemology. Epistemology is the study of the nature and acquisition of the knowledge. It was "genetic" in the sense that it focused on origins (genesis) and development. Cognition means both (a) mental activities analyzing, synthesizing, evaluating, remembering and (b) the beliefs about reality that those activities produce. Much of cognition is conscious, in that people recognize how and what they are thinking. In effect, they carry out their thinking with conscious intent. However, an undetermined quantity of cognition is unconscious or subconscious, consisting of mental operations that occur without the person being aware of it, although the products or outcomes of such thought may be apparent. Thus, people may recognize what they have decided and then express the decision verbally without being aware of the process by which they came to their decision.

Cognition is too complex to be captured in its entirety by a single theory. Instead, the process and product of thinking must be viewed from a variety of theoretical perspectives, with each perspective revealing a different facet of cultural influence on development. A hint of that complexity is provided by the six models analyzed in this chapter. Those six are Piaget's stages of mental development, Gardner's structure of intelligence, Vygotsky's proposal about the influence of action on thought, D'Andrade's social-construction conception of mentality, Jackson's phenomenological anthropology, and Jung's interpretation of dreams.

Phases of Mental Development

In one version of Piaget's scheme, mental growth advances through four principal levels: sensorimotor (birth to about age 2), preoperational thought (about age 2 to 7), concrete operations (about age 7 to 11), and formal operations (about age 11 to 15). Beyond the midteens, thought patterns move from a condition of egocentrism and idealism to a growing recognition that people do not operate solely on the basis of pure logic but they also are influenced by life's social realities. The following are the chief characteristics of the phases:

Sensorimotor Period (Birth-2): The infant advances from performing only reflex actions to finally representing objects mentally and thereby cognitively combining and manipulating them.

Preoperational-Thought Period (2-7): This phase is divided into two levels. The first (ages 2-4) is characterized by egocentric speech and primary dependence on perception, rather than on logic in problem solving. The second (5-7) is marked by an intuitive approach to life, a transition phase between the child's dependence on perception and dependence on logical thought to solve problems.

Concrete-Operations Period (7-11): In this phase children can perform logical mental operations on concrete objects that either are directly observed or are imagined. An important feature-of-this-period-is-the-child's -developing greater ability to recognize which aspects of an object remain unchanged (are conserved) when the object changes from one form to another. For example, when a large ball of clay is divided into a series of small balls of clay, the typical preoperational child will not recognize that in this transformation the weight and mass of clay remain the same. The concrete-operations child, in contrast, will understand that weight and mass have been conserved.

Formal-Operations Period (11-15): During adolescence the typical child is no longer limited by what he or she directly sees or hears, nor is he or she restricted to the problem at hand. The adolescent can now imagine various conditions that bear on a problem-past, present, and future-and devise hypotheses about what might logically occur under different combinations of such conditions. By the end of this final phase of mental development, the youth is capable of all the forms of logic that the adult commands. Subsequently, further experience over the years of youth and adulthood fill in the outline with additional, more complex concepts so that the adult's thought is more mature and freeer of lingering vestiges of egocentrism than is the thought of the adolescent. (Summarized from Piaget & Inhelder, 1969)

Piaget proposed that human development results from the interaction of four variables: (a) heredity, as displayed in the maturation of the physique and nervous system; (b) physical experience; (c) social transmission (education); and (d) equilibration.

Piaget said that heredity establishes a time- schedule for new development possibilities to open up at periodic points throughout children's growing years. This is the internal-maturation function of one's genetic endowment. Each maturational change comes at about the same time in every child's life, with the order of the changes identical for all children, thereby accounting for the universally observed sequential development phases of Piaget's theory. However, maturation alone does not guarantee that the possibilities will materialize. The extent to which such potentialities are actually realized is determined by the sorts of experiences children have with their environment. So internal maturation is necessary but not a sufficient condition for development.

Unlike most theorists, Piaget separated the child's trafficking with the environment into two varieties: (a) direct and generally unguided experience with the world's objects and events that is called physical experience and (b) the guided transfer of knowledge (education in a broad sense) called social transmission. In their physical experience, children directly manipulate, observe, and listen to objects and events to discover what occurs. Physical experience provides the necessary basic understandings on which social transmission (instruction, teaching) will build.

To account for the coordination among maturation, physical experience, and social transmission it necessary to produce integrated development, Piaget posited a fourth causal factor that he labeled equilibration or equilibrium.

In sum, Piaget's genetically timed maturation provides the foundation for phase-wise development, physical experience is necessary for actualizing the potential offered by maturation, social transmission equips children with learnings that have evolved in their culture, and equilibration keeps these three factors in balance.

Differences among cultures: Many investigations have been conducted in diverse cultures to find answers to a trio of questions about Piaget's theory:

(a) Are the phases of mental growth that Piaget derived from his studies of Swiss children the same in kind and sequence as phases through which children in other cultures progress?

(b) Do children of other cultures advance through the phases at the same rate as the Swiss children?

(c) What causes differences in mental functions among individuals and cultures?

The Universality of Piaget's phases. As noted above, Piaget contended, on the basis of his original interviews with European children, that the phases of his model were determined primarily by a genetic pattern universal throughout humankind. The young in one culture could be expected to advance through the same phases and in the same sequence as those in any other culture. However, later cross-cultural comparisons suggested that the dominant beliefs about childrearing in some cultures are more compatible with Piaget's stress on

maturation and physical experience than are such beliefs in other cultures, and these differences influence what is regarded in intelligence.

Causes of individual and cultural differences. Piaget initially accounted for children's progress through the four phases by the internal maturation of their nervous system as governed by their genetic endowment. However, a host of studies conducted in different social setting have suggested that the nature of individuals' experiences within their family and community must play an important role in forming their intelligence as it is revealed in behaviour.

A common form of reasoning addressed by Piagetian tasks is the syllogism, used to test a person's ability to draw inferences from a stated premise. Competently handling syllogisms has been considered a characteristic of the formal operations level in Piagetian theory. As an example of employing syllogisms to estimate mental progress, consider a task posed by the Russian psychologist Alexander Luria to illiterate peasants in Central Asia.

[Psychologist's syllogism] In the Far North, where there is snow, all bears are white. Novaya Zemlya is in the Far North and there is always snow there.

What color are the bears there?

[Peasant] We always speak only of what we see; we don't talk about what we haven't seen.

[Psychologist] But what do my words imply? [Repeats syllogism.]

[Peasant] If a man was 60 or 80 [years old) and had seen a white bear and had told about it, he could be believed, but I've never seen one and hence I can't say. That's my last word. Those who have seen can tell, and those who haven't seen can't say anything! (At this point a younger man [one with some schooling) volunteered, "From your words it means that bears are white.") (Luria in Rogoff & Chavajay, 1995, p. 86)

The fact that Piaget founded his theory on the responses of children who were all products of European schools could account for his failing to recognize cultural experience as highly influential in determining how children solved different sorts of problems.)

From the perspective of Piagetian theory, two noteworthy types of cultural encounters are ones that concern (a) conclusions drawn about the effect of genetic inheritance on the development of intelligence and (b) interpretations of the influence of enculturation on intelligence.The term acculturation, refers to the process of an individual's adopting cultural traits or social patterns of a group (encountered culture) other than those of the group into which the person was born (original culture). A considerable body of research (de Lacey, 1973) supports the following-rather commonsensical-generalization:

The influence of an encountered culture on an individual is greater whenever the encounter:

(a) occurs earlier in the person's life,

(b) pervades more aspects of life, and

(c) extends over a longer period of time.

Thus, a Vietnamese child adopted at age 3 by a Canadian family of Anglo Canadian heritage might be expected to reflect more of Anglo Canadian mental development characteristics (those measured by Piagetian tasks) than would a Vietnamese who immigrated to Canada at age 21. Piagetians could account for the observed difference by citing two of the four causal factors in Piaget's system

(a) direct and generally unguided experience with the world's objects and events that is called physical experience and

(b) the guided transfer of knowledge (education in a broad sense) called social transmission.

In effect, the Canadian cultural context would furnish a different set of opportunities for both physical experience and education than would the indigenous Vietnamese context.

Gardner's theory

Frames of mind, as proposed by Howard Gardner, a Harvard University psychologist:

Intelligence is not a singular, unified personal power that operates with equal effectiveness in all aspects of life. Instead, intelligence is more accurately conceived seven separate types of ability or intelligences that make their separate contributions to the adequacy of people's performance in life's endeavors. The seven focus on

(1) use of language,

(2) logical-mathematical analysis,

(3) spatial picturisation,

(4) musical intelligence,

(5) the use of the body to cater to problems or to make things,

(6) a discernment of other individuals (a form of social intelligence), and

(7) a discernment of oneself (Gardner, 1983).

Where individuals differ is in the strength of these intelligences- the so called profile of intelligences- and in the ways in which such intelligences are invoked and combined to carry out different tasks, solve diverse problems, and progress in various domains. (Gardner, 1991).

The amount or strength of a particular intelligence is partially the result of the person's genetic endowment, that is, the individual's biological inheritance. Inheritance provides a base of potentiality that must then be nurtured by the person's experiences with the world, that is, by environmental factors. Without constructive learning opportunities, genetic potential will not be realized to its fullest capacity.

An important feature of environment is the selection of activities most valued and fostered by the culture in which the child grows up. In effect, each culture emphasizes activities that promote the development of some intelligences more than others. These differing emphasis are observed in the family, the school, occupational settings, and in such mass-communication media as books, magazines, and television".

Cultural Variations: Variations across cultures in the lifestyles they encourage result in differences in the types of intelligence fostered in those societies. Facets of the particularly significant in determining which intelligences are most valued include a culture's occupational structure, social organization and governance, social-class patterns, and recreational pursuits.

The occupational structure of hunting-gathering tribes places high value on the space-perception, body-strength, and physical-agility skills required for spotting and capturing animals and for recognizing and harvesting edible plants. Thus, much time and energy are invested in exercising spatial and physical types of intelligence. Demonstrated aptitude in these two forms contributes to people's survival and earns rewards of prestige and material wealth. In contrast, cultures that depend heavily on sophisticated communication and abstract-knowledge skills, as found in postindustrial "information societies," esteem language and logical-mathematical talent. Consequently, those two sorts of intelligence are stressed in the formal-education institutions of such societies, and people who exhibit particular talent in applying these aptitudes can enjoy high status and prosperity.

Each society also exhibits a particular social-class system, with people located across various levels of social classes that are usually distinguished from each other by types of occupations, amounts of income, quality of housing, education, and friendship alliances.

The different levels may also vary in subculture characteristics such as language usage, style of dress, and recreational preferences. Which types of intelligence are best suited to a given social-class level can vary according to the cultural requirements of that level. The notion that differences in tested intelligence between cultural groups depends more on environmental influences than on genetic endowment has been supported by a study of classification skills among Australian children from four experiential backgrounds-

(a) high-socioeconomic European heritage,

(b) low-socioeconomic European heritage,

(c) Aborigines having high contact with European culture, and

(d) Aborigines having low contact with European culture.

In testing the four sets of children with a series of Piagetian tasks that required classifying objects, deLacey (1973) demonstrated a consistent relationship between the children's cultural milieus and their classificatory performance. The higher the socioeconomic level of children of European ancestry, the better they succeeded with the tasks. The greater the contact of Aborigines with European culture, the better the Aborigines performed.

The recreational activities in which people engage are also related to the forms of intelligence in which they excel. Individuals who are avid readers of history, philosophy, and classical literature can be expected to possess advanced aptitudes for language and logical analysis. Ones who spend long hours listening to or producing music are expected to have strong musical intelligence. Those skilled at woodworking, sewing, bowling, hiking, or playing tennis count on their physical-coordination intelligence. Ones adept at landscape painting, sculpture, or fabric design (as in Balinese wood sculpturing and Javanese batik designing) depend on their aptitudes for both space perception and manual dexterity. Furthermore, it is apparent that cultures vary in how much they value and reward these different sorts of activities.

Multiple settings: Problems can arise from confrontations between cultures that hold divergent notions of intelligence, of which varieties of intelligence are most admired, and of how those forms should be nurtured. Specifically, difficulties can occur when

(a) children enter an education system whose practices are founded on a different theory of intelligence than that held in children's out-of-school environments,

(b) educational practices from one culture are transferred to another culture that holds different assumptions about the nature of abilities and their development, and

(c) people steeped in their own culture's conception of intelligence interact with people steeped in a conflicting view.

The schooling of immigrants. Teachers in societies that employ Western approaches to education typically base their judgments of students' intellectual abilities on three sources of evidence-direct observations of students' oral performances in class activities, the analysis of students' work products (projects, homework assignments, achievement tests), and the results of standardized intelligence or aptitude tests. Faulty conclusions about students' abilities can result if teachers fail to understand, the immigrant children's cultural backgrounds.

The sort of oral performance that teachers often regard as evidence of higher intelligence involves children (a) frequently volunteering answers to questions the teacher or classmates pose, (b) giving reasonable responses when called upon, (c) participating actively and relevantly in class or small-group discussions, and (d) asking thoughtful questions. Teachers may conclude that immigrant children have low mental ability if they rarely display these behaviours. However, such children may, indeed, be intellectually quite apt but are simply acting in accordance with the standards of their home culture. For instance, Samoan children may seldom participate in class discussions or ask questions because of cultural beliefs about status: "Low-status people (including children) are supposed to listen, not ask

questions. To ask questions is to act above one's station, thereby challenging the statuses of both listener and speaker" (Pelissier, 1991, p. 87). Asking a lot of questions is also considered unwise in the culture of Pukapuka atoll in the Southeastern Pacific, since status rivalry makes it inappropriate to ask questions and thereby to lose face through publicly acknowledging ignorance.

Reactions

People can react in diverse ways to the differences between the life view they acquired from their original culture and the life views displayed in cultures with which they come into contact. At one extreme, some individuals will cling tenaciously to their traditional beliefs, condemning the beliefs of other cultures as blatantly false. At the opposite and of the scale, people may gradually abandon their traditional views in favor of those of the newly engaged culture. Or they may pretend to adopt the new culture's notions of reality in order to be accepted by its members, yet at the same time secretly adhere to their inherited conceptions. On the other hand, many will seek to combine elements of their traditional culture with those of the newly encountered society, thereby producing an admixture of cognitions that may be somewhat unstable.

LEARNING

The concept of learning, in its broadest sense, can be defined as "the process of acquiring knowledge and new behaviours as a result of encounters with the environment" Therefore, to qualify as a product of learning, what people know and are able to do must have been acquired through daily experiences rather than simply through changes within their bodies that have been determined by genetic factors. Although the genetically designed internal maturation of the body-and particularly of the nervous system-provides a necessary foundation for learning at progressive phases of a person's life, gaining knowledge and new behaviours still requires transactions with environments. Because environments are heavy laden with cultural elements, culture exerts a great influence over what people learn.

It is true, of course, that creative learning can involve a person manipulating ideas and information that are already in mind, that is, manipulating memories to produce novel insights without the need for new input from environments. Because those memories are products of the person's earlier engagements with environments, my definition of learning as a process requiring environmental encounters still holds true.

Learning, like cognition, is an extremely complex activity that has not been represented completely by any single theory. Consequently, diverse theories have been created to illuminate different aspects of the learning process and thereby serve as alternative windows on cultural influences, as illustrated by five models. The first four models are organized in terms of four steps in the learning process, with each theory treating a different step: (a) attention to the act of focusing on some aspect of the environment, (b) perception interpreting 'what that aspect means, (c) imitating models - copying the behaviour of someone else, and (d) consequences of actions-experiencing the outcomes of behaviour as either reward or punishment. The chapter's fifth theory, an attempt to explain autism, is an example of learning gone wrong.

The Focus of Attention

Attention Theory, as formulated by Eleanor Gibson, a professor at Cornell University.

Attending means "perceiving in relation to a task or goal, internally or externally motivated. To be described as attending, a person must be set to do something, be motivated to perform a task or to achieve some end" (Gibson & Rader, 1990)

Three types of attention can be labeled captured/involuntary, self-directed voluntary, and other-directed. The first type consists of a person's awareness being attracted by salient stimuli in the environment. A curious noise or strange sight lures the person's mind from what he or she was thinking about at the time. Advertisers depend on captured/involuntary

attention techniques as means of forcing or enticing potential customers to notice their products.

The second type-self-directed, voluntary attention-derives from individuals' concerns and needs at the moment. Attention is self-directed when people purposely center their awareness on certain aspects of the environment in preference to other aspects. The hungry child interrupts her doll play to seek out the cookie jar. The teenager, stranded at school after football practice, hunts for a telephone to ask his parents for a ride home.

The third type, other-directed, is found chiefly in child-rearing and educational settings in which learners are obliged to heed what the instructor intends to communicate - either personally or in the form of reading matter, tape recordings, motion pictures, or computer programs.

Good attention refers to perception that meshes with performance by efficiently picking up the information that has utility for a particular task. Developmentally, attention changes toward greater specificity of correspondence between information pickup and utility of that information (one learns to perceive affordances - [useful objects and techniques]-and to define tasks); and developmentally, attention tends toward economy. As affordances for action are perceived more efficiently, the perceiver's task can become more complex, more information can be picked up, and superficially speaking, the "span" of attention increases. (Gibson & Rader, 1990, p. 8)

In the process of growing up, children develop knowledge structures in the form of mentally organized beliefs that are strongly influenced by direct experience and education. With the gradual accumulation of beliefs about which causal factors produce which effects in the world, children's attention becomes more specifically directed. Hence, development equips children with more precise expectations about which features of the environment will be most useful for accomplishing the task at hand.

Not only does specificity of expectation improve with experience, but so also does flexibility of choice, in the sense of the child's recognizing a greater variety of ways (affordances) for accomplishing a task. When motivated by a desire to perform a given activity, a teenager will attend to more alternative affordances than will a toddler.

A further aspect of attention is preparedness. People can be more attentive if they know what to expect and thus what to look for. As the young develop, they acquire more knowledge, organize it in terms of what they already know, and add it to their increasingly systematized cognitive filing system, that is, to their long-term memory. This means that with the passing of time individuals become more adept at expecting which sorts of things in their environment or in memory will be most useful in performing a given task.

Two general categories of variables important in attention theory are (a) tasks that people are motivated to perform and (b) objects and methods useful for accomplishing tasks. But it is not enough to know only kinds of tasks or goals to pursue and kinds of objects and activities. As a third category; it is also necessary (c) to identify which activities and objects are most effective for achieving which goals. Therefore, to identify which things deserve attention, people need to know the degree of causal correlation between particular objects or events and particular tasks or goals. This knowledge enables them to answer the question: "If I want to accomplish this particular end, to which things should I direct my attention?"

As children mature, their pool of specific items in each of these three categories increases, and the relationships among them assume more complex patterns. Therefore, if children's caregivers are to be successful in efficiently directing a child's attention at successive levels of maturity, they need an understanding of the capacity for attention in individuals' development.

Cultural Variance: Cultures can vary markedly in the contents of each of the principal factors because of cultural differences in (a) the dominant goals pursued in different societies, (b) the objects and activities commonly employed in pursuing such goals, and (c) beliefs

about cause-that is, beliefs about which activities are most appropriate for reaching which goals. Cultures can also vary in (d) people's notions of when to instruct developing child. The following examples illustrate such differences in representative societies.

Dominant goals pursued. The goals that guide people's attention can be captured/ involuntary, self-directed, or other-directed. From the viewpoint of culture, the most significant goals are the other-directed varieties. Self-directed goals, while still influenced by culture, are more likely to be idiosyncratic-more specific to the individual)

One way to view the influence of culture on goals involves dividing goals into basic and adopted types. Basic goals are intentions (needs, drives) common to virtually all humans. Adopted goals, on the other hand, are more specific aims whose fulfillment contributes to achieving basic goals. To illustrate, two typical basic goals are those of gaining prestige and of becoming freed from physical and psychological pain or disability. Cultures can differ in their preferred ways of achieving such outcomes. Those preferred ways are the culture's adopted goals. For instance, in present-day America, greater prestige accrues to young women who are slim than to ones whose bodies are bulky. Thus, the adopted goal of many American females is to become slimmer, so they concentrate on diet and exercise. In contrast, conventional Hawaiian and Samoan cultures have accorded prestige to women whose bodies are well filled out. Since becoming slim is not a traditional Hawaiian or Samoan women's aim, they pay little or no attention to fat-free foods and aerobics.

Observation and Acting Cycles

A Theory of Perceptual Learning, as devised by James J. Gibson (1979) and Eleanor Gibson (1997), a husband and wife team at Cornell University.

The word perception refers to the process of interpreting sensory information-of picking up information (through seeing, hearing, touching) and making sense out of it (Gibson, 1997).

Three philosophies central to the Gibsons' theory are tasks, reciprocity, and affordance.

Tasks are goal-directed behaviours that can be either overt (outwardly observable actions) or covert (mental acts). Individuals' daily lives consist of tasks whose performance influences their development.

Reciprocity assumes two forms - child/environment and perception/action. The term child/ environment reciprocity refers to the way children's interpretation of their physical and social environments is a result of the mutual influence between a child's present developmental state and the immediate surroundings. The term perception/action reciprocity refers to progressive cycles of perceiving (getting information) and acting. The child perceives an environment, then acts on that perception. The action serves to confirm or disconfirm the original interpretation, either strengthening or altering the interpretation and thereby influencing successive perception that are then also assessed through the child's subsequent actions. This perception/action process, played over and over, constitutes development.

Perception obtains information for action, and action has consequences that inform perception about both the organism [child] itself and the events that it perpetrates. Perception, which has the function of obtaining information, is active and exploratory. Action is both exploratory and performatory: exploratory in the sense of foraging for information and performatory in the sense of controlling environmental consequences. (Gibson, 1997, p. 25)

In effect, people do not act on the basis of objective reality, that is, on the grounds of what their physical-and-socialemcirolllllell5-are- "really like," Instead, they act on their perception of their environments, on their interpretation of what the environments "seem to be like."

Affordance means the fit or match of a child's perceptual state and an environment, a relationship in which the child has the equipment and ability to take advantage of the opportunities the environment offers. Those features of a context that serve as opportunities

for one child will not represent the same opportunities for another child who has different goals and abilities. Therefore, an affordance is the possibility for action on the part of an actor in an environment. The constraints of the actor and the constraints of the environment mutually contribute to such possibilities for action. Accordingly, perception of the environmeot is necessarily perception of the self. In the course of development, perceivers tune their actions by differentiating the information that is relevant In the environment for the purpose of some action or activity. Action is guided by perception and action over time informs perception. (Tudge, Gray, & Hogan, 1997, pp. 79-89)

Children's daily lives can be seen as an ever-shifting kaleidoscope of child-and context engagements. A child's state of development is never static but always undergoing some degree of change.

Five factors that influence development from the viewpoint of the Gibsons' theory are (a) the child's present state of development (interests/goals and abilities), (b) the environments the child encounters, (c) the affordances offered by the child's engagements with those environments, (d) the child's perception of those affordances, and (e) the child's actions in response to such perceptions.

The Obtainment of Gender Attributes

Social-Learning Theory (or Social-Cognition Theory) as formulated by Albert Bandura, a professor of psychology at Stanford University. Although social-learning theory in its broadest application endeavors to explain how people acquire all sorts of beliefs and behaviours, the brief version offered here is limited to explaining how children and youths acquire their gender traits.

It is important to distinguish between how the words sex and gender are Intended throughout the following discussion. Whereas sex characteristics refers to biological features that distinguish females from males. Gender characteristics refers to social-psychological traits that typify females and males within a given culture.

Social Learning Theory: Bandura's (1986) social-learning theory emphasizes the way children's copying other people's behaviour can serve as a window to a society's beliefs about which people display characteristics worth copying.

In Bandura's opinion, most of children's learning results from their actively imitating what they see or hear other people say and do. Consequently, the term modeling (observational learning or vicarious learning) means that children add to their repertoire of actions by observing someone else perform an action rather than by overtly carrying out the behaviour themselves (Bandura, 1969, pp. 118120). Imitation can be direct, as when a child personally witnesses someone else's behaviour, or indirect, as when a child adopts actions depicted in either biography or fiction as presented in books, television programs, stage dramas, and the like.

The process of learning from models consists of five main functions: (1) paying attention to the model, (2) coding the model's actions so as to place the results in memory, (3) retaining the results in memory, and (4) carrying out the remembered material in actions. All four of these steps require (5) motivation, which is influenced by the consequences experienced by the observed model and by the child himself or herself when attempting the action.

Important features of modeling include (a) goals the child hopes to achieve, (b) the availability of models who are apparently attempting to reach such goals, (c) the methods that models employ, (c) the degree of success models appear to enjoy in terms of the consequences that result from their actions, (d) the ability of the child to copy the model's behaviour, and (e) the consequences the child experiences when applying the modeled actions in her or his own life.

Cultural Variance: Societies can vary in which behaviours they encourage in males and in females. Hofstede (1996), from her comparison of national-characteristics among the citizens of 40 nations, identified a masculinity/femininity factor that distinguished one national culture from another.

Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct; men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success, whereas women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. The opposite pole, Femininity, stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap; both men and women are supposed to be. modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. Countries scoring high on Masculinity included Japan, Germany, the United States, Britain, Mexico, and the Philippines; countries scoring low on Masculinity (feminine) included the Nordic countries, the Netherlands, France, Portugal, Costa Rica, and Thailand. (Hofstede, 1996, pp. 533-534)

Within a society, encouragement to adopt particular gender characteristics is fostered by the culture's dominant models of male and female behaviour and by the consequences people experience when they copy those models. Discouragement is fostered by the punishment suffered by people who copy culturally disapproved models.

Conveying desired gender characteristics to the young by both personal example and instruction can be illustrated with childrearing practices in the village of Khalapu, India, where females are taught to be kindly and subservient to men, and men are expected to be aggressive and vindictive in their relations with people with whom they compete, particularly with people of status lower than their own.

Daughters will soon marry out of the village and play no active role in village life, but the sons must be taught the patterns of loyalty and hatred which define the social groupings with which they must live throughout their lifetime. Therefore, whereas the wives usually do not extend their quarrels to their children and may welcome in the courtyard the offspring of families with whom their husbands are feuding, the men pass their animosities to the next generation [by identifying] the trustworthy, the untrustworthy, the relatives, the enemies, the false friends, and the neutrals who make up the participants in the intricate web of village factionalism. Furthermore, aggression training is given traditional sanction through the occasional reading of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata [Hindu epic poems] and the relating of stories about the bravery of Rajput warrior. (Minturn & Hitchcock, 1963, pp. 350-351). .

During infancy, the gender-typing of toys is rare in Peru, but "becomes highly emphasized in the preschool years" with action toys (cars, airplanes, boats, war-related playthings) furnished to boys, and dolls, houseware, and beauty-related items for girls. "Toys that are more gender-neutral included bicycles, tricycles, roller skates, and educational, computer, and electronic games" (Raguz & Pinásm, 1993, p. 249).

In France, although children receive some encouragement to play with toys that are stereotypically associated with the opposite gender, the dominant pattern is for parents and older siblings to reinforce traditional gender roles through toys and gifts that the young receive (Davido & O'Donoghue, 1993, p. 79).

Heterogeneity in Experiences

Cross-cultural informational exchanges has been an increasing dissatisfaction expressed by females in various societies over their traditional rights and roles. This dissatisfaction is to a great extent the result of rapidly expanding communication facilities (books, magazines, radio, television, the computer Internet) through which knowledge of the recently intensified feminist movements in America and Western Europe has spread worldwide. When the disappointment causes an individual to adopt new gender attributes that lead to a more positive self-image and life fulfillment, then the outcome can be judged constructive. However, if and there is no way for the person to break the bonds of tradition, she may then suffer greater misery then she would have if she had never been introduced to other cultures' role possibilities.

In cross-cultural marriages, problems often arise because of the different concepts of proper husband and wife roles brought to the union by the man and woman. Consider, for example, the potential for discord in marriage between a traditional Mexican cultural expecations for

the husband and wife roles as sketched by Diaz-Guerrero and Rodriguez de Diaz (1993, pp. 201, 205).

The dynamics of the Mexican family are rooted in two fundamental propositions: (1) the absolute supremacy of the father and (2) the necessary and absolute sacrifice of the mother. The mother's role has always implied abnegation, which involves the denial of any and all possible selfish aims. ... Soon after the honeymoon, the husband passes from slave to master, and the woman enters the hardest test of her life. ... The husband must work and provide. He knows nothing, nor does he want to know anything, about what happens in the home. He demands only that all obey him and that his authority be unquestioned. Often, after working hours, he joins his friends and leads a life no different from that he led when unmarried.

Next, note the characteristics of a typical emancipated U.S. American woman. She expects to have a respected occupation outside the home - at least part-time - whereas inside the home she expects her husband to share housekeeping and child-care tasks. When work is finished, she expects that the two of them will frequently participate together in recreational activities.

Behaviour and Its Aftermath

Radical Behaviourism, as formulated by B.F. Skinner, a Harvard University psychologist.

As children grow up, they accumulate an increasing array of ways to behave in different life situations. In other words, for any situation, children and youths develop a variety of ways they can respond. These ways form their repertoire of behaviour options. Which option they will choose to adopt on any given occasion is determined by the consequences that have followed the use of that option on similar occasions in the past. Rewarding consequences (rein-forcers) that have accompanied an action strengthen the likelihood that such an action will be used in the future in similar circumstances. Nonrewarding or aversive consequences (nonreinforcers and punishments) that have followed a behaviour serve to weaken the probability that such a behaviour will be adopted on similar future occasions (Skinner, 1974).

Cultural Differences cultures vary in four main ways: (a) the kinds of behaviour that are approved and disapproved, (b) the degree of approval and disapproval (ranging from slight to extreme) of the each kind, (c) types of consequences considered appropriate for encouraging approved acts and for discouraging disapproved acts, and (d) the effectiveness of the various types of consequences for influencing behaviour. These forms of cultural variation are illustrated by the following examples.

Approved and disapproved kinds of behaviour. The importance of children abiding by cultural rules can differ from one type of behaviour to another. This difference is usually reflected in the sorts of consequences adults apply for infractions and the consistency with which they actually carry through with threatened sanctions or promised rewards.

Degrees of approval and disapproval. One way to judge the degree to which a behaviour is disapproved is by how far a person will go to ensure that a child or youth complies with a command. For instance, observations of mother-child interactions in the Okinawan village of Tiara showed that

A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of care-taking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions. (Maretzki & Maretzki, 1963, p. 519)

Appropriate types of consequences. Three of the more dramatic ways in which societies differ are in their customs governing (a) the proper combination of positive and negative responses to children's behaviour, (b) corporal punishment, and (c) public exposure as means of discouraging objectionable conduct.

Positive/negative consequence ratio. A cultural contrast in the amount of positive (complimentary, rewarding) and negative (critical, punishing) treatment of children is found in Levy's comparison of general childrearing practices in a Tahitian village and a Nepalese town. Children in Tahiti were allowed to go when Tahitian parents did apply directive verbal interventions, their remarks were offered much verbal direction by adults; and primarily negative: "Don't do this" or "Stop doing that." In Nepal, parents offered much verbal guidance to their offspring as the children were learning to perform a new task, and this guidance was usually in positive, encouraging terms. Only after a child had achieved a measure of mastery would negative remarks appear, and then in a moral form, such as "It's not right to do that," rather than, "Don't do that" (Levy, 1996, p. 134).

Corporal punishment. The term corporal punishment means inflicting bodily harm for unacceptable behaviour, with the types of punishment ranging from the most painful and debilitating to the gentlest and least offensive. Hence, varieties of corporal punishment can extend from the extreme of cutting off the hands of a thief to the inconsequential mild slap on the buttocks of a sassy 5-year-old.

Public exposure. Public exposure as an imposed consequence and consists of widely proclaiming a person's wrongdoing.

Effectiveness of different types of consequences. How successful different kinds of consequences are in altering behaviour is a matter of great debate. In Western societies, certain behaviourists - including Skinner - assert that punishment is not an efficient means of permanently eliminating individuals' unacceptable acts. Although they recognize that aversive consequences might deter people form misconduct while the punishing agent is present, they believe that the unacceptable act remains in the wrongdoer's repertoire of options, reappearing when the agent is absent (Thomas, 1996, p. 174). However, other learning theorists disagree that punishment is merely a temporary suppresser. They contend that punishment can be effective in extinguishing undesired acts (Hilgard & Bower, 1975, pp. 223-225).

Not only do methods of reinforcement generate cross-cultural controversy, so also do the kinds of behaviour that warrant reward or punishment. Howard's (1970) study of schooling in Rotuma revealed that most Rotuman parents dispense unconditional love to their children, punishing the young only for violating a limited number of well-defined rules. Therefore, at home Rotuman children do not need to perform at a prescribed level of skill in order to receive their parents' approval. But such is not the case in the Western sort of school that was first brought to the Pacific Islands by Christian missionaries in the 19th century. Schools demand that pupils pursue imported academic goals, ones that most children do not find intrinsically appealing. Unlike the Rotuman home, the school requires that learners reach prescribed levels of mastery if they are to avoid punishment and win their teachers' respect.

Perhaps the most widely adopted use of Skinnerian theory has been the process popularly referred to as behaviour modification. The aim of behaviour modification is to replace people's unacceptable habits with desirable ones by manipulating the consequences of their actions in ways that cause them to find it more rewarding to adopt appropriate behaviour than to continue in their current unacceptable pattern. The behaviour-modification process can be summarized in four basic steps:

1. Identify the specific behaviour you wish to have the person substitute for his or her objectionable behaviour.

2. Arrange for the person to try this new, desirable behaviour. There are several ways this can be done: simply wait for it to occur spontaneously, provide a model, verbally explain the desired behaviour, reward gradual approximations of the behaviour, or several of these together.

3. Determine what sorts of consequences will be strongly rewarding to the individual and what sorts will be punishing.

4. Manipulate the consequences so that the desired behaviour, when it appears, will be more rewarding (less punishing) than the objectionable acts. In effect, arrange the consequences so the person will be convinced that it is profitable to adopt the new behaviour and abandon the old.

The kind of consequences that modify behaviour can differ from one culture to another because of traditional cultural beliefs about which outcomes should be interpreted as rewards and which interpreted as punishments.

Emotions: Comprehensive

Among the many available theories of emotional development, a prominent issue that theorists - either directly or by implication - is the question of where (a) the emotions observed in one culture are universal throughout all cultures, and thus are characteristic of humankind, or (b) emotions vary from one culture to another and thus are culturally constructed.

The following theory is one that recognizes both biological and social influences but actually emphasizes the cultural-specific position.

Emotional Socialization Theory, as proposed by Michael Lewis.

Emotions are most usefully defined in terms of elicitors, receptors, states, expressions, and experiences Elicitors are events that stimulate emotional receptors, which are relatively specific locations or pathways in the central nervous system that activate changes in a person's physiological and/or mental states. Emotional states are the patterns of change in somatic and/or neuronal activity that accompany the activation of receptors. Emotional expressions are the potentially observable surface changes in a person's face, body, voice, and activity that accompany emotional states. Emotional experiences are people's conscious or unconscious interpretation of their perceived states and expressions (Lewis & Michalson, 1982, p. 182). A typical emotional event begins with stimuli impacting on a receptor, which sets off both a state change and emotional expression, then culminates in an emotional experience. However, this sequence is sometimes altered.

In contrast to biological theories of emotional development, socialization theory does not contend that the above five features of emotions are so thoroughly grounded in the biological composition of humans that the five appear in the same form in all cultures. Instead, while socialization theory "does not deny the importance of organism functions, . . . it stresses the equally important role of socialization in learning and emotional development" (Lewis & Saarni, 1985, p. 2)

The two major sets of variables for analyzing emotional development 1t are: (1) a culture's dominant beliefs about what constitutes appropriate emotional behaviour, and (2) the socialization techniques (learning activities) employed for teaching the young how to respond properly to emotionally eliciting events. Each of these categories is composed of several components.

Appropriate behaviour. Three variables important for understanding a culture's conception of acceptable emotional behaviour are people's shared beliefs about (a) the kinds of emotional expressions and (b) experiences (interpretations)' that should be evoked by (c) different types of environmental stimuli (elicitors).

Teaching emotional behaviour. The emotional behaviours children and youths come to display are determined by both direct and indirect sources of influence. Two direct sources are instrumental learning and didactic teaching. Two indirect sources are identification and imitation.

Instrumental learning consists of a child discovering by direct encounters with daily-life incidents what consequences accompany different kinds of emotional expression that the

child may exhibit in emotion-eliciting circumstances. In other words, children learn which kinds of expression-crying, laughing, complaining, smiling, attacking, running away-serve as instruments for producing desired, rewarding consequences and which kinds produce unpleasant, punishing consequences. Children who become successfully socialized are those who adopt the eliciter-expression combinations that are approved and rewarded by their culture's socializing agents (parents, guardians, teachers, athletic coaches, police officers, and the like) and who abandon the combinations disapproved and punished by such agents.

Didactic teaching involves a socializing agent instructing the child about what expressions to display under various emotion-rousing conditions. The coach of a baseball team of American ten-year-olds warns the players, "When you strike out, you don't throw your bat and stomp away grumbling; and you don't start weeping when the team loses." The mother of a 16-year-old Australian girl says, "If the other girls don't invite you to the party, don't frown and pout; just smile and act as if you don't care." Agents not only instruct the young in which ways of expressing feelings are most acceptable, but they frequently suggest how the young should experience an emotionally charged event. "It wasn't your fault, so you have no reason to feel bad" or "You did it on purpose; you ought to be ashamed."

Identification is the psychological process of persons extending their own sense of self to embrace characteristics of things in the environment-such things as people, animals, objects (works of art, endangered plant species), or institutions (schools, clubs, fraternal organizations, governments, religions, philosophical traditions). The extent of a child's identification with a thing is reflected in the quality and degree of emotion the child feels when learning of what has happened to that thing. The identification is strong if the child feels highly elated upon learning of the thing's successes and feels deeply depressed upon learning of the thing's defeats. If the child experiences no emotion upon learning the fate of the thing, then the child has established no identification with it. Identification is usually not accomplished by conscious intent but, rather, takes place automatically, operating at a subconscious level. Thus, the child can acquire elicitor-expression combinations by identifying with someone who displays those patterns of emotional response.

Intimately linked to identification is the process of imitation in which children and youth intentionally model their emotional behaviour after that of individuals they admire. By seeing which consequences accompany the ways other people react to emotion-evoking events, children can vicariously le3fl1 the forms of emotional expression approved and disapproved in their culture.

Variance among cultures: Five important ways in which cultures differ in the socialization of emotions are in (a) how to express emotions, (b) when to express them, (c) how a person learns to manage or control emotions, (d) how emotions are labeled, and (e) how they are interpreted (Lewis & Michalson, 1982, p. 191).

The clearest evidence that culture influences emotional development is found in emotional expression and experience (interpretation). People discover from their society which expressions of fear, grief, joy, guilt, or embarrassment are considered most appropriate on different eliciting occasions. Children learn that "how people feel in a particular situation is not only supposed to be 'natural,' given the situation, but it is also socially expected, or even socially required" (Schieffelin, 1985, p. 169).

A study by Harris (1989) Dutch, English, and Nepalese children showed that in all three countries children between ages 5 and 14 followed a highly similar pattern of development in recognizing various emotions. The younger children were adept at identifying emotions that could be revealed by distinctive facial or posture cues-fear, happiness, sadness, anger, and shyness. Then, beyond age 7, children could also cite situations that evoked emotions which had no obvious expressive display-pride, jealousy, gratitude, worry, relief, guilt, and excitement. However, the Nepalese participants differed from their European agemates in the life situations described as elicitors of various emotions. Specifically, the themes reflected in the examples offered by children in the remote Nepalese village featured the burdens and anxieties of agricultural labor . . . ; the pleasures associated with certain special foods or

treats in an otherwise bland diet of rice or maize and lentils. . . ; [and] the proximity of serious illness, poverty, and death. . By comparison, the European children. . . inhabited a more protected world of toys, pets, and school. (Harris, 1989, p. 84)

Differences in the socialization of girls and boys can account for differences in how females and males experience emotion-laden events. Furthermore, those differences can vary across cultures. To illustrate, in a study conducted in India and in England, preschool-and-early-primary-school children in the two countries listened to a series of stories in which a central character feigned an emotion. The task of the children was to identify whether the expressed emotion was real or only appeared genuine. The Indian preschool girls proved more adept than either the English girls or the Indian and English boys at distinguishing between real and feigned emotion". In way of explanation, the authors suggested that girls in India are more often restricted to the home setting than are boys so that girls experience many more situations in which children are expected to show' appropriate behaviour toward adults.

A greater emphasis is placed on deference and decorum in the socialization of girls than of boys. . [Because] the ability to conceal inappropriate emotion from significant others (i.e., to "be polite") is culturally valued, then it is not surprising that girls achieve this understanding at an earlier age than boys, given the pressure on them to conform. (Joshi & MacLean, 1994, p. 1380)

Encounters across Cultures: Misunderstandings can result from the fact that a label identifying a widely recognized emotional state within one culture may not be easily translated into the language of another culture and thus may not be comprehended by members of the other culture.

An important cause of cross-cultural misunderstanding of emotion is that the rationale linking emotions to behaviour in one society may be either incomprehensible or unacceptable in a different one. During research in the Samoan Islands, Eleanor Gerber was puzzled by Samoan informants telling her that fathers severely beat their children in a spirit of love (alofa). The explanation she received was that

Fathers and children are closely identified, and the behaviour of children reflects almost directly on the reputation of the parents. ... Because of this close identification, fathers stand to be shamed if their children misbehave. They must teach them right from wrong, but children, especially young children, learn only with the incentive of pain. Concerned fathers, who worry about their children's capacity to shame them and wish to make their children good people, therefore beat them. (Gerber, 1985, p. 131).

MORAL VALUES

Values are people's convictions about the desirability, propriety, or goodness of something. The "something" may be a person, an object, a place, an event, an idea, a kind of behaviour, or the like. Statements of value tell whether something is good or bad, well done or poorly done, suitable or unsuitable.

Values can be categorized into different classes. For instance, there are aesthetic values that involve judgments offered from an artistic viewpoint. Aesthetic values, when applied to a flower garden, a poem, a painting, or a dance performance, are reflected in such phrases as "beautifully arranged," or "nicely turned metaphor," or "uninspired, reflecting no creativity whatever." Another class is that of functional values. These focus on how efficiently something operates or on how well its parts coordinate. People are applying functional values when they complain about an erratic washing machine or about government inefficiency. Economic values concern how much profit or loss an investment yields. Prudential values guide an individual's social relations and use of time and energy so as to produce the greatest personal benefits. A girl finds it prudential not to tell her teacher that the teacher's breath smells sour, and a husband finds it prudential to bring his wife a gift when he has arrived late for their evening at the theater. Moral values are convictions people hold about proper ways to behave towards other humans. Many people extend their

moral values to include ways of acting towards supernatural beings (gods, spirits of ancestors), animals, and the natural environment. Moral values are the focus of our concern in this chapter.

Over the centuries, many dozens of theories have been offered to explain how moral values develop. Some theories are embedded in religious traditions such as Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Shinto. Others theories are secular proposals rather than components of religious persuasions (Thomas, 1997). Conceptions of how people acquire their moral values come in many forms. Among the secular models, the one that has drawn the greatest attention over the past three decades is a version devised to reveal stages through which people's moral reasoning evolves)

The Psychology of moral development, as formulated by a Harvard University professor, Lawrence Kohlberg.

The essence of morality is found in the concept of justice, with such morality represented on different levels. The lowest level of justice is self-centered hedonism- "Rules are absolute and inviolate, so obey the rules to avoid punishment." The highest level is even-handed justice, with everyone enjoying negotiated equal rights based on the sanctity of human life as the core value.

People's moral reasoning at any given time is determined by the present state of their cognitive structures. Each time someone encounters a moral incident, that individual's cognitive structures fashion the meaning that he or she will assign to - or derive from - the incident. Cognitive structures, in effect, serve as mental lenses that cast life's experiences in particular configurations. Because one person's structures differ in some degree from another's, the interpretation that one-person place moral episode is expected- to differ somewhat from the interpretation that another assigns to the same episode.

During the years of childhood, cognitive structures change with advancing age. Human development naturally progresses from the lowest level in early childhood toward the highest level over the years of later childhood and youth. But how far up the hierarchy of levels a person advances and how fast depend on a combination of that individual's genetic inheritance and environmental encounters. In effect, the composition of a person's mental templates at any time of life is the product of transactions between that individual's genetic code and daily experiences. The genetic timing system establishes the period in life that a given structure can be activated; then experience in the world fashions the exact way the structure evolves.

In sum, the development of moral reasoning consists of a sequence of changes in a person's cognitive structures (the interpretive mechanisms of the mind) and in the contents of the mind (memories, beliefs) that have been forged by the operation of those structures.

Kohlberg labeled his theory a "rational reconstruction of the ontogenesis of justice reasoning" and not, as people have often assumed, a complete depiction of moral development.

I have always tried to be clear that my states are stages of justice reasoning, not of emotions, aspirations, or action. Our data base has been a set of hypothetical dilemmas posing discords between the rights or claims of different persons in dilemma situations. (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 224)

The dilemmas are nine brief life-like moral episodes described in the form of anecdotes. People who hear the anecdotes are asked to tell how the characters in the episodes should have behaved and to support their recommendation with a line of reasoning.

Kohlberg postulated six stages in the evolution of moral reasoning from early childhood into adult life. The following brief glimpse of the stages in their mid 1980s version suggests several of their distinguishing characteristics. The presentation advances from the earliest levels, indicative of the thinking processes of young children, to the higher levels, which

can be achieved by individuals who are intellectually more mature (Kohl berg, 1984, pp. 621-639). Kohlberg linked his scheme to Piaget's stages of logical reasoning by contending that the growing child had to reach a suitable level of logical thought before being able to advance to a comparable stage of moral reasoning. For example, Kohlberg proposed that an individual must be capable of Piaget's concrete operational thought in order to adopt Kohlberg's Stage 2 (individualistic, instrumental morality) approach to moral judgments. An older child needed to command Piaget's full formal-operations thought processes before reaching Kohlberg's Stage 4 (social-system morality) (Kegan, 1982, p. 86).

Stage 1: Heteronomous Morality. Kohlberg refers to the perspective at this initial stage as moral realism which a person assumes that moral judgments are so self-evident that no justification is needed beyond simply stating the rule that has been broken. Failing to tell the truth or using an object that belongs to someone else is absolutely wrong and automatically warrants punishment. There are no such things as extenuating circumstances, such as people's intentions or their knowledge of right from wrong. This stage represents Piaget's heteronomous justice-absolute obedience to authority and the letter of the law.

Stage 2: Individualistic, Instrumental Morality. At this second level, the person recognizes that different people can have different points of view toward a moral incident. "Since each person's primary aim is to pursue his or her own interests, the perspective is pragmatic to maximize satisfaction of one's needs and desires while minimizing negative consequences to the self" (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 626). Thus, the participants in a moral incident seek to negotiate a deal with each other as the instrument for coordinating their efforts for mutual benefit. No general moral principles guide their action, so that each case is handled separately. However, such. a pragmatic approach "fails to provide a means for deciding among conflicting claims, ordering or setting priorities on conflicting needs and interests" (Kohl berg, 1984, p. 626).

Stage 3: Impersonally Normative Morality. The notion of justice advances beyond the individual-interest level to a conception of shared moral norms that guide everyone's moral behaviour, regardless of the particular situations or particular people involved. In contrast to Stage I, where rules are handed down by authority, the shared norms at Stage 3 are the result of general agreement about what constitutes suitable social behaviour. Individuals operating from a Stage 3 perspective are concerned with playing their social role in a positive, constructive manner, with good motives instead of bad motives as evidence of one's general personal morality. The guide to action is provided by the Golden Rule - do unto others as you would have others do unto you. People at Stage 3 are especially concerned with maintaining mutual trust ar·d social approval.

Stage 4: Social System Morality. People at this level look beyond informal, commonly agreed-upon rules for individuals' interactions and now encompass the entire social system in their purview of moral behaviour. "The pursuit of individual interests is considered legitimate only when it is consistent with the maintenance of the sociomoral system as a whole. . .. A social structure that includes formal institutions and social roles serves to mediate conflicting claims and promote the common good" (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 631). This perspective recognizes a societal, legal, or religious system that has developed codified rules and practices for adjudicating moral discords. In some settings, the laws may be ones representing an overarching philosophical or religious conviction rooted in the individual's conscience, a conviction that can be in discord with the society's dominant legal system. In summary, moral judgments at Stage 4 are founded on legal or religious institutions and belief systems.

Stage 5: Human-Rights and Social-Welfare Morality. In contrast to accepting the rules of a society, as they are already constituted, Kohlberg posits at Stage 5 a perception of morality that people would rationally build into a social system to promote universal values and rights. This prior-to-society viewpoint asks what rules would guide a society that fosters equality, equity, and general welfare for all. Upon answering this question, people are then obligated to make moral choices in keeping with those rules, even when their choices conflict with the society's present codes. Stage 5 provides a concern for the protection of

the rights of the minority that cannot be derived from the social system perspective of Stage 4, since "social institutions, rules, or laws are evaluated by reference to their long-term consequences for the welfare of each person or group in the society" (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 634).

Stage 6: Morality of Unversalizable, Reversible and Prescriptive General Ethical Principles. Kohlberg describes this stage as the moral point of view that "all human beings should take toward one another as free and equal autonomous persons" (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 636). Such morality is universalizable in being applicable at all times and in all places among all people. It is reversible, in that the plaintiff and defendant in a moral incident could exchange places and the decision for resolving the issue would not be affected-a kind of "moral musical chairs" or second-order application of the Golden Rule. Each person understands and respects the point of view of every other person. "General principles are distinct from either rules or rights, first, in being positive prescriptions rather than negative proscriptions (don't kill, don't steal or cheat)" (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 636). One general principle can be that of respect for human personality or dignity. Another can be benevolence or universal compassion and care. Or moral decisions can derive from a cluster of principles-maximum quality life for everyone, maximum individual liberty in relation to like liberty for others, and the equitable distribution of goods and services. (Summarized from Kohlberg, 1984. pp. 621-639)

Empirical studies of moral reasoning in a variety of societies have confirmed that people do indeed apply the perspectives of the first five stages in their responses to hypothetical moral dilemmas. However, there remains a question about whether Stage 6 might perhaps be an ideal condition never actually achieved in practice (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, & Lieberman, 1983, p. 5').

Principal variables: Kohlberg proposed that (a) four chief causal factors interact to determine (b) the resulting outcome variable, which is how far up the six-stage hierarchy a person will progress and when he or she will arrive at each stage.

The first causal factor, and the one with the greatest genetic component, is the individual's level of logical reasoning as identified in Piaget's basic mental growth stages. The second variable, a personal factor that probably has both genetic and environmental elements, is the individual's desire or motivation, sometimes as the person's needs. The remaining two factors are cultural: (a) opportunities to learn social roles and (b) the form of justice in the social institution with which the person is familiar.

In regard to roles, Koblberg agreed with many social psychologists that children become socialized by learning to take the roles displayed by people around them. As children interact with others, they imagine themselves in the others' shoes and see life from others' perspectives. This ability increases with advancing age as children increasingly abandon a completely egocentric mode of perceiving life and become more adept at adopting other people's viewpoints. Thus, mature moral judgment "is based on sympathy for others, as well as on the notion that the moral judge must adopt the perspective of the 'impartial spectator' or the 'generalized other' " (Kohl berg, 1971, p. 190). How well children learn to assume others' roles depends to a great extent on the conditions of their social environment. Some environments encourage role-taking and thus hasten children's advance up the moral judgment ladder. Other environments limit opportunities to learn role-taking and thus slow children's progress in moral reasoning and may prevent them from ever reaching Stages 4 or5.

Kohlberg's fourth variable that contributes to growth in moral judgment is the justice structure of the social groups or institutions with which the child interacts-the family, the school, the church, and the local and national governments. At all stages of moral growth, the individual has some sort of concern for the welfare of other people. But only at Stage 5 is this concern based on what Kohlberg regarded as principles of true justice, those of equality and reciprocity. The principle of equality holds that we "treat every man's claim equally, regardless of the man" (Kohlberg, 1967, p. 169). The principle of reciprocity means equality of exchange-"punishment for something bad, reward for something good, and

contractual exchange" or fulfilling one's bargain. In each society the groups or institutions with which the growing child is intimately involved vary in their justice structures. A family dominated by an autocratic father differs from a family in which children are encouraged to make decisions, to take responsibility, and to be rewarded in accordance with how they carry out their self-imposed commitments. A dictatorial government that allows no voicing of contrary opinions differs from a multiparty democracy that permits freedom of expression. Kohlberg proposed that people who participate in social groups that operate on a high level of equality and reciprocity will advance to higher levels of moral judgment than will individuals whose main participation is in groups that display less equality and reciprocity.

Although Kohlberg's attention focused chiefly on group trends rather than on individual differences, it can be assumed that the variations among people in moral reasoning result from the differences among them in the four causal factors described above. A child whose genetic endowment leads to slower than average mental development, who lacks the will to abide by societal rules, who has few opportunities to adopt social roles, and who is raised in an autocratic social setting will exhibit a lower level of moral judgment than a child whose naïve endowment, motivation, and social environment are quite the opposite.

More than 50 studies conducted in widely diverse societies have inspected likenesses and differences among cultures from the viewpoint of Kohlberg's six-stage scheme (Snarey, 1985). Kohlberg interpreted these cross-cultural results to mean that in virtually all groups there are people on different levels of the stage hierarchy, but the dominant moral stage of one society can be different from the dominant stage of another. For instance, research on the levels of moral reasoning of boys ages 10, 13, and 16 in Mexico, Turkey, and the United States showed that a larger percentage of Mexican and U.S. boys were at higher stages than were Turkish boys at each age level (Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969, p. 104). Furthermore, differences have been identified not only between nations but also between socioeconomic classes.

In accounting for how and why people grow up as they do, virtually all modern-day theorists conceive of development as resulting, not from one sort of causal influence (component) acting alone, but rather from the interaction of two or more sources of influence. The pair of components most frequently mentioned are heredity and environment. In typical usage, heredity refers to determinants of development that reside in the genetic structure which each individual has acquired form the sperm and ovum furnished by the parents at the time of conception. Environment refers to influences in a person's surroundings that affect his or her development. Culture, in the sense of shared beliefs and practices, can be seen as a highly important feature of the environment.

PART-III

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

Every culture expects its members to master certain essential skills and acquire certain appropriate behaviour patterns at various ages during the life span. As Neugarten has explained:

> *Every society is age-graded, and every society has a system of social expectations regarding age-appropriate behaviour. The individual passes through a socially-regulated cycle from birth to death as inexorably as he passes through the biological cycle; and there exists a socially prescribed timetable for the ordering of major life events... Although the norms vary somewhat from one socioeconomic, ethnic, or religious group to another, for any social group it can easily be demonstrated that norms and actual occurrences are closely related.*

MEANING OF DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

Society expects individuals to exhibit certain behaviour patterns at various stages in their lives; Havighurst has labeled these developmental tasks. According to him, a developmental task is "a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness and difficulty with later tasks." Some tasks arise mainly as a result of physical maturation, such as learning to walk; others develop primarily from the cultural pressures of society, such as learning to read; and still others grow out of the personal values and aspirations of the individual, such as choosing and preparing for a vocation. In most cases, however, developmental tasks arise from these three forces working together. The important developmental tasks for different phases in the life span are outlined by Havighurst.

Developmental Tasks During the Life Span

Babyhood and Early Childhood

- Learning to walk
- Learning to take solid foods
- Learning to talk
- Learning to control the elimination of body wastes
- Learning sex differences and sexual modesty
- Achieving physiological stability
- Forming simple concepts of social and physical reality
- Learning to relate oneself emotionally to parents, siblings, and other people
- Learning to distinguish right and wrong and developing a conscience

Late Childhood

- Learning physical skills necessary for ordinary games
- Organizing one's knowledge of physical and social reality
- Learning to work well in the peer group
- Becoming an independent person
- Building wholesome attitudes toward oneself as a growing organism
- Learning to get along with age-mates
- Learning an appropriate sex role
- Developing fundamental skills in reading, writing, and calculating
- Developing concepts necessary for everyday living
- Developing conscience, morality, and a scale of values
- Developing attitudes toward social groups and institutions

Adolescence

- Accepting one's physique and accepting a masculine or feminine role
- Establishing new relations with age-mates of both sexes
- Gaining emotional independence from parents and other adults
- Achieving assurance of economic independence
- Selecting and preparing for an occupation
- Developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence
- Desiring and achieving socially responsible behaviour
- Preparing for marriage and family life

- Building conscious values in harmony with an adequate scientific world picture

Early Adulthood

- Selecting a mate
- Learning to live with a marriage partner
- Starting a family
- .Rearing children
- Managing a home
- Getting started in an occupation
- Taking on civic responsibility
- Finding a congenial social group

Middle Age

- Achieving adult civic and social responsibility
- Establishing and maintaining an economic standard of living
- Assisting teen-age children to become responsible and happy adults
- Developing adult leisure-time activities
- Relating oneself to one's spouse as a person
- Accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age
- Adjusting to aging parents

Old Age

- Adjusting to decreasing physical strength and health
- Adjusting to retirement and reduced income
- Adjusting to death of spouse
- Establishing an explicit affiliation with members of one's age group
- Meeting social and civic obligations
- Establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements

Although each culture expects the members of that culture to master certain, developmental tasks, cultural values change. Some of the old developmental tasks may be eliminated and replaced by new ones, or their relative importance may be lessened. When, for example, it became apparent that the Russians were ahead of us in science, after the launching of Sputnik I, one of the tasks the American schools put great emphasis on was the learning of mathematics and science. Although this had always been a part of the American school curriculum, its relative importance changed radically. After about a decade, it became apparent that other subjects were of more practical value to the majority of students, and the emphasis on mathematics and science was lessened.

Purposes of Developmental Tasks

Developmental tasks serve three very useful purposes. First, they are guidelines to enable the individual to know what society expects of him at a given age. Parents of a young child, for example, can be guided in teaching him different skills by the knowledge that society expects him to master them at certain ages and that his adjustments will be greatly influenced by how successfully he does so.

Second, developmental tasks motivate the individual to do what the social group expects him to do at certain times during his life. As Neugarten et al. have said :

Expectations regarding age-appropriate behaviour form an elaborated and pervasive system of norms governing behaviour and interaction. . .. There exists what might be called a prescriptive timetable for the ordering of major life events. Age norms and age expectations

operate as prods and brakes upon behaviour, in some instances hastening an event, in others delaying it. . . . For a great variety of behaviours, there is a span of years within which the occurrence of a given behaviour is regarded as appropriate. When the behaviour occurs outside that span of years, it is regarded as inappropriate and is negatively sanctioned.

Third, developmental tasks serve to show the individual what lies ahead and what he will be expected to do when he reaches the next stage of development in the life span.

Adjustment to a new situation is always difficult and is always accompanied by varying degrees of emotional tension; however, much of this difficulty and stress can be eliminated if the individual knows what will come next and prepares gradually for it. Just as the child who learns some of the social skills needed for the new social life of adolescence will find adjustment to members of the opposite sex easier when he reaches adolescence, so will the young adult find the transition into middle age easier and less stressful if he gradually cultivates adult leisure-time activities as his parental responsibilities lessen.

Potential Hazards Related to Developmental Tasks

Because developmental tasks play such an important role in setting guidelines for normal development, anything that interferes with their mastery may be regarded as a potential hazard. There are three very common potential hazards related to developmental tasks. The first is inappropriate expectations; either the individual himself or the social group may expect the development of behaviour that is impossible at the time because of physical or psychological limitations. As Norton has explained :

Expectations which were entirely appropriate to a prior stage will be grossly inappropriate to a present one. . . . Expectations which will become appropriate to a future stage are grossly misused when applied prematurely.

Norton has suggested a second potential hazard related to developmental tasks-the bypassing of a stage of development as a result of failure to master the developmental tasks for that stage:

No stage of growth can be bypassed but each must be lived through if it is to be transcended. This means' that neglect or suppression of a stage inevitably results in development arrest. And this condition is frought with further jeopardy, for the suppressed stage is ever afterward liable to erupt, always disjunctively.

The crises that the individual experiences when he passes from one stage of development to another are the third common potential hazard arising from developmental tasks.

Even though he may have mastered the developmental tasks for one stage satisfactorily, having to master a new set of tasks appropriate for the next stage inevitably brings with it tension and stress-conditions which can lead to a crisis. For example, a man whose working life has come to an end - and with it the prestige and personal satisfaction associated with the job - experiences a "retirement crisis."

Effects of Developmental Tasks on Attitudes and Behaviour

Sooner or later, everyone becomes aware that he is expected to master certain developmental tasks at various periods during his life, and each person also becomes aware of being "early," "late," or "on time" with regard to these tasks . It is this awareness that affects his attitudes and behaviour as well as the attitudes of others toward him.

Regardless of the cause, there are two serious consequences of a failure to master developmental tasks. First, unfavorable social judgments are inevitable; members of the individual's peer group regard him as immature, a label which carries a stigma at any age. This leads to unfavorable self judgments, which in turn lead to an unfavorable concept of self. Gordon emphasized the seriousness of this when he said that "Negative self-views may be as damaging as physical illness or actual physical handicap".

The second consequence of failure to master developmental tasks is that the foundations for the mastery of later developmental tasks will be inadequate. As a result, the individual continues to lag behind his peers, which increases his feelings of inadequacy. Equally serious, the individual must try to master developmental tasks appropriate for the next stage of development at the same time he is trying to complete the mastery of the tasks appropriate for the age level he has just emerged from. A child who is unprepared to enter school, for example, will find that his attempts to catch up to his agemates only intensify his feelings of inadequacy and reinforce social judgments of his immaturity. In time, if the struggle to catch up proves too difficult for him, he may stop trying and continue to behave immaturely, or he may build up defenses to justify his behaviour to himself and others. The building up of defenses is never a satisfactory solution to social or personal problems and results in the intensification of unfavorable social judgments as well as self-judgments, causing the child further unhappiness.

While most people would like to master developmental tasks at the appropriate time, some are unable to do so, while others are ahead of schedule.

Factors Influencing Mastery of Developmental Tasks

Handicaps to Mastery

- A retarded developmental level
- Lack of opportunity to learn the developmental tasks or lack of guidance in their mastery
- Lack of motivation
- Poor health
- Physical defects
- A low intellectual level

Aids to Mastery

- A normal or accelerated developmental level
- Opportunities to learn the developmental tasks and guidance in mastering them
- Motivation
- Good health and the absence of physical defects
- A high level of intelligence
- Creativity

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the basic principles of growth and development?
2. Write short notes on:
   i. Life Stages Theory
   ii. Gardner's Theory
   iii. Phases of Mental Development.
3. Explain the various dimensions of development.
4. What do you understand by developmental tasks?

CHAPTER

2

PSYCHOMOTOR AND PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

L E A R N I N G O B J E C T I V E S

After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Motor Development
- Social and Cognitive Evolution
- Parent-child resleationship

INTRODUCTION

Developmental psychologists study the changes that occur, during all or part of the life span, in the processes of perception, learning, thinking, social activity, and other aspects of human behaviour. There are three major issues in developmental psychology, which have stimulated recurring conflict. (i) How much nature and nurture influence the developing individual. (ii) is the question of whether individuals play passive or active roles in development. (iii) is the question of whether the accumulation of skills and knowledge is continuous or discontinuous and stage like.

The life span begins from conception and continues till death. It can be short or long. Longevity of life depends on many factors such as, hereditary, general physical condition, sex, race or caste, socio-economic status, education, occupation, and geographic location.

In human development nature and nurture both play its active role in determining the course of development. We are not simply the products of what our parents do to us but, instead, we begin life with certain psychological characteristics of our own. Parents respond to these characteristics, adding input of their own. Our development is thus shaped by the interplay of its inborn characteristics and our parents' behavior. This is one example of the interaction between heredity and environment - nature and nurture.

The psychosocial and motor development covers here deals with early formative developments in life.

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

Infancy

The pattern of Physical and motor development follows the laws of the laws of developmental direction. The development of motor activity (that is, movements involving muscle action) in the period of infancy has been studied extensively. Investigators have built up a rich fund of normative data on the ages at which certain motor milestones are attained. There is a fairly broad age range within which individual infants may reach each milestone, the order in which the milestones are reached rarely differs.

The same can be said of the steps involved in learning to move one's body around. The development of walking, in particular, involves a predictable series of milestones. The order of events is quite consistent, but the age at which each milestone will be reached is hard to predict for a given child.

Walking is another good example of the interaction of nature and nurture; although it seems to be a wired-in development sequence, it can up or slow down by variations in the infant's experience. For example, infants in some institutional settings who have had few opportunities to practice their motor skills show retarded motor development and delayed walking. By contrast, infants given a few minutes a day of "practise-walking" during the first 2 months of their life walk earlier than infants given no such practice (Zelazo et al., 1972).

Prehension, the use of the hands as tools, shows another predictable development sequence. It begins with infants thrusting their hands in the direction of a target object, essentially "taking a swipe" at the object. This is followed by crude grasping involving only the palm of the hand. Then there is a sequence of increasingly well-coordinated finger and thumb movements. Late in the first year of life, most infants can combine thumb and finger action into a pincer motion that allows them to pick up a single chocolate chip from a tabletop.

From the parents' point of view, one of the most important infant perceptual activities is looking at adult faces, particularly when the baby and parent make eye contact. By following eye movements, as in the study of triangle perception, investigators have traced significant developmental changes in face watching. One-month-olds show only a modest interest in real human faces; when they do focus on a face (which, in one study, was less than a quarter of the available time), they focus mostly on edges and points of light-dark contrast (a bit like the way neonates look at triangles). Two-month-olds, by contrast, spend more time looking at the interior of the face, especially the eyes, than at the outer edges.

For the infant, cognitive development is expressed through perceptual and motor activity. When a baby looks intently at the points and contrasts of a triangle or inspects her father's face, she is manifesting one of her few means of "thinking about" or "knowing" the triangle or the face. When another infant sucks on the handle of his rattle, this motor activity is his way of knowing, or "understanding," that rattle.

Cognitive

Jean Piaget (1970), a Swiss biologist, philosopher and psychologist has developed the most detailed and comprehensive theory of cognitive development. In Piaget's view, the development of knowledge is a form of adaptation and, as such, involves the interplay of two processes, assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation means modifying one's environment so that it fits into one's already developed ways of thinking and acting. For example, when a child hoists a banana and runs around in circle shouting, "Look - it's a jet," the child is assimilating the banana into ways of thinking and behaving that are already in place. Accommodation means modifying oneself so as to fit in with existing characteristics of the environment. The child who, for the first time, manages to peel a banana and adjusts his mouth so that the banana will fit into it has accommodated his ways of thinking and behaving to the banana as it really is. Of course, most steps in development involve some blend of assimilation and accommodation. The child who accommodates to the banana (adjusting his ways of holding his hand and his mouth) also assimilates the banana (by chewing and swallowing it), Piaget also spoke of equilibration - the tendency of the developing individual to stay "in balance" intellectually by filling in gaps in knowledge and by restructuring beliefs when they fail to test out against reality.

According to Piaget, the processes of assimilation, accommodation and equilibration operate in different ways at different age levels. One result is that our ways of thinking about, or knowing, the world passes through certain predictable stage. Research indicates that children in most cultures tend to pass through the stages in a similar order, although exceptions can be found

Piaget called the period of infancy the sensorimotor stage. This label reflects something we mentioned above: the infant's ways of knowing the world are sensory, perceptual, and motoric. Piaget called each specific "way of knowing" a scheme. A scheme is an action-sequence guided by thought. For example, when infants suck, they are exercising a sucking

scheme. Their first sucking is primitive and not very flexible in style; they need to adjust the way they hold their mouths so as to fit the object being sucked (for example, a nipple). In making the necessary adjustments, they accommodate their sucking scheme to the shape of the nipple. This allows them to assimilate the nipple into their sucking scheme. This combination of assimilation and accommodation results in adaptive behavior (that is, sucking effectively) that helps the infant survive. It is also a simple prototype of the way cognitive development takes place throughout infancy.

Piaget described many specific cognitive changes that take place during the sensorimotor stage. Piaget called object permanence - the idea that objects continue to exist even when we can no longer see them.

Social Evolution

The first "social" relationship most infants' form is with a parent, and in most cultures that parent is the mother. Various theorists have offered various ideas about the psychological significance of that relationship.

As we have just seen, Piaget emphasized the cognitive aspects of infancy. In the infant's ways of "relating" to parents and others, Piaget saw signs of sensorimotor intelligence. Sigmund Freud's view was quite different. He saw infancy, the oral stage, as a time when issues of dependency were being dealt with and 'when physical satisfaction was derived from stimulation in the oral region of the body. As the quotation from Freud suggests, he saw at least some parts of the infant-mother relationship as sensual in nature. Another theorist, Erik Erikson, argued that mother-infant interaction is a context for the baby's basic conflict between trust and distrust of the world.

Despite their differences, all three theorists would have agreed that infants typically form intimate attachments to their mothers. If we are to understand social development in infancy, we must understand how these attachments develop.

Adaptation Problems in Infancy

In an ideal world, infancy would be a time when baby and parent would quickly adjust to one another and develop a smooth harmony of styles that Stern (1974) called a "waltz." Unfortunately, the waltz is harder to learn for some parent-infant pairs than for others. Two of the most common child-behavior problems parents report at this age are "stubbornness" and "temper" (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1981).

A number of clinical disorders make their first appearance during infancy. Among these are several that are known to be caused by genetic or other biological factors. Down syndrome involves mental retardation and a characteristic physical appearance noticeable even in the newborn. Although the syndrome is known to be caused by a chromosomal abnormality, it usually does not run in families. Mental retardation, often accompanied by physical abnormalities, can also be caused by infectious diseases in the mother, by various metabolic disorders, or by brain damage.

Early signs of the disorder known as infantile autism make their appearance during the first year and a half of life. Autistic youngsters fail to show several of the landmark features of infancy that we discussed above.

From the age of about 18 months through the age of 6, the comfort confines of the child's family give way to the world of peers. The play that goes on in that world may seem frivolous to many adults, but we are now coming to recognize it as, to use Piaget's expression, "the work of the child." In the context of play, children make the transition from sensorimotor thinking to thinking that involves internal manipulation of symbols. The elegant symbol system known as language takes shape at a pace that leaves even experienced parents dazzled. The frequency and intensity of peer interaction force the child to deal with interpersonal issues, such as coping with aggressive impulses and learning how to help. The world grows more structured as the child moves into more and more formal educational settings.

Early childhood It is characterized from the age of about 18 months through the sixth year. In this the child comes out from the comfort zone and enters with playmates. This change adds different dimensions to development.

Cognitive Evolution

The period between about the ages of 2 and 7 was labelled the preoperational stage by Piaget (1970). By this label, he meant that these years are preliminary to the development of truly logical operations.

What are operations? They are flexible mental actions that can be combined with one another to solve problems. Older children have flexible logical operations.

The younger children, by contrast, do not have flexible logical operations. Their thinking suffers from irreversibility, and their judegments are thus dominated by perceptual appearances.

Another important development in the preoperational period is representational thought - the ability to form mental symbols to represent objects or events that are not present.

Achieving mature thought requires achieving a mature use of language. The steps involved in acquiring language look quite similar in children from a variety of cultures. In fact, as researchers began to notice this similarity across cultures the nature-nurture issue resurfaced.

Some theorists, notably B.F. Skinner (1957), have argued that children learn language by trying various combinations of sounds and being rewarded (for example, with praise and attention) by their parents and others for those sounds that represent true language. Others, such as Piaget, have argued that children create their language by constructing their own rules and revising them as needed. There can be little doubt that some of children's language acquisition comes from being rewarded or encouraged by others; all of us have seen this process in action. Yet it also is hard to deny that children are active builders of their own language. One line of evidence often used to support this view is the erroneous language that children use - language that reveals rules the children have constructed but that is not likely to have been rewarded.

Social Evolution

Along with the increasing mobility and accelerating language skills of the preschool child comes an expanding social world. The process by which the child's behavior and attitudes are brought into harmony with that world is called socialization.

Freud's theory focussed mainly on the child's socialization with respect to parents during this period. Freud believed that during the anal stage, roughly the second year of life, key interactions centre around toilet training. The child takes physical satisfaction from stimulation in the anal region of the body and social issues including self-control and orderliness are confronted. During the phallic stage, roughly ages 3-6, children find physical satisfaction in stimulation of their sexual organs and are attracted to the parent of the opposite sex. Out of the experiences of this stage, Freud believed that children forge a lasting identity with their same-sex parent.

Erikson saw the second year of life and the toilet-training experience as a time of conflict between autonomy, on the one hand, and shame and doubt, on the other. During the next 3 or 4 years, Erikson argued, the child's core conflict is between the urge to be industrious in school and elsewhere and the risk of feeling inferior. We will begin our discussion, as Freud and Erikson did theirs, with a focus on the parent-child relationship.

Parent-child Relationship

The first part of early childhood has been dubbed "the terrible 2s." One reason for this label is that the child's increasing physical prowess, intellectual power and language skill transform the nature of the parent-child relationship; the child becomes less compliant and manageable than before.

In addition, a major task of socialization must be confronted: toilet training. Parents who have been largely nurturers and caretakers of their children become teachers and enforcers, active agents of socialization.

In addition to teaching specific skills, the parent during this period is called upon to be a disciplinarian. But how should parents go about telling their child no?

First, a combination of general parental warmth and specific explanations for specific prohibitions seems to promote effective discipline. Parental warmth seems to make the child eager to maintain the parent's approval and to understand the parent's reasons for the prohibition.

Baumrind's study, like several other investigations in this area, suggests that parenting which combines warmth with moderate restrictiveness and an authoritative style will foster independence and social maturity in children even as early as the preschool years.

Baumrind's (1980) research also suggests that identical parental styles may foster different behavior patterns in boys and in girls. For instance, boys with punishing fathers seem to have difficulty in forming good peer relationships but girls with such fathers seem especially likely to be independent and self-reliant. It has been suggested that girls with very warm and tolerant fathers may be missing out on the parent-child tension that can stimulate self-assertion and autonomy.

Peers and Play

As children mature, their relationships with their parents are increasingly rivaled by their relationships with their peers. The nature of child-child interaction in the context of play changes in predictable ways over the early childhood years.

Initially, children engage in solitary play. They may show a preference for being near other children and show some interest in what those others are doing, but their own individual play runs an independent course. Solitary play is eventually replaced by parallel play, in which children use similar materials (such as, a pail and toy shovel) and engage in similar activity (such as, digging sand), typically near one another; but they hardly interact at all. By age 3, most children show at least some cooperative play, a form that involves direct child-to-child interaction and requires some complementary role taking. Examples of such role taking can be found in the "pretend" games that children use to explore such mysteries as adult relationships (for example, games of "Doctor"). Additional signs of the youngster's growing awareness of peers can be seen at about age 3 or 4. At this age, at least some children begin showing a special faithfulness to one other child when they choose playmates or friends. This faithfulness may last only a few days, but it is still a significant advance; prior to age 3, children's choices of playmates and friends may change almost randomly from day to day. It is also at about age 3 or 4 that children begin to prefer playmates of the same gender; this may be a preliminary step on the way to the stable sense of gender identity which emerges at age 4 or 5.

In early childhood, boy and girls face an important new task: learning to express unpleasant feelings in socially acceptable ways. Often the feelings are vented in the form of aggressive behavior. Studies show that aggressive behavior, across many cultures, is more common among boys than among girls; it is also more common in early childhood than later, at least in many of its physical forms. Why do children show aggression, and why does it take the forms that it does? Many have argued that frustration provokes aggression and that the forms it takes will depend on the child's previous learning.

Aggressive behavior may be fostered not only by observational learning but also by direct reinforcement or reward. In many settings where children play, the aggressive children often triumph over others, have easier access to preferred toys and even get extra attention from adults who are encouraging them to be less combative. Many youngsters are also rewarded for their aggressive behavior at home. Parents often respond to such behavior by

paying special attention to the child and even by giving in to the child's demands, "just to get a little peace and quiet" (Patterson, 1976).

Genial Behavior

Preschoolers can be aggressive but they can also be touchingly helpful, generous and comforting. Such behavior is called prosocial. It is often seen in the same children who tend to be aggressive. Some have argued that these children are motivated to be involved with other children and whether the involvement is aggressive or prosocial will depend upon the situation. Others argue that aggressive children, who themselves are easily upset, "find it easier to empathize with others who are upset."

According to Hoffman (1976), children pass through four predictable stages in the development of the empathy that makes prosocial behavior possible. In the first stage, infants have trouble differentiating self from others. Their behavior is triggered by, and often looks like, the strong emotional displays of others. They often cry when others cry and laugh when others laugh. It is almost as if they were directly wired to the other person's emotional system. People who work in nurseries often see this crude form of empathy in the form of a chain reaction; one baby's crying triggers another baby, whose crying triggers an outburst on the other side of the room. After the first year, children gradually develop a sense of self as different from others and at that point they enter a second stage. Although they have come to recognize that another person is, in fact, another person their egocentric thinking leads than to "help" the other person in ways that they themselves would want to be helped. So a boy whose mother is upset may bring her his favourite blanket or his teddy bear. In the third stage, children recognize that a distressed person may have feelings and needs that are different from their own. Their efforts to help become aimed at figuring out what the distressed person really needs, even if the need is different from the child's own personal preference. During this stage, which lasts through early childhood, children are limited to empathy for others who show specific expressions of emotion. Their empathy is situation-specific. It is only in later childhood, when the fourth stage is reached, that children come to relate one expression of distress to another and to be concerned for the general condition of others. It is only in this fourth stage that children are likely to empathize with and seek to help, say, an unpopular child who seems generally morose or withdrawn.

Later Childhood

The elementary school years, the years 6 through 12 in a child's life, are sometimes referred to as the latency period. The term comes from Freud's psychoanalytic theory, which holds that important conflicts, particularly sexual conflicts, are submerged during this period. However, in many areas of development, these years are actually action-packed, not latent at all. They are filled with both motion and emotion as the child confronts the diverse demands of school and entry into a rule-bound society. A capacity for increasingly intimate social relationships promises important rewards but poses real risks as well. And children acquire intellectual tools during these years that give them an unprecedented grasp of the way the world is put together.

Cognitive Evolution

The intellectual tools that children develop in this period were labelled concrete operations by Piaget and that is also the name he has given to this stage of development. The stage involves a major advance in the power of the child's reasoning.

The concrete-operational child organizes the world by using hierarchies. In these hierarchies, a given "thing" can fall somewhere on more than one dimension at the same time.

In many ways, then, the concrete-operational child's thinking shows a power and versatility that would have been literally unthinkable in the preoperational period. But even this more advanced level of thought has its limitations. The operations are concrete in the sense that they are tied to the real world of objects and events. The children can think clearly about things that are real but not very clearly about the more hypothetical propositions.

Social Evolution

As their social world expands to include classmates and teachers, children's ways of thinking about people show a corresponding change, Studies of "persons perception" show that a child even as old as 6 or 7 will describe others in egocentric ways, referring to what the other people do to or for the child. Descriptions at this age also focus on concrete, observable characteristics of others, such as their physical appearance or their outward behavior.

Friendship

The development of "person-perception" goes hand in hand with changes in the nature of friendship. In the early preschool years, children have momentary playmates but not ongoing, reciprocal friendships. Sometimes, between the ages of 4 and 9, most children develop an ongoing friendship or perhaps several. Their first friendships tend to be self-serving; a friend is someone who "does what I want." Later during the elementary school years, friendships become not only outgoing but reciprocal as well; friends are seen as people who "do things for each other" (Selman, 1980).

Groups

At the same time that children are learning to form one-to-one relationships with friends, they are learning to organize themselves into groups. Groups have certain defining characteristics: goals shared by its members, rules of conduct (often merely implied or understood), and a hierarchical structure. The structure resembles the organizational chart of a corporation. There are leaders at the apex and followers at the lower levels; each individual member has some identifiable relationship to other members, Psychologists have tried to learn what conditions cause group structures to take shape in late childhood. Some of the most interesting answers have come from studies of summer camps.

A classic camp study by sheriff and other (1961) showed that group formation in preadolescents is stimulated by the experience of living together, sharing pleasant experiences, cooperating in ventures that involve shared goals, and, especially, competing with other groups.

When antagonism between competing groups of campers escalated to name calling and insults, Sheriff engineered "experimental cries," such as a mysterious shutoff of the water supply. Forced by such adverse circumstances to work together, the competing groups combined forces and engineered a solution. Afterward, ill will between the groups faded. The Sherif's study, like others focussed on this age range, suggests that shared adversity and joint problem-solving can stimulate group formation and reduce antagonism between groups.

Peer influence

During the elementary school years, friends and group of peers take on central importance in child's life. Though there are cultural variations. For ex in American culture peer group over shadows the adult group. It is not true of Indian culture. Parental control and supervision is not waved of in front of peer influence.

School Achievement

Schools are central to the lives of children during later childhood. Evidences from research work suggest that that the schools improve children's thinking in a number of general ways. During the early school tears, most children develop a broad array of basic skills; in fact, a person who has reached the average fourth grade achievement level in reading, writing, and arithmetic is considered literate.

Adolescence: A Period of Storm and Stresses

With the transition from childhood to adolescence comes a period of fast-paced physical and intellectual change. The exact ages spanned by adolescent vary from one person to the next. Moreover the psychological impact of transition to adolescence may differ across individuals and perhaps even across cultures.

Growth Spurt and Sexual Maturation

The earliest outward evidence of adolescence is the growth spurt, when boys and girls growth rate doubles. They gain height, weight and change in bodily parts. Primary sex characteristics start appearing. This phase is called puberty. Girls attain menarche and other changes take place in body. Major task is to adjust to these abrupt changes.

Cognitive Evolution

Along with the bodily changes of adolescence come major intellectual changes. Remembering your own leap from child to teenager, you may recall a new preoccupation with such cosmic intellectual issues as "the meaning of life," "injustice in the world" and "What lies beyond our universe?" You may have tried to solve ethical problems by relying, more and more, on abstract moral principles. You may also have grown much better at solving complicated riddles or "posers," playing games like bridge or chess by planning several moves in advance and figuring out answers to purely hypothetical questions. Many of these features of adolescent thought can be understood from the perspective of Jean Piaget's theory of intellectual development.

Formal Operations: Thinking Abstractly

At around the age of 12, most youngsters begin the final major stage of cognitive development discussed by Piaget: formal operations. In this stage, thinking becomes quite adult-like; in fact, most adult capabilities are thought to be in place by about the age of 16. This does not mean that we learn no new facts or skills after 16; it means that the basic processes we use to think do not change much beyond this age.

A general feature of formal-operational thought is the ability to think in terms of the abstract concepts that link concrete objects or actions together. For example, when asked about the purpose of laws, children tend to mention concrete examples such as "keeping us safe and free," or "helping people live in harmony" (Adelson et al., 1969; Gallatin, 1980). Asked what they like about their mothers, children tended to mention concrete acts, such as "she fixes me chili"; adolescents, who see the abstract principles that underlie their mothers' behavior, gave answers such as "She sets a good example" or "She always cares" (Weisz, 1980). In addition to abstract thinking, several other interlocking capacities contribute to formal operations. We will discuss a few of these.

With formal operations, boys and girls move form the world of the actual to the world of the hypothetical. They can still think about the way things are, but become much more skilled at thinking about how things might be if certain changes took place.

Hypothetical and abstract thinking make sophisticated dedication and induction possible. Deduction is reasoning from abstract, general principles to specific hypotheses that follow from these principles. Inductive thinking is the complementary process of observing a number of specific events or instances and inferring an abstract, general principle to explain those instances.

Formal operations involve the ability to judge whether propositions are logically connected to one another, regardless of whether the propositions are true. This is called interpropositional logical.

Reflective Thinking

Another formal-operational skill that you probably used in the kaleidoscope problem is reflective thinking, the process of evaluating or testing your own reasoning. Reflective thinking allows the formal-operational person to be his or her own critic, to evaluate a process, idea or solution from the perspective of an outsider and to find errors or weak spots in it. The reflective thinker can then sharpen plans, arguments or points of view - making them more effective, more powerful.

Moral Judgment: Deciding what is Right and Wrong

Practically everyday we have to make judgments about "right" and "wrong." When we do, we are reasoning about moral issues. The kinds of moral reasoning done by most adolescents and adults are often quite different from the child's moral reasoning. Building on Piaget's work, Lawrence Kohlberg (1976) and his associates (Colby et al., 1983) studied the development of moral reasoning by asking people of various ages to resolve moral dilemmas.

In one dilemma, a woman is dying of cancer and a newly developed drug can save her life. The druggist who invented this drug is asking a very high price for it. Heinz, the husband of the cancer patient, cannot raise the money and the druggist refuses to let him pay later. Should Heinz steal the drug to save his wife? In this dilemma, as in the others, Kohlberg used, there are no clearly "right" or "wrong" answers. Kohlberg's main interest was not in what people said the characters in each dilemma should do; instead, he focussed on the reasons people gave for their decisions.

Levels of Moral Evolution

Moral reasoning, Kohlberg argues, passes through three different levels as people mature. At first, children reason at the preconventional level. They think in ways that fall short of the customary moral concerns of society. Their reasoning is somewhat egocentric; it focuses on the personal consequences of the individual's behavior. For example, in the cancer-drug dilemma, they may focus on avoiding punishment and say that the husband should not steal the drug because he might get caught and he might be put in jail. Later, children enter the conventional level. Their reasoning fits what many societies consider to be acceptable moral rules. For example, they might say that Heinz should not steal because it is against the law. Still later, perhaps in adolescence, people may enter the postconventional level, in which they rely on abstract principles that go beyond commonplace views of ethics and morality. For example, they might say that Heinz should not steal the drug because if everyone took such actions, social order could break down ("You can't have everyone stealing just because they get desperate").

Kohlberg believes that everyone passes through the levels of moral reasoning in the same order, in part because each level is more logically advanced than is its predecessor.

Achieving Identity: A Key Task of Adolescence

Some theorists believe that the key developmental task for the adolescent is answering the question "Who am I?" In Erik Erikson's developmental theory, summarized, the core conflict of adolescence is the tension between role confusion and identity. Seeking identity involves searching for continuity and sameness in oneself - trying to get a clear sense of what one's skill and personal attributes are to discover where one is headed in life and to believe that one can count on recognition from "significant others." The adolescent who forms a sense of identity gains two key benefits, according to Erikson: (1) "a feeling of being at home in one's body's" and (2) "a sense of psychological well-being".

Adolescents who fail to achieve a sense of identity may face confusion over what roles they can or should be playing in life. They may delay any commitment to adult roles, a delay which Erikson calls a psychosocial moratorium. Erikson himself went through such a moratorium. After finishing secondary school, he spent several years wandering around Europe, avoiding any firm decisions about what sort of career he might pursue. His experience led him to see the psychological moratorium as both promising and risky. It can be a valuable period of information gathering or it can involve rebellion - an attempt to do precisely the opposite of what parents and others think is proper and desirable. Erikson calls this rebellious pattern the pursuit of negative identity.

Social Evolution

Because it marks the transition from childhood to adulthood, adolescence requires the redefining of some basic relationships. Relationships with family members at this time involve increasing independence for the adolescent and usually involve increased conflict, too.

Relationships with peers may become much more intimate and vital than they were in childhood. Finally, relationships with the opposite sex have new overtones of sensuality. All these shifts combine to make the adolescent's social world complex and electric.

In relationships between adolescents and their parents, a central theme is often that of testing limits. Most teen-parent arguments concern the timing of rights and responsibilities (Hartup, 1983). Also, the emergence of formal operations and more advanced moral reasoning means that the adolescent can think of reasonable alternatives to parental rules.

In most families, adolescent girls have to struggle much harder for their independence than do adolescent boys. Teenage girls report more conflicts with their parents than do teenage boys and the conflicts they report more often involve emotional flare-ups. Parents seem to place more restrictions on their teenage daughters than on their teenage sons; they worry more about their daughters' safety and especially about their sexual activity and the risk of pregnancy. Their daughters, unfortunately, do not see these restrictions as "protection." One of the most common explanations teenage girls give for their conflicts with their parents is that their parents do not respect their maturity (Konopka, 1976).

Boys' conflicts with their parents tend to involve more objective issues of authority and privilege, such as access to the family car. Boys are more likely than girls to report that they are disciplined primarily by their fathers and that they receive affection primarily from their mothers.

Although parent-child relationships change during adolescence, sometimes dramatically, we must not assume that they are uniformly poor or unsatisfying. In a 1977 Gallup poll, adolescents were asked, "How well would you say you get on with your parents...?" Some 56 per cent said "very well" and another 41 per cent said "fairly well"; only 2 per cent said "not at all well." Recent surveys of personal values, political views, moral development and occupational choice indicate that high school students are likely to be influenced more in each of these areas by their parents than by their peers (for example, Feather, 1980). For most adolescents, though, the influence of family clearly interacts and competes with the strong influence of peers.

Peer-group membership assumes more importance during adolescence than at any other period of life. A peer-group can provide a refuge and a source of support for youngsters in conflict with their families. Moreover, being part of a clearly identified group can help answer the burning question, "Who am I?" For these and other reasons, adolescents spend a great deal of time with other adolescents. One study, which used beepers to contact adolescents at random times (Larson et al. 1977), found that they spend more time talking with peers than doing academic work, being with their families, or being alone.

The structure of peer groups seems to change over the course of adolescence (Coleman, 1980; Dunphy, 1963). For teens around the age of 13 or so, the peer group is usually a clique consisting of half a dozen or fewer youngsters of the same sex. These unisex cliques then begin to interact with cliques that include members of the opposite sex. There is cross-clique kidding and conversation, but only from the safety of the unisex home-base. During the high school years, a number of adolescents belong to both unisex and mixed-sex groups; for example, three or four boys who are members of the same unisex clique may regularly interact with three or four girls from an all-girl clique, thus forming a mixed-clique.

Conclusion

Most of the researches have been carried on initial periods of life. The changes which take place in early periods more or less remain same in later years though development of intellectual abilities and social development involves more mature more realistic and responsible behavior.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the major topics under discussion in developmental psychology?
2. Why is the period of infancy called the sensorimotor stage?
3. Why is adolescence considered a period of storm and stresses?
4. What is inferred by adjustment problems? Do they exist in every phase of life?

CHAPTER

3

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT IN HUMAN SOCIALIZATION

L E A R N I N G O B J E C T I V E S

After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Role of Heredity in Personality Development
- Environment Influences in Molding the Personality
- Role of Socialization and Child Rearing Practices in Development

PART-I

Role of Heredity and Environment in Personality Development

Human beings are not simply the product of what we do to them. They are born with some innate potentials. The "rudiments" of personality - the capacity to adjust with one's surroundings are present at birth, the infant enters the world equipped with certain inherent capacities to adjust to the environment into which the is born.

All individuals are not alike .Even an infant is differently equipped to adjust to his environment. Differences in personality start to appear during the first few days of postnatal life. Some individuals adjust quickly to their postnatal life while others adjust to it slowly. These differences originate not from environmental factors as from inherent capacities present at birth.

These variations in adjustive behaviour highlight that the foundations for personality laid before birth, in the form of physical and mental capacities, influence the kind of adjustment the infant makes to postnatal life.

Hereditary Potentials

The hereditary potentials are determined right at the conception. The prenatal period is very important in laying the foundation for further development. It is rightly regarded as a critical period of personality development, because it is the time when the capacities which will determine what kind of adjustment the person will make to his postnatal life are established because it is the time when the attitudes of people who will play important roles in molding the newly created person's personality pattern are formed.

Genetic Endowment

At the moment of conception, the person's entire hereditary centered in the 23 chromosomes from the mother and the 23 chromosomes from the father, is established. Chromosomes are thousands of genes which carriers of individual physical and mental traits which determine what his hereditary will be. The person will never be able to or subtract from his hereditary endowment.

The genes influence development of personality by affecting the quality of the nervous system, the chemical balance of the body, and the structure of the body. Materials of personality - physique, intelligence, and temperament-are the foundations of personality which are genetically determined through structural inheritance. These raw materials are then patterned into personality characteristics by environmental influences.

Hereditary not only produces the new materials for personality development , it also limits development. Even with the best environmental conditions, innate capacities cannot develop beyond their potentials. For ex -if a child is born with genetic anomalies, it can't be corrected; it can cause deformity of any kind. Cattell et al. write that "all learning and adjustment is limited by inherent properties of the organism".

The extent of the limitations on personality development, however, will be greatly influenced y the environment. For example a boy who has with a small body build, or an unattractive girl will find her homeliness a much more severe limitation if she is the "ugly duckling" of a handsome family or of an exceptionally attractive peer group. More over Identical twins have the same hereditary because they develop from the same fertilized cell, but environmental pressures produce different self-concepts, different traits, and different combination of traits.With the exception of identical multiple births-twins, triplets, quadruplets, etc.-all human beings have a hereditary endowment that is uniquely theirs. Even siblings inherit different chromosomes with unique gene combinations. And since the hereditary endowment influences the effect of the environment on the individual, no two personality patterns will be identical.

Role of Significant people

People who are responsible for looking after the child are called significant people. The forms in which hereditary potentials will develop will depend largely on the significant people in the individual's environment. It is they who determine what his physical and social environment will be. It is they who determine what opportunities the individual will have for learning and what limitations will be placed on these opportunities. While the cultural environment will provide him with approved patterns to imitate, it is the significant people in his life who will give him the training needed to mold his potentials and the motivation needed to call forth the effort to learn. Hence the role of significant people in personality development is very crucial.

Maturation of Hereditary Potentials

Through maturation process, the hereditary potentials established at the time of conception will eventually develop. Maturation, is an inherent capacity to grow. It however, depends upon the environment, and so whether hereditary, potentials will develop to their maximum will depend upon the kind of environment in which the individual grows and lives.

Maturation before Birth

Good physical and mental health on the mother's part are conducive to a favorable prenatal environment and to the normal maturation of hereditary. That is the reason emphasis is laid on good nutrition and general well being of pregnant lady.

Furthermore, the mental and physical health of the mother influences the quantity and quality of fetal activity in the latter part of the prenatal period. A moderate amount of fetal activity, characteristic of fetuses who are developing in a healthy prenatal environment, contributes to good postnatal adjustment.

Unfavourable prenatal conditions, caused by malnutrition, endocrine disturbance, uterine infections, and severe emotional stress, interfere with maturation and cause developmental irregularities, if the irregularities are pronounced, and especially if the fetus's nervous system is affected, the individual's ability to make life adjustments may be permanently impaired.

In the prenatal environment, the timing of the disturbance rather than the disturbance itself is the crucial factor in determining interference with the normal pattern of maturation of

hereditary potentials. Malnutrition, for example, does its greatest damage during the first three months of pregnancy. It is futile to correct the material diet after the first trimester in an attempt to prevent congenital abnormalities.

Prematurely born babies are more likely to suffer brain damage than full-term babies, because their skills are too undeveloped to provide adequate protection for the brain during the birth process. As a result, the maturation of the hereditary endowment of prematurities is more likely to the interfered with.

The postnatal environment, likewise, may encourage or stunt the maturation of hereditary potentials.

The influence of the postnatal environment on the maturation of hereditary potentials is best shown by studies of children in culturally deprived areas of communities. Poor health and nutrition, neglect and lack of stimulation on the part of those responsible for encouraging and motivating the use of developing abilities, and lack of opportunity to develop abilities due to overprotection, institutionalisation, and other causes-all show how detrimental an unfavourable environment.

Postnatal Environment

When a particular ability is maturing rapidly, an environment that discourages development is much more damaging than of unfavourable environmental conditions on personality development has effects of family size and density on young children. Children from large and closely spaced families have few contacts with the mother, owing to her preoccupation with the care of the home and older children, and they suffer some of the usual effects of material deprivation.

The second important way in which the environment influences the molding of the personality pattern is by providing models for the individual to follow. A model that is acceptable to members of the group with which the person is identified acts as a guide for him as well as for those who are responsible for training him to conform to social expectations.

ENVIRONMENT INFLUENCES IN MOLDING THE PERSONALITY

The environment influences the personality pattern most notably in three ways: it either encourages or stunts the maturation of hereditary it provides personality pattern models which the individual uses as a guide; it either provides or denies needed learning opportunities.

Role of Culture in Personality Development

Every cultural group decides what sort of personality patterns it wants in its members and then sets up norms of approved behaviour.

The members of the group, especially the parents and teachers, are responsible for molding the child's personality pattern to conform to the group's standard. They do this directly by providing opportunities for learning, by preventing the child from learning what the group disapproves, by encouraging and rewarding him for learning what the group approves, and by rejecting or punishing him for learning what is unacceptable to the group.

Indirectly, the cultural group influences the molding process by setting up models for the young to imitate and by making these models so prestigious that the young will want to imitate them.

How closely a person is expected to conform to the cultural model varies from the culture to another. In some, a person may retain some individual qualities and skills be socially acceptable; in others, the person is strictly regimented from the time of birth so that every member of the group fits into a carefully prescribed pattern with no deviations.

Common personality characteristics found in the majority of people in a cultural group constitute the group's basic personality type.

The concept of the basic personality type, according to Allport, assumes:

a. that cultural tradition determines the lessons the parent will teach the child, and the way in which the lessons are taught;

b. that different cultures have different ways of training the child-and different lessons to teach;

c. that the child's early experience exerts a lasting effect upon his personality; and

d. that similar experiences will tend to produce similar personalities within the culture.

Since the basic personality type approved by each cultural group is composed of traits that contribute to the successful adjustment members of the group to its particular and unique life pattern, the basic personality patterns of no two cultures are identical. Noting this, Stendler writes, "All cultures differ, so do the personalities embedded these cultures"

When a national group is composed of people from different countries, variations in the cultural values held by the group as a whole are quite marked.

The American concept of the "ideal person" puts high value on such qualities as personal output of energy, ability to adjust, mobility, optimism, competitiveness, fair play, cooperation, honesty, prestige, and efficiency. Regional cultural values differ somewhat in the emphasis placed on the general cultural values. In the Northeast, hard work and thrift are highly valued, with emphasis on mobility and change if they will lead to success. By contrast in the Southeast, family solidarity is highly valued and mobility less so.

Other differences in admired personality traits within a cultural group may be based on racial, ethnic, religious, even political grounds.

The person whose personality pattern has been molded along lines approved by members of the cultural group with which he is identified has a far better chance for successful social adjustments and happiness than the one whose pattern is atypical for the group.

A person whose personality is molded according to the pattern approved by one cultural group and who then shifts to another cultural group with different values is ill prepared for conformity to that group's ideal. This may be a problem for immigrants or other geographically mobile persons.

Some people find conformity difficult because they do not approve of the cultural ideals of the group with which they are identified and prefer to conform to those of another group.

Shaping the Personality

The shaping of the personality pattern from the hereditary potentials comes from learning. A person learns to behave in a culturally approved way and to think of himself as others with whom he comes in contact think of him.

Different kinds of learning are used in moulding the personality pattern. Some are self-initiated in the sense that the learner takes the initiative in putting forth the effort needed to achieve an end result that he feels is valuable to him.

Some of the learning is outer-directed in the sense that the learner is instructed by someone else who, through approval or disapproval, motivates the learner to continue his practice until he has mastered the desired pattern of behavior. Outer-directed learning is called "training" because the activity is stimulated and directed by an outsider.

How much and what a person learns will depend not alone on opportunities to learn and the method of learning used but also on the strength of the learner's motivation and his readiness to learn at the time the opportunities are presented. Regardless of the method used, learning must be motivated if it is to be effective.

With intellectual development, children are able to remember more, and their experiences leave an indelible impression on their personalities. Regardless of the kind of environment in which they grow, people whose childhood experiences were mostly happy have an entirely different outlook on life from those whose memories of childhood center mainly on unpleasant experiences. Thos with a preponderance of unpleasant childhood memories are more likely to be maladjusted.

Relative Importance of Heredity and Environment

The idea that hereditary potentials can be moulded into any desired personality pattern was supported in the early part of this century by the teachings of John B. Watson. Watson claimed that a tiry, malleable creature, like a newborn infant, could be moulded into anything the significant people in his environment desired.

Other scientists claimed, with equal strength of argument, that the newborn infant was "gene-controlled" and could scarcely be changed at all.

Today there is little evidence that either point of view is correct. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the form the personality pattern will take depends not solely on the training methods used or the kind of environment in which the person grows up but also on the hereditary potentials the person brings into the world with him.

The individual's potentials at the time of birth affect other people and the potentials themselves are affected in the relationships the individual has with significant people during the early years of his life.

Personality is formed from the interaction of significant figures (first the mother, later the father and siblings, later extra familial figures) with the child. The child brings to this interaction a certain biological constitution, certain needs and drives, and certain intellectual capacities which determine his reactions to the way in which he is acted upon by these significant figures.

The parent's attitudes toward the child as a person and towards the role of parenthood also affect their relationship with him. If the child comes up to parental expectations, parental attitudes will be more favourable and parent-child relationships better than if the child is in some way disapproving to the parents.

Value of Knowing Relative Importance of Heredity and Environment

Which plays a more important role in personality development, heredity or environment? The question cannot be answered in one word. In some aspects of the personality pattern, heredity is more important, in other aspects, environment is more important.

The relative importance of the two influences on personality cannot be determined once and for all because they may reinforce one another in their effect or they may conflict. The influence of the environment depends not on the environment alone but also on the person's hereditary endowment. As Allport put it, "The same fire that melts the butter, hardens the egg." Hereditary predispositions may influence environmental factors favorably or unfavorably, thus affecting the quality of personality molding: "Sometimes they (the raw materials of personality-physique, intelligence of the environment; sometimes they place limitations upon it; but always their force is felt."

The belief that the personality pattern is molded early in life is not new. In the sixteenth century, St. Ignatius claimed that if he could have the teaching of a child until he was 6 years old, nothing could undo the teaching. Freud, in the early part of the present century, emphasized the importance of the early years of life in determining the form the personality pattern would take. His theory was based on evidence that many of his patients who suffered from personality disturbances had unhappy childhood experiences. These unhappy experiences. Freud postulated, came from the frustration of some natural impulse More recently, Watson and Gesell have come to the same conclusion, based on genetic studies of children from early babyhood. Gesell et al., from studies of adolescents,

concluded that "the foundation and most of the framework of the human action system are laid down in the first decade."

Bartemeir has pointed out that unfavourable early experiences have a profound effect on personality because the personality pattern is less fully organised then than it will be later.

Molding of the personality pattern begins early in postnatal life because the capacity to learn develops early and is ready to function before the baby reaches his first birthday. What happens in the early years of life, what kind of people the individual is associated with, what they expect of him, and how they try to enforce their expectations-all influence his developing personality and determine what sort of person he will grow up to be.

Whether he learns to be independent or dependent, for example, is determined by how his demands for independence are met even before he is 2 years old. If his demands lead to parental overprotection, he will become over dependent or hostile and willful. If the child is encouraged to be independent within the limits of his capacities, he will become autonomous and self-directive.

The cultural group sets the pattern for the approved basic personality and expects every member of the group to conform to it. In addition, the group lets every member know that conformity will be to his personal advantage. Thus, as Singh et al. have commented,

"Personality is...shaped and changed by interactions with the culture in which the individual lives".

In cultures where values are relatively static, the approved basic personality pattern likewise remains relatively static. Where values change frequently and radically, there will also be changes in the approved basic personality pattern.

The culturally approved basic personality pattern is different for members of the two sexes. Whether a child will be molded along the lines set by the one model or by the other will be determined not by which of the models his parents or teachers consider the better, but by which one the cultural group considers appropriate for members of his sex. Crying, for example, will be tolerated among girls, but boys will be told that "boys don't cry."

In the molding of the personality, the attitudes, feelings, and behaviour patterns of the young are shaped first in the home and later reinforced or changed in the school, the peer group, and the community at large.

The family, as the child's first social environment and as the social group with which he has the most frequent and closest contacts, is the most important source of personality molding.

Within the home, the mother plays the central role in the molding process because she has more and closer contacts with the child than any other family member. However, the father, siblings, and other relatives contribute to the molding in proportion to the quantity and quality of their relationships with the child.

The influence of the school in the molding process comes from social pressures by teachers and members of the peer group. In the early years, the teacher plays a more important role, but in high school and college, the peer group is more influential.

As early as the nursery school years, members of the peer group pass judgment on one another, showing approval or disapproval for different kinds of behaviour, especially aggressive and sex-inappropriate behaviour. By adolescence the influence of the peer group has increased to the point where it may surpass that of the home in determining the person's attitudes and behaviour. In discussing the influences of the peer group.

Media of mass communication-books, magazines, newspapers, radio, television, movies, and comics-play a large role in shaping attitudes and beliefs and in structuring behaviour patterns in accordance with the culturally approved values of the social group. These media

help to reinforce values learned at home, in school, or in the peer group, and they serve as a means of learning new patterns.

Mass media may help to free them from excessively narrow ideas and in this way help to mold their personality patterns. Religion helps to shape moral values and provides patterns for socially approved behaviour. Strict religious training usually reinforces strict, authoritarian child-training practices.

In some people, molding the personality pattern to conform to the culturally approved ideal is relatively easy. In others, it is more difficult, while in still others, resistance to the molding is so strong that little or no change occurs, regardless of the pressures to think, feel, and act as the group desires.

People who are insecure and anxious for group approval yield most easily to group pressures. If they feel that they can come close to the stereotype of the socially acceptable person, they will try to conform in every way in the hope of gaining social acceptance, those who are inner-directed and who decide what their actions will be without interference from others.

The person who is hardest to mold into a culturally approved pattern is the one who feels that his chances for social acceptance are so slim that it is not worth the effort to try to conform.

Two methods of learning are dominant in molding the personality pattern to conform to culturally approved standards: first learning through guidance and control of behaviour by another, and second, learning through imitation of the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour patterns of another.

In child training, culturally approved patterns are enforced directly by providing opportunities for the you'd to learn what the group wants them to learn and by limiting their opportunities to learn what the group does not want them to learn.

Unlike in child training, no one pressures the individual to behave as his model behaves, the limitation is voluntary, and in the young child may be subconscious. In older children, adolescents, and young adults, the limitation is consciously performed in the hope of winning the same social rewards as the person imitated.

It is impossible to say which plays the more important role in the molding of the personality pattern-child training or identification. The relative of festiveness of the two learning methods varies from one person to another and from one age to another.

PART-II

Role of Socialization and Child rearing Practices in development

Family as an Agent of Socialization

- Socialization-the process by which persons learn the ways of society or social groups so that they can function within them.
- The Family is the most pervasive agent of socialization!

How Family Influences Socialization

- Parents who are psychologically healthy are more likely to have a positive effect on their children's development.
- The quality of the parent's marital relationship will effect the child's adjustment and development.

Every cultural group tries to produce group members whose personality patterns conform to the standards of the culture. Thus the most important factor in perpetuating and stabilizing any human cultural group is the way it brings up its children.

The goal of child training is to mould the child so that he will be able to adjust to the traditional roles prescribed by the cultural group. However, in a constantly changing culture like our own, there is no single cultural pattern and there is no overall philosophy of child training. As a result, the methods used will depend upon the values and attitudes of the parents and teachers of each individual child. This means wide variations in specific training methods, even though all have the same aim: to produce a well-adjusted person.

Socialization via Parenting Styles

Three Parenting Styles

- ***Authoritarian:*** Emphasize obedience, using force to curb children's will, restricting autonomy, and parent-child give-and take

  Under this method, it is not considered necessary to explain why the rules are important to the individual or to the social group. Failure to come up to expected standards is severely punished, but little or nor recognition or praise is offered when the person does meet the expected standards.

  - These children tend to be withdrawn, fearful, irritable, unassertive, or moody or hostile, angry and overly aggressive

- ***Permissive:*** Children are free from restraint, their actions are simply accepted. The parents are indulgent of their children's wishes.

  Permissive methods are not actually child training, though parents and teachers may regard them as such. The young person learns more by trial and error than by guidance. If he discovers that an act brings social disapproval, he will reject it in favor of another or still another until he hits upon one that brings him not only personal satisfaction but also the approval of the group. In reality, he is moulding his own personality pattern without the guidance and help from others which those whose personalities are molded by authoritarian and democratic child-training methods have.

  - These children tend to rebel, self-indulge, act aggressively, and are socially inept

- ***Authoritative/Democrative:*** parents seek to direct their children's activities in a rational manner, encourage discussion, and open to options.

  These methods emphasize the need for discussions, explanations, and reasoning to help the young understand why they are expected to behave in one way rather than another. When the person comes up to expected standards or shows that he is trying to do so, he is rewarded with parental or teacher approval. Punishment is used only when the person willfully refuses to do what is expected of him, and when it is used, it is relatively mind.

  - These children appear to be the most well adjusted.

Variations in Child-training Methods

Within each of the major child-training methods are many variations. Variations in the authoritarian method may range from reasonable restraints on antisocial behaviour to rigid restraints that permit the child no freedom of action except that which conforms to prescribed standards. Democratic methods may range from careful planning of the child's activities so that his energies will be directed into approved channels to such extreme leniency that little or no control is exercised.

The kinds of control used to bring about the desired behaviour also very. Authoritarian child-training methods foster control through external force in the form of punishment. Democratic methods try to develop internal controls by educating the young person to behave in the approved manner and rewarding him with social approval.

There are marked variations in the methods used by different people and even the methods used by the same person from time to time. Those who use either the most restrictive or the most permissive methods are usually more consistent than those who operate between these extremes.

FACTORS INFLUENCING CHOICE OF CHILD-TRAINING METHODS

Variations in the kind of child-training method used and in the way the training is enforced are influenced by a number of factors, each consistently related to certain characteristics of the parent or teacher whose responsibility it is to train the young or to certain characteristics in the young person himself. The following are the some of the factors which influence child rearing.

1. Past experiences
2. Education
3. Father's parenting or mother's parenting
4. Sex of the child
5. Social Class
6. Self concept
7. Personality of the child
8. Birth order
9. Number of siblings
10. Working Mothers
11. Presence of Grandparents

There is a strong tendency for adults to use child-training methods similar to those they were subjected to as children. This is especially true of those brought up by authoritarian methods. Younger parents tend to be more democratic than older parents, but, in general, only if they rely upon child-training experts for advice rather than upon their own parents. Most parents tend to exert more control over very young children than over adolescents.

Parents who are better educated tend to be more democratic or permissive than those whose education is limited. Education for parenthood helps parents to understand the needs of children at different ages. This, in turn, influences the way they train their children. On the whole, the better the parent understands the child and his needs, the less authoritarian he will be.

Fathers who are away from home during the first year of a child's life have been reported to have little understanding of the developmental needs of the child and are thus overly strict in their training. Mothers generally have a better understanding of the child's needs than fathers and they tend to be less authoritarian. Children brought up in monimatric homes-homes where the mother takes exclusive care of the child-are usually better understood and enjoy more consistent child training than those brought up in polymatric homes where the care of the child is shared with another female.

Girls at every age are more restricted than boys and are expected to conform more closely to the socially approved patterns of behaviour . Parents from rural districts are, as a rule, more authoritarian in their methods of training children than parents from urban or suburban areas. Black parents tend to be more permissive than white parents from similar social classes .

Social-class differences in child training are great, although variations occur within every social class. As a rule, parents from middle-class socio-economic backgrounds are more authoritarian, more coercive, and less tolerant than parents from the lower classes. The latter, as a group, tend to be more permissive and also more inconsistent in their child-training methods. Since middle-class parents put such high value on getting ahead through achievements and social acceptance, they are more exacting in their expectations than lower-class parents.

Within the middle-class group, parents who are better educated and enjoy a more favourable social status are more permissive. Social-class differences are reflected in the areas of behaviour where greatest emphasis is placed. Middle-class parents are stricter about learning to control aggression and respecting the property rights of others while lower-class parents are stricter about masturbation, modesty, and the use of tabooed language.

There are also social-class differences in the ways parents enforce the acceptance of cultural values by their children. Middle-class parents do so mostly by disapproval, by depriving their children of some privilege or the company of others, by stimulating feelings of guilt and shame in the child, and by threats of loss of parental love. Lower-class parents, on the other hand, use physical punishment, often very severe; shame and ridicule to "toughen the child up"; and rejection, or showing the child that they do not want to be "bothered with him". Foreign-born parents from every social class are more authoritarian than native-born parents.

The adult's concept of his role influences the kind of child-training method used. Parents and teachers who hold on to the traditional concept of their role exercise considerable restraint over the children under their care to guarantee that they will be successful. Teachers who hold to the authoritarian concept and are anxious to have their pupils adjust to a fairly rigid routine use commands, physical compulsion, and disapproval.

The personality pattern of the parent influences the kind of child-training method used end the interpretation of this method. Women who show strong masculine tendencies exert more control over their children than do more femining women . Parents who are inner-directed do what they think is right in training their children, while those who are outer-directed do what others think is right. Those who hold conservative opinions about social matters are usually more intolerant and authoritarian in the rearing of their children than those who are less conservative. Parents who tend to have radical opinions about social matters tend to be permissive in their child rearing. Fathers who are regarded as restrictive because of their authoritarian treatment of their children have been found to be submissive and suggestible and to suffer from feelings of inadequacy. By contrast, fathers who are regarded as permissive tend to be well-adjusted individuals who show marked flexibility, self-reliance, stability, and self-confidence.

The personality of the child also affects the method of child rearing his parents will use. Some children resist discipline of any kind and become negativistic toward all in authority; others submit to authority and try to conform. The extroverted child is more susceptible to social attitudes than the introvert and can more easily be conditioned to what his parents and teachers want him to do. As a result, it is easier to mold his personality pattern.

Child's position in the family in terms of being eldest or youngest also affect the kind of training he will receive from the parents. Eldest children are given more responsibility than the younger ones. Parents pay less attention when number of children is more in the family. Working mothers give less time to satisfy child's psychological needs. At times busy schedule give rise to irritable behaviour that harms child well being. On the other hand researchers argue that children of working parents are seen more responsible and their performance in schools is better.

Role of significant people in the child 's training is equally important .Presence of grand parents in the house creates a relaxed environment for the child.

Effects of Child Training on Personality

Studies of authoritarian, democratic, and permissive child-training methods have revealed what different effects they have on the child's developing personality pattern.

Modern studies show that authoritarian training methods produce a child who is quiet, well behaved, non-resistant; socially unaggressive, and restricted in curiosity, originality, and fancifulness . As he grows older, he develops feelings of guilt about independent thinking and this impedes his social and emotional maturing. He learns to think of himself as worthless and, as a result, lacks confidence in his abilities. In time, this may develop into an inferiority complex which further militates against his achieving the success he is capable of.When antisocial behaviour is strictly dealt with by harsh and punitive controls, it is likely to be driven underground. It will then seek new channels of expression, such as negativism, refusals, angry dependency on the frustrating person, defiance of those in authority, or displacement on some innocent victim, perhaps a pet or a member of a minority group. Over strictness may make the child so submissive that he is less competitive and socially successful than other children. It may make him compulsively obedient __ inwardly defiant. In addition it will undermine his confidence in his ability to make decisions and be independent.

On the other hand, overstrict control may push the person too far and thus motivate him to assert his independence. Feelings that his parents are against him, the child develops a generalized feeling of martyrdom which may be expressed in apathy and resignation but which is more often expressed in angry defiance of all in authority. The may eventually lead to delinquency, with the young person trying to prove to himself and to others that he is independent and will not allow himself to be dominated. Frank states the possibilities concisely: "The stricter the parents, the stronger maybe the revolt and the more outrageous the 'bell-raising' or the more submissive conformity to parents and priggish self-justification".

Democratic child training results in greater independence in thinking and acting and in a healthy, positive, confident self-concept. This leads to better personal and social adjustments and to more outgoing, active, and spontaneous behaviour.

The favourable effects of democratic child training are seen also in the schools. Teachers who have a warm, friendly, and cooperative attitude get along well with children, and their pupils do better work and make better personal and social adjustments.

Children brought up in homes where permissive child training is used become selfish and self-centered and show little compassion for others. They do not learn to conform to others, but imperiously expect others to conform to there.

Development of Gender Identity

Differences Between Sex and Gender

Sex → refers to the biological differences of being male or female.

Gender → Refers to the social significance of being either male or female.

Refers to the concepts of masculinity and femininity

Sex differences in personality patterns reflect cultural values. The differences are in part at least the result of child-training methods. Even in the pre-result of child-training methods. Even in the pre-school years, mothers are stricter with their daughters than with their sons, and children usually interpret this to mean that boys are favoured. This leads to a feeling of superiority on the part of boys and to resentment and a feeling of martyrdom on the part of girls. By adolescence, the effect is easily observed. Girls are more conforming than boys; they are quieter, more withdrawn, less aggressive, and less daring. Boys are trained to be independent and value abstract thinking. This leads boys to direct their moral reasoning to issues such as "justice."

Girls are trained to be nurturing and caring. This leads them to direct their moral reasoning to issues such as "human relationships" and "caring."Girls often bitterly resent being overprotected and treated too strictly, but have difficulty expressing their negative feelings and criticisms because they feel obligated to their parents. When severely punished or unfairly treated, however, they feel justified in expressing their feelings, even when this leads to family friction. At other times, they displace their resentments on others. This has been explained as one of the reasons for greater prejudice on the part of girls as compared with boys.

What makes us "Masculine" or "Feminine"-Nature or Nurture?

What are little girls made of?

Sugar and spice

And all that is nice,

That's what little girls are made of.

What are little boys made of?

Snaps and snails,

And Puppy dogs' tails,

That's what little boys are made of.

A Closer Look at "Nurture": We are either masculine or feminine as a result of the environmental experiences we encounter. Thus, gender is learned.

Symbolic Interaction Theory on Gender Acquisition

Basic Assumptions

- ***Each sex is associated with Sex Roles:*** attitudes and behaviors expected of males and females. (e.g., men are suppose to be able to fix things.")
- ***Our sex represents a Master Trait:*** It is a characteristic so important to one's identity it overrides almost all others.
- ***Social Learning Theory:*** Asserts that gender roles and gender identity are learned directly through a system of positive and negative reinforcements (rewards/ punishments) as well as Modeling (learning through imitation).

The rewards and punishments will have a direct relationship on the likelihood of a behavior occurring again. The theory does not accept the notion that behavior is fixed according to early learning experiences. Rather, behavior and attitudes change as the world and social expectations change.

Agents of Socialization

- The Family (e.g., toys, chores, and clothing)
- Language-according to the Sapir Whorf Hypothesis, our language has inherent within it meaning about gender that expresses ideas to us about what it means to be masculine or feminine (e.g., man-made, mankind, etc.)
- Peers (acceptance for peers can be all important).
- School
- e.g., girls are more likely to start school with higher ability in math and science, but by high school are lagging behind boys.
- Guidance counselors may still have some influence over course/elective selection for students based on gender.
- Media (Movie Entrapment)

Commission Essentials to a Healthy Personality Pattern

To lay the foundations of a healthy personality pattern, child training must be both consistent and fair. Severity and laxity per se are not so damaging as lack of consistency. Consistency of training results in better integration of behaviour and a more realistic approach to life, both of which contribute to good personal and social adjustments.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Do hereditary factors play a significant role in the overall development of an individual?
2. Explain the term "genetic endowment".
3. To what extent is culture a determinant of a person's personality?
4. What is the role of socialization in development? Explain the role of family in such socialization.
5. What are the factors that influence child training methods?
6. What makes us "Masculine" or "Feminine"-Nature or Nurture?

CHAPTER

4

THEORIES OF PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

L E A R N I N G O B J E C T I V E S

After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Personality
- Psycho Dynamic Theories of Personality
- Behavioural Theory

It might be nice to start off with a definition of theories of personality. First, theory: A theory is a model of reality that helps us to understand, explain, predict and control that reality. In the study of personality, these models are usually verbal. Every now and then, someone comes up with a graphic model, with symbolic illustrations, or a mathematical model, or even a computer model. But words are the basic forms.

Different approaches focus on different aspects of theory. Humanists and Existentialists tend to focus on the understanding part. They believe that much of what we are is way too complex and embedded in history and culture to "predict and control." Besides, they suggest, predicting and controlling people is, to a considerable extent, unethical. Behaviourists and Freudians, on the other hand, prefer to discuss prediction and control. If an idea is useful, if it works, go with it! Understanding, to them, is secondary.

Another definition says that a theory is a guide to action: We figure that the future will be something like the past. We figure that certain sequences and patterns of events that have occurred frequently before are likely to occur again. So we look to the first events of a sequence, or the most vivid parts of a pattern, to serve as our landmarks and warning signals. A theory is a little like a map: It isn't the same as the countryside it describes; it certainly doesn't give you every detail; it may not even be terribly accurate. But it does provide a guide to action -- and gives us something to correct when it fails.

PERSONALITY

Usually when we talk about someone's personality, we are talking about what makes that person different from other people, perhaps even unique. This aspect of personality is called individual differences. For some theories, it is the central issue. These theories often spend considerable attention on things like types and traits and tests with which we can categorize or compare people: Some people are neurotic, others are not; some people are more introverted, others more extroverted; and so on.

However, personality theorists are just as interested in the commonalities among people. What, for example, does the neurotic person and the healthy person have in common? Or what is the common structure in people that expresses itself as introversion in some and extroversion in others?

If you place people on some dimension – such as healthy-neurotic or introversion-extroversion -- you are saying that the dimension is something everyone can be placed on. Whether they are neurotic or not, all people have a capacity for health and ill-health; and whether introverted or extroverted, all are "verted" one way or the other.

Another way of saying this is that personality-theorists are interested in the structure of the individnal, the psychological structure in particular. How are people "put together;" how do they "work;" how do they "fall apart."

Some theorists go a step further and say they are looking for the essence of being a person. Or they say they are looking for what it means to be an individual human being. The field of personality-psychology stretches from a fairly simple empirical search for differences between people to a rather philosophical search for the meaning of life!

Perhaps it is just pride, but personality-psychologists like to think of their field as a sort of umbrella for all the rest of psychology. We are, after all, concerned about genetics and physiology, about learning and development, about social interaction and culture, about pathology and therapy. All these things come together in the individual.

Philosophical Assumptions

That people - even famous geniuses – make mistakes should not have been a big surprise to you. It should also not surprise you that people are limited. There are many questions, ones we need to have answers in order to build our theories, that have no answer. Some are just beyond us presently; some may never have an answer. But we answer them anyway, because we need to get on with life. We can call these our philosophical assumptions.

1. ***Free will vs. determinism:*** Are we and the world completely determined? Is the sense that we make choices just an illusion? Or is it the other way round, that the spirit has the potential to rise above all restraints, that it is determinism which is an illusion?

   Most theorists make more moderate assumptions. A moderate determinist's position might say that, although we are ultimately determined, we are capable of participating in that determinism. A moderate free-will position might say that freedom is intrinsic to our nature, but we must live out that nature in an otherwise determined world.

2. ***Uniqueness vs. universality:*** Is each person unique or will we eventually discover universal laws which will explain all of human behaviour? Again, more moderate positions are available: Perhaps there are broad rules of human nature with room for individual variation within them; Or, perhaps, individuality outweighs our commonalities.

   Determinism suggests the possibility of universal laws, while free will is one possible source of uniqueness. But the relationship is not perfect and in the moderate versions quite complex.

3. ***Physiological vs. purposive motivation:*** Are we more "pushed" by basic physiological needs, such as the need for food, water and sexual activity? Or are we more "pulled" by our purposes, goals, values, principles and so on? More moderate possibilities include the idea that purposive behaviour is powerful but grows out of physiological needs or simply that both types of motivation are important, perhaps, at different times and places.

   A more philosophical version of this contrasts causality and teleology. The first says that your state of mind now is determined by prior events; The second says that it is determined by its orientation to the future. The causality position is by far the more common in psychology generally, but the teleological position is very strong in personality psychology.

4. ***Conscious vs. unconscious motivation:*** Is much, most, or even all of our behaviour and experience determined by unconscious forces, i.e., forces of which we are not aware? Or is some, little, or even none determined by unconscious forces. Or, to put it in another way, how much of what determines our behaviour are we conscious of?

   This might be an answerable question, but consciousness and unconsciousness are slippery things. For example, if we were aware of something a moment ago and it has

changed us in some way, but we are now unable to bring it to awareness, are we consciously motivated or unconsciously? Or if we deny some truth, keeping it from awareness, must we not have seen it coming in order to take that action to begin with?

5. ***Nature vs. nurture:*** This is another question that may someday be answerable: To what degree is what we are due to our genetic inheritance ("nature") or to our upbringing and other experiences ("nurture")? The question is such a difficult one because nature and nurture do not exist independently of each other. Both a body and experience are probably essential to being a person and it is very difficult to separate their effects.

   As you will see, the issue comes up in many forms, including the possible existence of instincts in human beings and the nature of temperament, genetically based personality characteristics. It is also very debatable whether "nature" (as in human nature) even refers to genetics.

6. ***Stage vs. non-stage theories of development:*** One aspect of the nature-nurture issue that is very important to personality-psychology is whether or not we all pass through predetermined stages of development. We do, after all, go through certain stages of physiological development -- foetal, childhood, puberty, adulthood, senescence -- powerfully controlled by genetics. Shouldn't we expect the same for psychological development?

   We will see a full range of positions on this issue, from true stage theories such as Freud's, who saw stages as universal and fairly clearly marked, to behaviourist and humanist theories that consider what appear to be stages to be artifacts created by certain patterns of upbringing and culture.

7. ***Cultural determinism vs. cultural transcendence:*** To what extent do our cultures mold us? Totally, or are we capable of "rising above" (transcending) those influences? And if so, how easy or difficult is it? Notice that this is not quite the same as the determinism-free will issue: If we are not determined by culture, our "transcendence" may be nothing more than some other determinism, by physiological needs, for example, or genetics.

   Another way to look at the issue is to ask yourself, "How difficult is it to really get to know someone from a different culture?" If it is difficult to step out of our cultures and communicate as human beings, then, perhaps, culture is terribly determining of who we are. If it is relatively easy, perhaps it is not so powerful.

8. ***Early or late personality formation:*** Are our personality characteristics established in early childhood, to remain relatively fixed through the rest of our lives? Or are we every bit as flexible in adulthood? Or is that, although change is always a possibility, it just gets increasingly difficult as time goes on?

   This question is intimately tied up with the issues of genetics, stages and cultural determination, as you can imagine. The biggest hurdle we face before we find a resolution, however, is in specifying what we mean by personality characteristics. If we mean things that never change from the moment of birth -- i.e., temperament - then, of course, personality is formed early. If we mean our beliefs, opinions, habits and so on, these can change rather dramatically up to the moment of death. Since most theorists mean something "in between" these extremes, the answer is likewise to be found "in between."

9. ***Continuous vs. discontinuous understanding of mental illness:*** Is mental illness just a matter of degree? Are they just ordinary people that have taken something to an extreme? Are they perhaps eccentrics that disturb themselves or us? Or is there a qualitative difference in the way they experience reality? As with cultures, is it easy to understand the mentally ill, or do we live in separate worlds?

   This issue may be resolvable, but it is complicated by the fact that mental illness is hardly a single entity. There are many different kinds. Some would say there are as

many as there are people who are mentally ill. What is a mental illness and what is not is even up for debate. It may be that mental health is also not a single thing.

10. ***Optimism vs. pessimism:*** Last, we return to an issue that is not at all resolvable: Are human beings basically good or basically bad; Should we be hopeful about our prospects, or discouraged; Do we need a lot of help or would we be better off, if left alone?

    This is, obviously, a more philosophical, religious, or personal issue. Yet it is perhaps the most influential of all. The attitude determines that what you see when you look at humanity; What you see, in turn, influences the attitude. And it is bound up with other issues: If, for example, mental illness is not so far from health, if personality can be changed later in life, if culture and genetics aren't too powerful and if our motivations can at least be made conscious, we have more grounds for optimism. The theorists we will look at were at least optimistic enough to make the effort at understanding human nature.

Organization

With all the different pitfalls, assumptions and methods, you might think that there is very little we can do in terms of organizing "theories of personality." Fortunately, people, with like minds, tend to be drawn to each other. Three broad orientations tend to stand out:

1. ***Psychoanalytic or "first force":*** Although psychoanalytics, strictly speaking, refers to Freudians, we will use it here to refer to others who have been strongly influenced by Freud and who -- though they may disagree with nearly everything else -- do share attitude: They tend to believe that the answers to the important questions lie somewhere behind the surface, hidden, in the unconscious.

   We would look at three versions of this approach. The first is the Freudian view proper, which includes Sigmund and Anna Freud, of course and the ego-psychologist, of whom Erik Erikson is the best known.

   The second might be called the transpersonal perspective, which has a much more spiritual streak and which will be represented here by Carl Jung.

   The third has been called the social psychological view and includes Alfred Adler, Karen Horney and Erich Fromm.

2. ***Behaviouristic or "second force":*** In this perspective, the answers are felt to lie in careful observation of behaviour and environment and their relations. Behaviourists as well as their modern descendants the cognitivist, prefer quantitative and experimental methods.

   - The behaviouristic approach is represented by Hans Eysenck, B. F. Skinner and Albert Bandura.

3. ***Humanistic or "third force":*** The humanistic approach, which is usually thought of as including existential psychology, is the most recent of the three. Often, based on a reaction to psychoanalytic and behaviouristic theories, the common belief is that the answers are to be found in consciousness or experience. Phenomenological methods are preferred by most humanists.

   Let us examine two "streams" of the humanistic approach. The first is humanism proper, represented by Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers and George Kelly.

   The second is existentialist psychology, a philosophy-based humanism quite popular in Europe and Latin America. Let us look at two existential psychologists, Ludwig Binswanger and Viktor Frankl.

PSYCHO DYNAMIC THEORIES OF PERSONALITY

Sigmund Freud (1856 - 1939)

Theory

Freud didn't exactly invent the idea of the conscious versus unconscious mind, but he certainly was responsible for making it popular. The conscious mind is what you are aware of at any particular moment, your present perceptions, memories, thoughts, fantasies, feelings, what have you. Working closely with the conscious mind is what Freud called the preconscious, what we might today call "available memory:" anything that can easily be made conscious, the memories you are not at the moment thinking about but can readily bring to mind. Now no-one has a problem with these two layers of mind. But Freud suggested that these are the smallest parts!

The largest part by far is the unconscious. It includes all the things that are not easily available to awareness, including many things that have their origins there, such as our drives or instincts and things that are put there because we can't bear to look at them, such as the memories and emotions associated with trauma.

According to Freud, the unconscious is the source of our motivations, whether they be simple desires for food or sex, neurotic compulsions or the motives of an artist or scientist. And yet, we are often driven to deny or resist becoming conscious of these motives and they are often available to us only in disguised form.

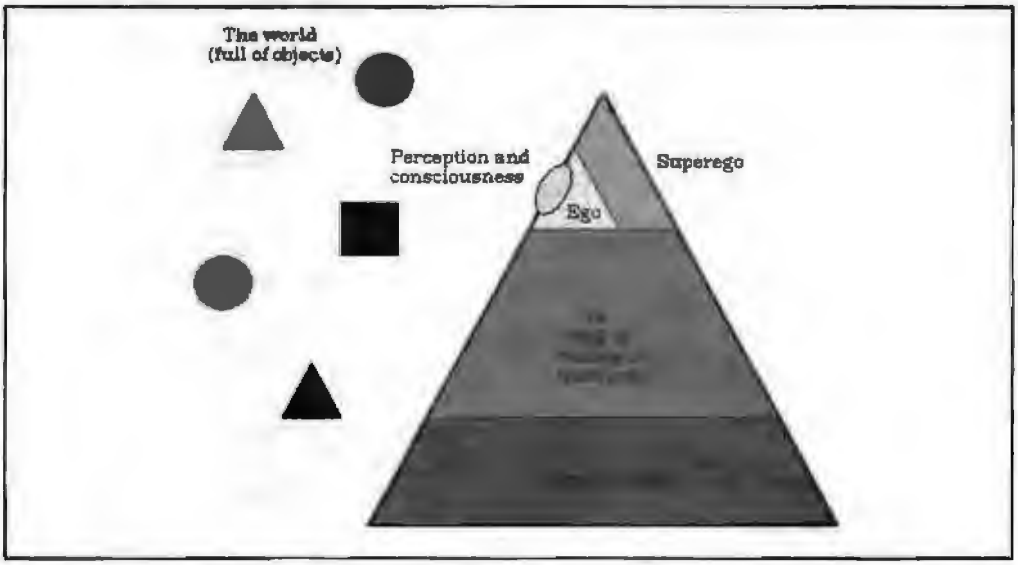

Figure 1

The id, the Ego and the Superego

Freudian psychological reality begins with the world, full of objects. Among them is a very special object, the organism. The organism is special in that it acts to survive and reproduce and it is guided toward those ends by its needs – hunger, thirst, the avoidance of pain and sex.

A part – a very important part – of the organism is the nervous system, which has as one its characteristics a sensitivity to the organism's needs. At birth, that nervous system is little more than that of any other animal, an "it" or id. The nervous system, as id, translates the organism's needs into motivational forces called, in German, Triebe, which has been translated as instincts or drives. Freud also called them wishes. This translation from need to wish is called the primary process.

The id works in keeping with the pleasure principle, which can be understood as a demand to take care of needs immediately. Just picture the hungry infant, screaming itself blue. It

doesn't "know" what it wants in any adult sense; it just knows that it wants it and it wants it now. The infant, in the Freudian view, is pure, or nearly pure id. And the id is nothing if not the psychic representative of biology.

Unfortunately, although a wish for food, such as the image of a juicy steak, might be enough to satisfy the id, it isn't enough to satisfy the organism. The need only gets stronger and the wishes just keep coming. You may have noticed that, when you haven't satisfied some need, such as the need for food, it begins to demand more and more of your attention, until there comes a point where you can't think of anything else. This is the wish or drive breaking into consciousness.

Luckily for the organism, there is that small portion of the mind we discussed before, the conscious, that is hooked up to the world through the senses. Around this little bit of consciousness, during the first year of a child's life, some of the "it" becomes "I," some of the id becomes ego. The ego relates the organism to reality by means of its consciousness and it searches for objects to satisfy the wishes that id creates to represent the organisms needs. This problem-solving activity is called the secondary process.

The ego, unlike the id, functions according to the reality principle, which says "take care of a need as soon as an appropriate object is found." It represents reality and, to a considerable extent, reason.

However, as the ego struggles to keep the id (and, ultimately, the organism) happy, it meets with obstacles in the world. It occasionally meets with objects that actually assist it in attaining its goals. And it keeps a record of these obstacles and aides. In particular, it keeps track of the rewards and punishments meted out by two of the most influential objects in the world of the child – mom and dad. This record of things to avoid and strategies to take becomes the superego. It is not completed until about seven years of age. In some people, it oever is completed.

There are two aspects to the superego: One is the conscience, which is an internalization of punishments and warnings. The other is called the ego ideal. It derives from rewards and positive models presented to the child. The conscience and ego ideal communicate their requirements to the ego with feelings like pride, shame and guilt.

It is as if we acquired, in childhood, a new set of needs and accompanying wishes, this time of social rather than biological origins. Unfortunately, these new wishes can easily conflict with the ones from the id. You see, the superego represents society and society often wants nothing better than to have you never satisfy your needs at all!

Life Instincts and the Death Instinct

Freud saw all human behaviour as motivated by the drives or instincts, which in turn are the neurological representations of physical needs. At first, he referred to them as the life instincts. These instincts perpetuate (a) the life of the individual, by motivating him or her to seek food and water and (b) the life of the species, by motivating him or her to have sex. The motivational energy of these life instincts, the "oomph" that powers our psyches, he called libido, from the Latin word for "I desire."

Freud's clinical experience led him to view sex as much more important in the dynamics of the psyche than other needs. We are, after all, social creatures and sex is the most social of needs. Plus, we have to remember that Freud included much more than intercourse in the term sex! Anyway, libido has come to mean, not any old drive, but the sex-drive.

Later in his life, Freud began to believe that the life instincts didn't tell the whole story. Libido is a lively thing; the pleasure principle keeps us in perpetual motion. And yet the goal of all this motion is to be still, to be satisfied, to be at peace, to have no more needs. The goal of life, you might say, is death! Freud began to believe that "under" and "beside" the life instincts there was a death instinct. He began to believe that every person has an unconscious wish to die.

This seems like a strange idea at first and it was rejected by many of his students, but I think it has some basis in experience: Life can be a painful and exhausting process. There is easily, for the great majority of people in the world, more pain than pleasure in life -- something we are extremely reluctant to admit! Death promises release from the struggle.

Freud referred to a nirvana principle. Nirvana is a Buddhist idea, often translated as heaven, but actually meaning "blowing out," as in the blowing out of a candle. It refers to non-existence, nothingness, the void, which is the goal of all life in Buddhist philosophy.

The day-to-day evidence of the death-instinct and its nirvana principle is in our desire for peace, for escape from stimulation, our attraction to alcohol and narcotics, our penchant for escapist activity, such as losing ourselves in books or movies, our craving for rest and sleep. Sometimes it presents itself openly as suicide and suicidal wishes. And, Freud theorized, sometimes we direct it out away from ourselves, in the form of aggression, cruelty, murder and destructiveness.

Anxiety

Freud once said "life is not easy!"

The ego – the "I" – sits at the centre of some pretty powerful forces: reality; society, as represented by the superego; biology, as represented by the id. When these make conflicting demands upon the poor ego, it is understandable if it – if you – feel threatened, fell overwhelmed, feel as if it were about to collapse under the weight of it all. This feeling is called anxiety and it serves as a signal to the ego that its survival and with it the survival of the whole organism, is in jeopardy.

Freud mentions three different kind of anxieties: The first is realistic anxiety, which you and I would call fear. Actually Freud did, too, in German. But his translators thought "fear" too mundane! Nevertheless, if I throw you into a pit of poisonous snakes, you might experience realistic anxiety.

The second is moral anxiety. This is what we feel when the threat comes not from the outer, physical world, but from the internalized social world of the superego. It is, in fact, just another word for feelings like shame and guilt and the fear of punishment.

The last is neurotic anxiety. This is the fear of being overwhelmed by impulses from the id. If you have ever felt like you were about to "lose it," lose control, your temper, your rationality, or even your mind, you have felt neurotic anxiety. Neurotic is actually the Latin word for nervous, so this is nervous anxiety. It is this kind of anxiety that intrigued Freud most and we usually just call it anxiety, plain and simple.

The Defence Mechanisms

The ego deals with the demands of reality, the id and the superego as best as it can. But when the anxiety becomes overwhelming, the ego must defend itself. It does so by unconsciously blocking the impulses or distorting them into a more acceptable, less threatening form. The techniques are called the ego defense mechanisms and Freud, his daughter Anna and other disciples have discovered quite a few.

Denial involves blocking external events from awareness. If some situation is just too much to handle, the person just refuses to experience it. As you might imagine, this is a primitive and dangerous defence -- no one disregards reality and gets away with it for long! It can operate by itself or, more commonly, in combination with other, more subtle mechanisms that support it.

I was once reading while my five-year-old daughter was watching a cartoon (The Smurfs, I think). She was, as was her habit, quite close to the television, when a commercial came on. Apparently, no-one at the television station was paying much attention, because this was a commercial for a horror movie, complete with bloody knife, hockey mask and screams of terror. Now I wasn't able to save my child from this horror, so I did what any good

psychologist father would do: I talked about it. I said to her "Boy, that was a scary commercial, wasn't it?" She said "Huh?" I said "That commercial...it sure was scary wasn't it?" She said "What commercial?" I said "The commercial that was just on, with the blood and the mask and the screaming...!" She had apparently shut out the whole thing.

Since then, I've noticed little kids sort of glazing over when confronted by things they'd rather not be confronted by. I've also seen people faint at autopsies, people deny the reality of the death of a loved one and students fail to pick up their test-results. That's denial.

Anna Freud also mentions denial in fantasy: This is when children, in their imaginations, transform an "evil" father into a loving teddy bear or a helpless child into a powerful superhero.

Repression, which Anna Freud also called "motivated forgetting," is just that: not being able to recall a threatening situation, person or event. This, too, is dangerous and is a part of most other defences.

As an adolescent, I developed a rather strong fear of spiders, especially long-legged ones. I didn't know where it came from, but it was starting to get rather embarrassing by the time I entered college. At college, a counsellor helped me to get over it (with a technique called systematic desensitization), but I still had no idea where it came from. Years later, I had a dream, a particularly clear one, that involved getting locked up by my cousin in a shed behind my grandparents' house when I was very young. The shed was small, dark and had a dirt floor covered with – you guessed it! – long-legged spiders.

The Freudian understanding of this phobia is pretty simple: I repressed a traumatic event – the shed incident – but seeing spiders aroused the anxiety of the event without arousing the memory.

Other examples abound. Anna Freud provides one that now strikes us as quaint: A young girl, guilty about her rather strong sexual desires, tends to forget her boy-friend's name, even when trying to introduce him to her relations! Or an alcoholic can't remember his suicide attempt, claiming he must have "blacked out." Or a someone almost drowns as a child, but can't remember the event even when people try to remind him – but he does have this fear of open water!

Note that, to be a true example of a defence, it should function unconsciously. My brother had a fear of dogs as a child, but there was no defence involved: He had been bitten by one and wanted very badly never to repeat the experience! Usually, it is the irrational fears we call phobias that derive from repression of traumas.

Asceticism, or the renunciation of needs, is one most people haven't heard of, but it has become relevant again today with the emergence of the disorder called anorexia. Preadolescents, when they feel threatened by their emerging sexual desires, may unconsciously try to protect themselves by denying, not only their sexual desires, but all desires. They get involved in some kind of ascetic (monk-like) lifestyle wherein they renounce their interest in what other people enjoy.

In boys nowadays, there is a great deal of interest in the self-discipline of the martial arts. Fortunately, the martial arts not only don't hurt you (much), they may actually help you. Unfortunately, girls in our society often develop a great deal of interest in attaining an excessively and artificially thin standard of beauty. In Freudian theory, their denial of their need for food is actually a cover for their denial of their sexual development. Our society conspires with them: After all, what most societies consider a normal figure for a mature woman is in ours considered 20 pounds overweight!

Anna Freud also discusses a milder version of this, called restriction of ego. Here, a person loses interest in some aspect of life and focuses it elsewhere, in order to avoid facing reality. A young girl who has been rejected by the object of her affections may turn away from feminine things and become a "sex-less intellectual," or a boy who is afraid that he may be humiliated on the football team, may unaccountably become deeply interested in poetry.

Isolation (sometimes called intellectualization) involves stripping the emotion from a difficult memory or threatening impulse. A person may, in a very cavalier manner, acknowledge that he had been abused as a child, or may show a purely intellectual curiosity in his newly discovered sexual orientation. Something that should be a big deal is treated as if it were not.

In emergency-situations, many people find themselves completely calm and collected until the emergency is over, at which point they fall to pieces. Something tells you that, during the emergency, you can't afford to fall apart. It is common to find someone totally immersed in the social obligations surrounding the death of a loved one. Doctors and nurses must learn to separate their natural reactions to blood, wounds, needles and scalpels and treat the patient, temporarily, as something less than a warm, wonderful human being with friends and family. Adolescents often go through a stage where they are obsessed with horror movies, perhaps to come to grips with their own fears. Nothing demonstrates isolation more clearly than a theatre full of people laughing hysterically while someone is shown being dismembered.

Displacement is the redirection of an impulse onto a substitute target. If the impulse, the desire, is okay with you, but the person you direct that desire towards is too threatening, you can displace to someone or something that can serve as a symbolic substitute.

Someone who hates his or her mother may repress that hatred, but direct it instead towards, say, women in general. Someone who has not had the chance to love someone may substitute cats or dogs for human beings. Someone who feels uncomfortable with their sexual desire for a real person may substitute a fetish. Someone who is frustrated by his or her superiors may go home and kick the dog, beat up a family member, or engage in cross-burnings.

Turning against the self is a very special form of displacement, where the person becomes their own substitute-target. It is normally used in reference to hatred, anger and aggression, rather than more positive impulses and it is the Freudian explanation for many of our feelings of inferiority, guilt and depression. The idea that depression is often the result of the anger we refuse to acknowledge is accepted by many people, Freudians and non-Freudians alike.

Once upon a time, at a time when I was not feeling my best, my daughter, five years old, spilled an entire glass of chocolate milk in the living room. I lashed out at her verbally, telling her she was clumsy and had to learn to be more careful and how often hadn't I told her and...well, you know. She stood there stiffly with a sort of smouldering look in her eyes and, of all things, pounded herself on her own head several times! Obviously, she would rather have pounded my head, but, well, you just don't do that, do you? Needless to say, I've felt guilty ever since.

Projection, which Anna Freud also called displacement-outward, is almost the complete opposite of turning against the self. It involves the tendency to see your own unacceptable desires in other people. In other words, the desires are still there, but they're not your desires anymore. I confess that whenever I hear someone going on and on about how aggressive everybody is, or how perverted they all are, I tend to wonder if this person doesn't have an aggressive or sexual streak in themselves that they'd rather not acknowledge.

Let me give you a couple of examples: A husband, a good and faithful one, finds himself terribly attracted to the charming and flirtatious lady, next door. But rather than acknowledge his own, hardly abnormal, lusts, he becomes increasingly jealous of his wife, constantly worried about her faithfulness and so on. Or a woman finds herself having vaguely sexual feelings about her girl friends. Instead of acknowledging those feelings as quite normal, she becomes increasingly concerned with the presence of lesbians in her community.

Altruistic surrender is a form of projection that, at first glance, looks like its opposite: Here, the person attempts to fulfill his or her own needs vicariously, through other people.

A common example of this is the friend (we've all had one) who, while not seeking any relationship himself, is constantly pushing other people into them and is particularly curious

as to "what happened last night" and "how are things going?" The extreme example of altruistic surrender is the person who lives their whole life for and through another.

Reaction formation, which Anna Freud called "believing the opposite," is changing an unacceptable impulse into its opposite. So a child, angry at his or her mother, may become overly concerned with her and rather dramatically shower her with affection. An abused child may run to the abusing parent. Or someone who can't accept a homosexual impulse may claim to despise homosexuals.

Perhaps, the most common and clearest example of reaction-formation is found in children between seven and eleven years of age or so: Most boys will tell you in no uncertain terms how disgusting girls are and girls will tell you with equal vigour how gross boys are. Adults watching their interactions, however, can tell quite easily what their true feelings are!

Undoing involves "magical" gestures or rituals that are meant to cancel out unpleasant thoughts or feelings after they've already occurred. Anna Freud mentions, for example, a boy who would recite the alphabet backwards whenever he had a sexual thought, or turn-around and spit whenever meeting another boy who shared his passion for masturbation.

In "normal" people, the undoing is, of course, more conscious and we might engage in an act of atonement for some behaviour, or formally ask for forgiveness. But in some people, the act of atonement isn't conscious at all. Consider the alcoholic father who, after a year of verbal and perhaps physical abuse, puts on the best and biggest Christmas ever for his kids. When the season is over and the kids haven't quite been fooled by his magical gesture, he returns to his bartender with complaints about how ungrateful his family is and how they drive him to drink.

One of the classic examples of undoing concerns personal hygiene following sex: It is perfectly reasonable to wash up after sex. After all, it can get messy! But if you feel the need to take three or four complete showers using gritty soap -- perhaps sex doesn't quite agree with you.

Introjection, sometimes called identification, involves taking into your own personality characteristics of someone else, because doing so solves some emotional difficulty. For example, a child who is left alone frequently, may in some way try to become "mom" in order to lessen his or her fears. You can sometimes catch them telling their dolls or animals not to be afraid. And we find the older child or teenager imitating his or her favourite star, musician, or sports hero in an effort to establish an identity.

A more unusual example is a woman who lived next to my grandparents. Her husband had died and she began to dress in his clothes, albeit neatly tailored to her figure. She began to take up various of his habits, such as smoking a pipe. Although the neighbors found it strange and referred to her as "the man-woman," she was not suffering from any confusion about her sexual identity. In fact, she later remarried, retaining to the end her men's suits and pipe!

I must add here that identification is very important to Freudian theory as the mechanism by which we develop our superegos.

Identification with the aggressor is a version of introjection that focuses on the adoption, not of general or positive traits, but of negative or feared traits. If you are afraid of someone, you can partially conquer that fear by becoming more like them. Two of my daughters, growing up with a particularly moody cat, could often be seen meowing, hissing, spitting and arching their backs in an effort to keep that cat from springing out of a closet or dark corner and trying to eat their ankles.

A more dramatic example is one called the Stockholm-Syndrome. After a hostage crisis in Stockholm, psychologists were surprised to find that the hostages were not only not terribly angry at their captors, but often downright sympathetic. A more recent case involved a young woman named Patty Hearst, of the wealthy and influential Hearst family. She was captured by a very small group of self-proclaimed revolutionaries called the Symbionese

Liberation Army. She was kept in closets, raped and otherwise mistreated. Yet she apparently decided to join them, making little propaganda-videos for them and even waving a machine-gun around during a bank robbery. When she was later tried, psychologists strongly suggested she was a victim, not a criminal. She was nevertheless convicted of bank robbery and sentenced to seven years in prison. Her sentence was commuted by President Carter after two years.

Regression is a movement back in psychological time when one is faced with stress. When we are troubled or frightened, our behaviours often become more childish or primitive. A child may begin to suck their thumb again or wet the bed when they need to spend some time in the hospital. Teenagers may giggle uncontrollably when introduced into a social situation involving the opposite sex. A freshman college student may need to bring an old toy from home. A gathering of civilized people may become a violent mob when they are led to believe their livelihoods are at stake. Or an older man, after spending twenty years at a company and now finding himself laid off, may retire to his recliner and become childishly dependent on his wife.

Where do we retreat when faced with stress? To the last time in life when we felt safe and secure, according to Freudian theory.

Rationalization is the cognitive distortion of "the facts" to make an event or an impulse less threatening. We do it often enough on a fairly conscious level when we provide ourselves with excuses. But for many people, with sensitive egos, making excuses comes so easy that they never are truly aware of it. In other words, many of us are quite prepared to believe our lies.

A useful way of understanding the defences is to see them as a combination of denial or repression with various kinds of rationalizations.

All defences are, of course, lies, even if we are not conscious of making them. But that doesn't make them less dangerous -- in fact, it makes them more so. As your grandma may have told you, "Oh! what a tangled web we weave..." Lies breed lies and take us further and further from the truth, from reality. After a while, the ego can no longer take care of the id's demands, or pay attention to the superego's. The anxieties come rushing back and you break down.

And yet, Freud saw defences as necessary. You can hardly expect a person, especially a child, to take the pain and sorrow of life full on! While some of his followers suggested that all of the defences could be used positively, Freud himself suggested that there was one positive defence, which he called sublimation.

Sublimation is the transforming of an unacceptable impulse, whether it be sex, anger, fear or whatever, into a socially acceptable, even productive form. So, someone with a great deal of hostility may become a hunter, a butcher, a football player or a mercenary. Someone suffering from a great deal of anxiety in a confusing world may become an organizer, a businessperson or a scientist. Someone with powerful sexual desires may become an artist, a photographer or a novelist and so on. For Freud, in fact, all positive, creative activities were sublimations and predominantly of the sex-drive.

The Stages

As I said earlier, for Freud, the sex-drive is the most important motivating force. In fact, Freud felt it was the primary motivating force not only for adults but for children and even infants. When he introduced his ideas about infantile sexuality to the Viennese public of his day, they were hardly prepared to talk about sexuality in adults, much less in infants!

It is true that the capacity for orgasm is there neurologically from birth. But Freud was not just talking about orgasm. Sexuality meant not only intercourse, but all pleasurable sensation from the skin. It is clear even to the most prudish among us that babies, children and, of course, adults, enjoy tactile experiences such as caresses, kisses and so on.

Freud noted that, at different times in our lives, different parts of our skin give us greatest pleasure. Later theorists would call these areas erogenous zones. It appeared to Freud that the infant found its greatest pleasure in sucking, especially at the breast. In fact, babies have a penchant for bringing nearly everything in their environment into contact with their mouths. A bit later in life, the child focuses on the anal pleasures of holding it in and letting go. By three or four, the child may have discovered the pleasure of touching or rubbing against his or her genitalia. Only later, in our sexual maturity, do we find our greatest pleasure in sexual intercourse. In these observations, Freud had the makings of a psychosexual stage theory.

The oral stage lasts from birth to about 18 months. The focus of pleasure is, of course, the mouth. Sucking and biting are favourite activities.

The anal stage lasts from about 18 months to three or four years old. The focus of pleasure is the anus. Holding it in and letting it go are greatly enjoyed.

The phallic stage lasts from three or four to five, six or seven years old. The focus of pleasure is the genitalia. Masturbation is common.

The latent stage lasts from five, six or seven to puberty, that is, somewhere around 12 years old. During this stage, Freud believed that the sexual impulse was suppressed in the service of learning. I must note that, while most children seem to be fairly calm, sexually, during their grammar school years, perhaps up to a quarter of them are quite busy masturbating and playing "doctor." In Freud's repressive era, these children were, at least, quieter than their modern counterparts.

The genital stage begins at puberty and represents the resurgence of the sex drive in adolescence and the more specific focusing of pleasure in sexual intercourse. Freud felt that masturbation, oral sex, homosexuality and many other things, we find acceptable in adulthood today, were immature.

This is a true-stage theory, meaning that Freudians believe that we all go through these stages, in this order and pretty close to these ages.

The Oedipal Crisis

Each stage has certain difficult tasks associated with it where problems are more likely to arise. For the oral stage, this is weaning. For the anal stage, it's potty training. For the phallic stage, it is the Oedipal crisis, named after the ancient Greek story of king Oedipus, who inadvertently killed his father and married his mother.

Here's how the Oedipal crisis works: The first love-object for all of us is our mother. We want her attention, we want her affection, we want her caresses, we want her, in a broadly sexual way. The young boy, however, has a rival for his mother's charms: his father! His father is bigger, stronger, smarter and he gets to sleep with mother, while the junior pines away in his lonely little bed. Dad is the enemy.

About the time the little boy recognizes this archetypal situation, he has become aware of some of the more subtle differences between boys and girls, the ones other than hair length and clothing styles. From his naive perspective, the difference is that he has a penis and girls do not. At this point in life, it seems to the child that, having something, is infinitely better than not having something and so he is pleased with this state of affairs.

But the question arises: where is the girl's penis? Perhaps she has lost it somehow. Perhaps it was cut off. Perhaps this could happen to him! This is the beginning of castration anxiety, a slight misnomer for the fear of losing one's penis.

To return to the story, the boy, recognizing his father's superiority and fearing for his penis, engages some of his ego defences: He displaces his sexual impulses from his mother to girls and, later, women; And he identifies with the aggressor, dad and attempts to become more

and more like him, that is to say, a man. After a few years of latency, he enters adolescence and the world of mature heterosexuality.

The girl also begins her life in love with her mother, so we have the problem of getting her to switch her affections to her father before the Oedipal process can take place. Freud accomplishes this with the idea of penis envy: The young girl, too, has noticed the difference between boys and girls and feels that she, somehow, doesn't measure up. She would like to have one, too and all the power associated with it. At the very least, she would like a penis substitute, such as a baby. As every child knows, you need a father as well as a mother to have a baby, so the young girl sets her sights on dad.

Dad, of course, is already taken. The young girl displaces from him to boys and men and identifies with mom, the woman who got the man she really wanted. Note that one thing is missing here: The girl does not suffer from the powerful motivation of castration anxiety, since she cannot lose what she doesn't have. Freud felt that the lack of this great fear accounts for fact (as he saw it) that women were both less firmly heterosexual than men and somewhat less morally-inclined.

Character

Your experiences, as you grow up, contribute to your personality, or character, as an adult. Freud felt that traumatic experiences had an especially strong effect. Of course, each specific trauma would have its own unique impact on a person, which can only be explored and understood on an individual basis. But traumas associated with stage development, since we all have to go through them, should have more consistency.

If you have difficulties in any of the tasks associated with the stages – weaning, potty training, or finding your sexual identity -- you will tend to retain certain infantile or childish habits. This is called fixation. Fixation gives each problem at each stage a long-term effect in terms of our personality or character.

If you, in the first eight months of your life, are often frustrated in your need to suckle, perhaps, because mother is uncomfortable or even rough with you or tries to wean you, too early, then you may develop an oral-passive character. An oral-passive personality tends to be rather dependent on others. They often retain an interest in "oral gratifications" such as eating drinking and smoking. It is as if they were seeking the pleasures they missed in infancy.

When we are between five and eight months old, we begin teething. One satisfying thing to do when you are teething is to bite on something, like mommy's nipple. If this causes a great deal of upset and precipitates an early weaning, you may develop an oral-aggressive personality. These people retain a life-long desire to bite on things, such as pencils, gum and other people. They have a tendency to be verbally aggressive, argumentative, sarcastic and so on.

In the anal stage, we are fascinated with our "bodily functions." At first, we can go whenever and wherever we like. Then, out of the blue and, for no reason you can understand, the-powers-that-be want you to do it only at certain times and in certain places. And parents seem to actually value the end-product of all this effort!

Some parents put themselves at the child's mercy in the process of toilet training. They beg, they cajole, they show great joy when you do it right, they act as though their hearts were broken when you don't. The child is the king of the house and knows it. This child will grow up to be an anal expulsive (a.k.a. anal aggressive) personality. These people tend to be sloppy, disorganized, generous to a fault. They may be cruel, destructive and given to vandalism and graffiti. The-Oscar-Madison character in 'The Odd Couple' is a nice example.

Other parents are strict. They may be competing with their neighbours and relatives as to who can potty-train their child first (early potty-training being associated in many people's minds with great intelligence). They may use punishment or humiliation. This child will likely become constipated as he or she tries desperately to hold it in at all times and will

grow up to be an anal retentive personality. He or she will tend to be especially clean, perfectionistic, dictatorial, very stubborn and stingy. In other words, the anal retentive is tight in all ways. The-Felix-Unger character in 'The Odd Couple' is a perfect example.

There are also two phallic personalities, although no-one has given them names. If the boy is harshly rejected by his mother and rather threatened by his very masculine father, he is likely to have a poor sense of self-worth when it comes to his sexuality. He may deal with this by either withdrawing from heterosexual interaction, perhaps becoming a bookworm, or by putting on a rather macho act and playing the ladies' man. A girl rejected by her father and threatened by her very feminine mother is also likely to feel poorly about herself and may become a wall-flower or a hyper-feminine "belle."

But if a boy is not rejected by his mother but rather favoured over his weak, milquetoast father, he may develop quite an opinion of himself (which may suffer greatly when he gets into the real world, where nobody loves him like his mother did) and may appear rather effeminate. After all, he has no cause to identify with his father. Likewise, if a girl is daddy's little princess and best buddy and mommy has been relegated to a sort of servant-role, then she may become quite vain and self-centered, or possibly rather masculine.

These various phallic characters demonstrate an important point in Freudian characterology: Extremes lead to extremes. If you are frustrated in some way or overindulged in some way, you have problems. And, although each problem tends to lead to certain characteristics, these characteristics can also easily be reversed. So an anal retentive person may suddenly become exceedingly generous, or may have some part of their life where they are terribly messy. This is frustrating to scientists, but it may reflect the reality of personality!

Therapy

Freud's therapy has been more influential than any other part of his theory. Here are some of the major points:

Relaxed atmosphere: The client must feel free to express anything. The therapy-situation is, in fact, a unique social situation, one where you do not have to be afraid of social judgment or ostracism. In fact, in Freudian therapy, the therapist practically disappears. Add to that, the physically relaxing couch–dim lights and sound-proof walls–and the stage is set.

Free association: The client may talk about anything at all. The theory is that, with relaxation, the unconscious conflicts will inevitably drift to the fore. It isn't far off to see a similarity between Freudian therapy and dreaming! However, in therapy, there is the therapist, who is trained to recognize certain clues to problems and their solutions that the client would overlook.

Resistance: One of these clues is resistance. When a client tries to change the topic, draws a complete blank, falls asleep, comes in late, or skips an appointment altogether, the therapist says "aha!" These resistances suggest that the client is nearing something in his free associations that he -- unconsciously, of course -- finds threatening.

Dream analysis: In sleep, we are somewhat less resistant to our unconscious and we will allow a few things, in symbolic form, of course, to come to awareness. These wishes from the id provide the therapist and client with more clues. Many forms of therapy make use of the client's dreams, but Freudian interpretation is distinct in the tendency to find sexual meanings.

Parapraxes: A parapraxis is a slip of the tongue, often called a Freudian slip. Freud felt that there were also clues to unconscious conflicts. Freud was also interested in the jokes his clients told. In fact, Freud felt that almost everything meant something almost all the time – dialing a wrong number, making a wrong turn and misspelling a word were serious objects of study for Freud. However, he himself noted, in response to a student who asked what his cigar might be, a symbol for, that "sometimes a cigar is just a cigar." Or is it?

Other Freudians became interested in projective tests, such as the famous Rorschach or inkblot tests. The theory behind these test is that, when the stimulus is vague, the client fills it with his or her own unconscious themes. Again, these could provide the therapist with clues.

Transference, Catharsis and Insight

Transference occurs when a client projects feelings towards the therapist that more legitimately belongs with certain important others. Freud felt that transference was necessary in therapy in order to bring the repressed emotions that have been plaguing the client for so long, to the surface. You can't feel really angry, for example, without a real person to be angry at. The relationship between the client and the therapist, contrary to popular images, is very close in Freudian therapy, although it is understood that it can't get out of hand.

Catharsis is the sudden and dramatic outpouring of emotion that occurs when the trauma is resurrected. The box of tissues on the end-table is not there for decoration.

Insight is being aware of the source of the emotion, of the original traumatic event. The major portion of the therapy is completed when catharsis and insight are experienced. What should have happened many years ago -- because you were too little to deal with it, or under too many conflicting pressures -- has now happened and you are on your way to becoming a happier person.

Freud said that the goal of therapy is simply " to make the unconscious conscious."

Discussion

The only thing more common than a blind admiration for Freud seems to be an equally blind hatred for him. Certainly, the proper attitude lies somewhere in between. Let's start by exploring some of the apparent flaws in his theory.

The least popular part of Freud's theory is the Oedipal complex and the associated ideas of castration anxiety and penis envy. What is the reality behind these concepts? It is true that some children are very attached to their opposite sex-parent and very competitive with their same-sex parent. It is true that some boys worry about the differences between boys and girls and fear that someone may cut their penis off. It is true that some girls likewise are concerned and wish they had a penis. And it is true that some of these children retain these affections, fears and aspirations into adulthood.

Most personality-theorists, however, consider these examples aberrations rather than universals, exceptions rather than rules. They occur in families that aren't working as well as they should, where parents are unhappy with each other, use their children against each other. They occur in families where parents literally denigrate girls for their supposed lack and talk about cutting off the penises of unruly boys. They occur especially in neighbourhoods where correct information on even the simplest sexual facts is not forthcoming and children learn mistaken ideas from other children.

If we view the Oedipal crisis, castration anxiety and penis-envy in a more metaphoric and less literal fashion, they are useful concepts: We do love our mothers and fathers as well as compete with them. Children probably do learn the standard heterosexual behaviour patterns by imitating the same-sex parent and practising on the opposite-sex parent. In a male-dominated society, having a penis -- being male -- is better than not and losing one's status as a male is scary. And wanting the privileges of the male, rather than the male organ, is a reasonable thing to expect in a girl with aspirations. But Freud did not mean for us to take these concepts metaphorically. Some of his followers, however, did.

Sexuality

A more general criticism of Freud's theory is its emphasis on sexuality. Everything, both good and bad, seems to stem from the expression or repression of the sex-drive. Many people question that and wonder if there are any other forces at work. Freud himself, later, added the death-instinct, but that proved to be another one of his less popular ideas.

First, let me point out that, in fact, a great deal of our activities are in some fashion motivated by sex. If you take a good hard look at our modern society, you will find that most advertising uses sexual images, that movies and television programmes often don't sell well if they don't include some titillation, that the fashion industry is based on a continual game of sexual hide-and-seek and that we all spend a considerable portion of every day, playing "the mating game." Yet we still don't feel that all life is sexual.

But Freud's emphasis on sexuality was not based on the great amount of obvious sexuality in his society -- it was based on the intense avoidance of sexuality, especially among the middle and upper classes and most especially, among women. What we too easily forget is that the world has changed rather dramatically over the last hundred years. We forget that doctors and ministers recommended strong punishment for masturbation, that "leg" was a dirty word, that a woman who felt sexual desire was automatically considered a potential prostitute, that a bride was often taken completely by surprise by the events of the wedding night and could well faint at the thought.

It is to Freud's credit that he managed to rise above his culture's sexual attitudes. Even his mentor, Breuer, and the brilliant Charcot couldn't fully acknowledge the sexual nature of their clients' problems. Freud's mistake was more a matter of generalizing too far and not taking cultural change into account. It is ironic that much of the cultural change in sexual attitudes was, in fact, due to Freud's work!

The Unconscious

One last concept that is often criticized is the unconscious. It is not argued that something like the uoconscious accounts for some of our behaviour, but rather how much and the exact nature of the beast.

Behaviourists, humanists and existentialists all believe that (a) the motivations and problems that can be attributed to the unconscious are much fewer than Freud thought and (h) the unconscious is not the great churning cauldron of activity he made it out to be. Most psychologists today see the unconscious as whatever we don't need or don't want to see. Some theorists don't use the concept at all.

On the other hand, at least, one theorist, Carl Jung, proposed an unconscious that makes Freud's look puny

Positive Aspects

People have the unfortunate tendency to "throw the baby out with the bath water." If they don't agree with ideas a, b and c, they figure x, y and z must be wrong as well. But Freud had quite a few good ideas, so good that they have been incorporated into many other theories. to the point where we forget to give him credit.

First, Freud made us aware of two powerful forces and their demands on us. Back, when everyone believed people were hasically rational, he showed how much of our behaviour was based on hiology. When everyone conceived of people as individually responsible for their actions, he showed the impact of society. When everyone thought of male and female as roles determined hy nature or God, he showed how much they depended on family dynamics. The id and the superego – the psychic manifestations of biology and society – will always be with us in some form or another.

Second is the basic theory, going back to Breuer, of certain neurotic symptoms as caused hy psychological traumas. Although most theorists no longer believe that all neurosis can be so explained, or that it is necessary to relive the trauma to get better, it has become a common understanding that a childhood full of neglect, abuse and tragedy tends to lead to an unhappy adult.

Third is the idea of ego defences. Even if you are uncomfortable with Freud's idea of the unconscious, it is clear that we engage in little manipulations of reality and our memories of that reality to suit our own needs, especially when those needs are strong. I would recommend

that you learn to recognize these defences: You will find that having names for them will help you to notice them in yourself and others!

Finally, the basic form of therapy has been largely set by Freud. Except for some behaviourist-therapies, most therapy is still "the talking cure," and still involves a physically and socially relaxed atmosphere. And, even if other theorists do not care for the idea of transference, the highly personal nature of the therapeutic relationship is generally accepted as important to success.

Some of Freud's ideas are clearly tied to his culture and era. Other ideas are not easily testable. Some may even be a matter of Freud's own personality and experiences. But Freud was an excellent observer of the human condition and enough of what he said has relevance today that he will be a part of personality textbooks for years to come. Even when theorists come up with dramatically different ideas about how we work, they compare their ideas with Freud's.

Erik Erikson (1902 - 1994)

Theory

Erikson is a Freudian ego-psychologist. This means that he accepts Freud's ideas as basically correct, including the more debatable ideas such as the Oedipal complex and accepts as well the ideas about the ego that were added by other Freudian loyalists such as Heinz Hartmann and, of course, Anna Freud. However, Erikson is much more society and culture-oriented than most Freudians and he often pushes the instincts and the unconscious practically out of the picture. Perhaps because of this, Erikson is popular among Freudians and non-Freudians alike!

Epigenetic Principle

He is most famous for his work in refining and expanding Freud's theory of stages. Development, he says, functions by the epigenetic principle. This principle says that we develop through a predetermined unfolding of our personalities in eight stages. Our progress through each stage is in part determined by our success, or lack of success, in all the previous stages. A little like the unfolding of a rose bud, each petal opens up at a certain time, in a certain order, which nature, through its genetics, has determined. If we interfere in the natural order of development by pulling a petal forward prematurely or out of order, we ruin the development of the entire flower.

Each stage involves certain developmental tasks that are psychosocial in nature. Although he follows Freudian tradition by calling them crises, they are more drawn out and less specific than that term implies. The child in grammar school, for example, has to learn to be industrious during that period of his or her life and that industriousness is learned through the complex social interactions of school and family.

The various tasks are referred to by two terms. The infant's task, for example, is called "trust-mistrust." At first, it might seem obvious that the infant must learn trust and not mistrust. But Erikson made it clear that there it is a balance we must learn: Certainly, we need to learn mostly trust; but we also need to learn a little mistrust, so as not to grow up to become gullible fools!

Each stage has a certain optimal time as well. It is no use trying to rush children into adulthood, as is so common among people who are obsessed with success. Neither is it possible to slow the pace or to try to protect our children from the demands of life. There is a time for each task.

If a stage is managed well, we carry away a certain virtue or psychosocial strength which will help us through the rest of the stages of our lives. On the other hand, if we don't do so well, we may develop maladaptations and malignancies, as well as endanger all our future development. A malignancy is the worse of the two and involves too little of the positive and too much of the negative aspect of the task, such as a person who can't trust others. A

maladaptation is not quite as bad and involves too much of the positive and too little of the negative, such as a person who trusts too much.

Children and Adults

Perhaps Erikson's greatest innovation was to postulate not five stages, as Freud had done, but eight. Erikson elaborated Freud's genital stage into adolescence plus three stages of adulthood. We certainly don't stop developing – especially psychologically – after our twelfth or thirteenth birthdays; It seems only right to extend any theory of stages to cover later development!

Erikson also had some things to say about the interaction of generations, which he called mutuality. Freud had made it abundantly clear that a child's parents influence his or her development dramatically. Erikson pointed out that children influence their parents' development as well. The arrival of children, for example, into a couple's life, changes that life considerably and moves the new parents along their developmental paths. It is even appropriate to add a third (and in some cases, a fourth) generation to the picture: Many of us have been influenced by our grandparents and they by us.

A particularly clear example of mutuality can be seen in the problems of the teenage-mother. Although the mother and her child may have a fine life together, often the mother is still involved in the tasks of adolescence, that is, in finding out who she is and how she fits into the larger society. The relationship she has or had with the child's father may have been immature on one or both sides and if they don't marry, she will have to deal with the problems of finding and developing a relationship as well. The infant, on the other hand, has the simple, straight-forward needs that infants have and the most important of these is a mother with the mature abilities and social support a mother should have. If the mother's parents step in to help, as one would expect, then they, too, are thrown off of their developmental tracks, back into a life-style they thought they had passed and which they might find terribly demanding. And so on....

The ways in which our lives intermesh are terribly complex and very frustrating to the theorist. But ignoring them is to ignore something vitally important about our development and our personalities.

Table 1

Stage (age)	Psychosocial crisis	Significant relations	Psychosocial modalities	Psychosocial virtues	Maladaptations & malignancies
I (0-1) – infant	trust vs mistrust	mother	to get, to give in return	hope, faith	sensory distortion – withdrawal
II (2-3) – toddler	autonomy vs shame and doubt	parents	to hold on, to let go	will, determination	impulsivity – compulsion
III (3-6) – preschooler	initiative vs guilt	family	to go after, to play	purpose, courage	ruthlessness – inhibition
IV (7-12 or so) – school-age child	industry vs inferiority	neighborhood and school	to complete, to make things together	competence	narrow virtuosity – inertia
V (12-18 or so) – adolescence	ego-identity vs role-confusion	peer groups, role models	to be oneself, to share oneself	fidelity, loyalty	fanaticism – repudiation
VI (the 20's) – young adult	intimacy vs isolation	partners, friends	to lose and find oneself in another	love	promiscuity – exclusivity
VII (late 20's to 50's) – middle adult	generativity vs self-absorption	household, workmates	to make be, to take care of	care	overextension – rejectivity
VIII (50's and beyond) – old adult	integrity vs despair	mankind or "my kind"	to be, through having been, to face not being	wisdom	presumption – despair

First Stage

The first stage, infancy or the oral-sensory stage, is approximately the first year or year and a half of life. The task is to develop trust without completely eliminating the capacity for mistrust.

If mom and dad can give the newborn a degree of familiarity, consistency and continuity, then the child will develop the feeling that the world – especially the social world – is a safe place to be, that people are reliable and loving. Through the parents' responses, the child also learns to trust his or her own body and the biological urges that go with it.

If the parents are unreliable and inadequate, if they reject the infant or harm it, if other interests cause both parents to turn away from the infant's needs to satisfy their own instead, then the infant will develop mistrust. He or she will be apprehensive and suspicious of people around.

Please understand that this doesn't mean that the parents have to be perfect. In fact, parents who are overly protective of the child, are there the minute the first cry comes out, will lead that child into the maladaptive tendency. Erikson calls sensory maladjustment: Overly trusting, even gullible, this person cannot believe anyone would mean them harm and will use all the defences at their command to retain their pollyanna perspective.

Worst, of course, is the child whose balance is tipped way over on the mistrust side: The child will develop the malignant tendency of withdrawal, characterized by depression, paranoia and possibly psychosis.

If the proper balance is achieved, the child will develop the virtue of hope, the strong belief that, even when things are not going well, they will work out well in the end. One of the signs that a child is doing well in the first stage is when the child isn't overly upset by the need to wait a moment for the satisfaction of his or her needs: Mom or dad don't have to be perfect; I trust them enough to believe that, if they can't be here immediately, they will be here soon; Things may be tough now, but they will work out. This is the same ability that, in later life, gets us through disappointments in love, our careers and many other domains of life.

Stage Two

The second stage is the anal-muscular stage of early childhood, from about eighteen months to three or four years old. The task is to achieve a degree of autonomy while minimizing shame and doubt.

If mom and dad (and the other care-takers that often come into the picture at this point) permit the child, now a toddler, to explore and manipulate his or her environment, the child will develop a sense of autonomy or independence. The parents should not discourage the child, but neither should they push. A balance is required. People often advise new parents to be "firm but tolerant" at this stage and the advice is good. This way, the child will develop both self-control and self-esteem.

On the other hand, it is rather easy for the child to develop instead a sense of shame and doubt. If the parents come down hard on any attempt to explore and be independent, the child will soon give up with the assumption that cannot and should not act on their own. We should keep in mind that even something as innocent as laughing at the toddler's efforts can lead the child to feel deeply ashamed and to doubt his or her abilities.

And there are other ways to lead children to shame and doubt: If you give children unrestricted freedom and no sense of limits, or if you try to help children do what they should learn to do for themselves, you will also give them the impression that they are not good for much. If you aren't patient enough to wait for your child to tie his or her shoe-laces, your child will never learn to tie them and will assume that this is too difficult to learn!

Nevertheless, a little "shame and doubt" is not only inevitable, but beneficial. Without it, you will develop the maladaptive tendency Erikson calls impulsiveness, a sort of shameless willfulness that leads you, in later childhood and even adulthood, to jump into things without proper consideration of your abilities.

Worse, of course, is too much shame and doubt, which leads to the malignancy Erikson calls compulsiveness. The compulsive person feels as if his entire being rides on everything he does and so everything must be done perfectly. Following all the rules precisely keeps you from mistakes and mistakes must be avoided at all costs. Many of you know how it feels to always be ashamed and always doubt yourself. A little more patience and tolerance with your own children may help them avoid your path. And give yourself a little slack, too!

If you get the proper, positive balance of autonomy and shame and doubt, you will develop the virtue of willpower or determination. One of the most admirable -- and frustrating -- thing about two and three-year-olds is their determination. "Can do" is their motto. If we can preserve that "can do" attitude (with appropriate modesty to balance it) we are much better off as adults.

Stage Three

Stage three is the genital-locomotor stage or play age. From three or four to five or six, the task confronting every child is to learn initiative without too much guilt.

Initiative means a positive response to the world's challenges, taking on responsibilities, learning new skills, feeling purposeful. Parents can encourage initiative by encouraging children to try out their ideas. We should accept and encourage fantasy and curiosity and imagination. This is a time for play, not for formal education. The child is now capable, as never before, of imagining a future situation, one that isn't a reality right now. Initiative is the attempt to make that non-reality a reality.

But if children can imagine the future, if they can plan, then they can be responsible as well and guilty. If my two-year-old flushes my watch down the toilet, I can safely assume that there were no "evil intentions." It was just a matter of a shiny object going round and round and down. What fun! But if my five-year-old does the same thing... well, she should know what's going to happen to the watch, what's going to happen to daddy's temper and what's going to happen to her! She can be guilty of the act and she can begin to feel guilty as well. The capacity for moral judgement has arrived.

Erikson is, of course, a Freudian and as such, he includes the Oedipal experience in this stage. From his perspective, the Oedipal crisis involves the reluctance a child feels in relinquishing his or her closeness to the opposite sex parent. A parent has the responsibility, socially, to encourage the child to "grow up -- you're not a baby any more!" But if this process is done too harshly and too abruptly, the child learns to feel guilty about his or her feelings.

Too much initiative and too little guilt means a maladaptive tendency Erikson calls ruthlessness. The ruthless person takes the initiative alright; They have their plans, whether it's a matter of school or romance or politics or career. It's just that they don't care who they step on to achieve their goals. The goals are everything and guilty feelings are for the weak. The extreme form of ruthlessness is sociopathy.

Ruthlessness is bad for others, but actually relatively easy on the ruthless person. Harder on the person is the malignancy of too much guilt, which Erikson calls inhibition. The inhibited person will not try things because "nothing ventured, nothing lost" and, particularly, nothing to feel guilty about. On the sexual, Oedipal side, the inhibited person may be impotent or frigid.

A good balance leads to the psychosocial strength of purpose. A sense of purpose is something many people crave in their lives, yet many do not realize that they themselves make their purposes, through imagination and initiative. I think an even better word for this

virtue would have been courage, the capacity for action despite a clear understanding of your limitations and past failings.

Stage Four

Stage four is the latency stage, or the school-age child from about six to twelve. The task is to develop a capacity for industry while avoiding an excessive sense of inferiority. Children must "tame the imagination" and dedicate themselves to education and to learning the social skills their society requires of them.

There is a much broader social sphere at work now: The parents and other family members are joined by teachers and peers and other members of he community at large. They all contribute: Parents must encourage, teachers must care, peers must accept. Children must learn that there is pleasure not only in conceiving a plan, but in carrying it out. They must learn the feeling of success, whether it is in school or on the playground, academic or social.

A good way to tell the difference between a child in the third stage and one in the fourth stage is to look at the way they play games. Four-year-olds may love games, but they will have only a vague understanding of the rules, may change them several times during the course of the game and be very unlikely to actually finish the game, unless it is by throwing the pieces at their opponents. A seven-year-old, on the other hand, is dedicated to the rules, considers them pretty much sacred and is more likely to get upset if the game is not allowed to come to its required conclusion.

If the child is allowed too little success, because of harsh teachers or rejecting peers, for example, then he or she will develop instead a sense of inferiority or incompetence. An additional source of inferiority Erikson mentions is racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination: If a child believes that success is related to, who you are rather than to how hard you try, then why try?

Too much industry leads to the maladaptive tendency called narrow virtuosity. We see this in children who aren't allowed to "be children," the ones that parents or teachers push into one area of competence, without allowing the development of broader interests. These are the kids without a life: child actors, child athletes, child musicians, child prodigies of all sorts. We all admire their industry, but if we look a little closer, it's all that stands in the way of an empty life.

Much more common is the malignancy called inertia. This includes all of us who suffer from the "inferiority complexes" Alfred Adler talked about. If at first you don't succeed, don't ever try again! Many of us didn't do well in mathematics, for example, so we'd die before we took another maths class. Others were humiliated instead in the gym class, so we never try out for a sport or play a game of raquetball. Others never developed social skills – the most important skills of all – and so we never go out in public. We become inert.

A happier thing is to develop the right balance of industry and inferiority – that is, mostly industry with just a touch of inferiority to keep us sensibly humble. Then we have the virtue called competency.

Stage Five

Stage five is adolescence, beginning with puberty and ending around 18 or 20 years old. The task during adolescence is to achieve ego identity and avoid role confusion. It was adolescence that interested Erikson first and most and the patterns he saw here were the bases for his thinking about all the other stages.

Ego identity means knowing who you are and how you fit in to the rest of society. It requires that you take all you've learned about life and yourself and mould it into a unified self-image, one that your community finds meaningful.

There are a number of things that make things easier: First, we should have a mainstream adult culture that is worthy of the adolescent's respect, one with good adult role models and open lines of communication.

Further, society should provide clear rites of passage, certain accomplishments and rituals that help to distinguish the adult from the child. In primitive and traditional societies, an adolescent boy may be asked to leave the village for a period of time to live on his own, hunt some symbolic animal, or seek an inspirational vision. Boys and girls may be required to go through certain tests of endurance, symbolic ceremonies, or educational events. In one way or another, the distinction between the powerless, but irresponsible, time of childhood and the powerful and responsible time of adulthood, is made clear.

Without these things, we are likely to see role confusion, meaning an uncertainty about one's place in society and the world. When an adolescent is confronted by role confusion, Erikson says he or she is suffering from an identity crisis. In fact, a common question adolescents in our society ask is a straight-forward question of identity: "Who am I?"

One of Erikson's suggestions for adolescence in our society is the psychosocial moratorium. He suggests you to take a little "time out." If you have money, go to Europe. If you don't, bum around the U.S. Quit school and get a job. Quit your job and go to school. Take a break, smell the roses, get to know yourself. We tend to want to get to "success" as fast as possible and yet few of us have ever taken the time to figure out what success means to us. A little like the young Oglala Lakota, perhaps we need to dream a little.

There is such a thing as too much "ego identity," where a person is so involved in a particular role in a particular society or subculture that there is no room left for tolerance. Erikson calls this maladaptive tendency fanaticism. A fanatic believes that his way is the only way. Adolescents are, of course, known for their idealism and for their tendency to see things in black-and-white. These people will gather others around them and promote their beliefs and life-styles without regard to others' rights to disagree.

The lack of identity is perhaps more difficult still and Erikson refers to the malignant tendency here as repudiation. They repudiate their membership in the world of adults and. even more, they repudiate their need for an identity. Some adolescents allow themselves to "fuse" with a group, especially the kind of group that is particularly eager to provide the details of your identity: religious cults, militaristic organizations, groups founded on hatred, groups that have divorced themselves from the painful demands of mainstream society. They may become involved in destructive activities, drugs or alcohol or you may withdraw into their own psychotic fantasies. After all, being "bad" or being "nobody" is better than not knowing who you are!

If you successfully negotiate this stage, you will have the virtue Erikson called fidelity. Fidelity means loyalty, the ability to live by societies' standards despite their imperfections and incompleteness and inconsistencies. We are not talking about blind loyalty and we are not talking about accepting the imperfections. After all, if you love your community, you will want to see it become the best it can be. But fidelity means that you have found a place in that community, a place that will allow you to contribute.

Stage Six

If you have made it this far, you are in the stage of young adulthood, which lasts from about 18 to about 30. The ages in the adult stages are much fuzzier than in the childhood stages and people may differ dramatically. The task is to achieve some degree of intimacy as opposed to remaining in isolation.

Intimacy is the ability to be close to others, as a lover, a friend and as a participant in society. Because you have a clear sense of who you are, you no longer need to fear "losing" yourself as many adolescents do. The "fear of commitment" some people seem to exhibit is an example of immaturity in this stage. This fear isn't always so obvious. Many people today are always putting off the progress of their relationships: I'll get married (or have a family, or get involved in important social issues) as soon as I finish school, as soon as I

have a job, as soon as I have a house, as soon as.... If you've been engaged for the last ten years, what's holding you back?

Neither should the young adult need to prove him or herself anymore. A teenage-relationship is often a matter of trying to establish identity through "couple-hood." Who am I? I'm her boy-friend. The young adult relationship should be a matter of two independent egos wanting to create something larger than themselves. We intuitively recognize this when we frown on a relationship between a young adult and a teenager: We see the potential for manipulation of the younger member of the party by the older.

Our society hasn't done much for young adults, either. The emphasis on careers, the isolation of urban living, the splitting apart of relationships because of our need for mobility and the general impersonal nature of modern life prevent people from naturally developing their intimate relationships. I am typical of many people in having moved dozens of times in my life. I haven't the faintest idea of what has happened to the kids I grew up with, or even my college buddies. My oldest friend lives a thousand miles away. I live where I do out of career-necessity and feel no real sense of community.

Before I get too depressing, let me mention that many of you may not have had these experiences. If you grew up and stayed in your community and especially if your community is a rural one, you are much more likely to have deep, long-lasting friendships, to have married your high school sweetheart and to feel a great love for your community. But this style of life is quickly becoming an anachronism.

Erikson calls the maladaptive form, promiscuity, referring particularly to the tendency to become intimate too freely, too easily and without any depth to your intimacy. This can be true of your relationships with friends and neighbours and your whole community as well as with lovers.

The malignancy he calls exclusion, which refers to the tendency to isolate oneself from love, friendship and community and to develop a certain hatefulness in compensation for one's loneliness.

If you successfully negotiate this stage, you will instead carry with you for the rest of your life the virtue or psychosocial strength Erikson calls love. Love, in the context of his theory, means being able to put aside differences and antagonisms through "mutuality of devotion." It includes not only the love we find in a good marriage, but the love between friends and the love of one's neighbour, co-worker and compatriots, as well.

Stage Seven

The seventh stage is that of middle adulthood. It is hard to pin a time to it, but it would include the period during which we are actively involved in raising children. For most people in our society, this would put it somewhere between the middle twenties and the late fifties. The task here is to cultivate the proper balance of generativity and stagnation.

Generativity is an extension of love into the future. It is a concern for the next generation and all future generations. As such, it is considerably less "selfish" than the intimacy of the previous stage: Intimacy, the love between lovers or friends, is a love between equals and it is necessarily reciprocal. Oh, of course we love each other unselfishly, but the reality is such that, if the love is not returned, we don't consider it a true love. With generativity, that implicit expectation of reciprocity isn't there, at least, not as strongly. Few parents expect a "return on their investment" from their children; If they do, we don't think of them as very good parents!

Although the majority of people practise generativity by having and raising children, there are many other ways, as well. Erikson considers teaching, writing, invention, the arts and sciences, social activism and generally contributing to the welfare of future generations to be generativity, as well – anything, in fact, that satisfies that old "need-to-be-needed."

Stagnation, on the other hand, is self-absorption, caring for no-one. The stagnant person ceases to be a productive member of society. It is perhaps hard to imagine that we should have any "stagnation" in our lives, but the maladaptive tendency Erikson calls overextension illustrates the problem: Some people try to be so generative that they no longer allow time for themselves, for rest and relaxation. The person who is overextended no longer contributes well. I'm sure we all know someone who belongs to so many clubs, or is devoted to so many causes, or tries to take so many classes or hold so many jobs that they no longer have time for any of them!

More obvious, of course, is the malignant tendency of rejectivity. Too little generativity and too much stagnation and you are no longer participating in or contributing to society. And much of what we call "the meaning of life" is a matter of how we participate and what we contribute.

This is the stage of the "midlife crisis." Sometimes men and women take a look at their lives and ask that big, bad question "what am I doing for?" Notice the question carefully: Because their focus is on themselves, they ask what, rather then whom, they are doing it for. In their panic at getting older and not having experienced or accomplished what they imagined they would when they were younger, try to recapture their youth. Men are often the most flamboyant examples: They leave their long-suffering wives, quit their humdrum jobs, buy some "hip" new clothes and start hanging around singles and bars. Of course, they seldom find what they are looking for, because they are looking for the wrong thing!

But if you are successful at this stage, you will have a capacity for caring that will serve you through the rest of your life.

Stage Eight

This last stage, referred to delicately as late adulthood or maturity, or less delicately as old age, begins sometime around retirement, after the kids have gone, say somewhere around 60. Some older folks will protest and say that it only starts when you feel old and so on, but that's an effect of our youth-worshipping culture, which has even old people avoiding any acknowledgment of age. In Erikson's theory, reaching this stage is a good thing and not reaching it suggests that earlier problems retarded your development!

The task is to develop ego integrity with a minimal amount of despair. This stage, especially from the perspective of youth, seems like the most difficult of all. First comes a detachment from society, from a sense of usefulness, for most people in our culture. Some retire from jobs they've held for years; others find their duties as parents coming to a close; most find that their input is no longer requested or required.

Then there is a sense of biological uselessness, as the body no longer does everything it used to. Women go through a sometimes dramatic menopause; Men often find they can no longer "rise to the occasion." Then there are the illnesses of old age, such as arthritis, diabetes, heart problems, concerns about breast and ovarian and prostrate cancers. There come fears about things that one was never afraid of before – the flu, for example or just falling down.

Along with the illnesses come concerns of death. Friends die. Relatives die. One's spouse dies. It is, of course, certain that you, too, will have your turn. Faced with all this, it might seem like everyone would feel despair.

In response to this despair, some older people become preoccupied with the past. After all, that's where things were better. Some become preoccupied with their failures, the bad decisions they made and regret that (unlike some in the previous stage) they really don't have the time or energy to reverse them. We find some older people become depressed, spiteful, paranoid, hypochondriacal or developing the patterns of senility with or without physical bases.

Ego integrity means coming to terms with your life and, thereby, coming to terms with the end of life. If you are able to look back and accept the course of events, the choices made, your life as you lived it, as being necessary, then you needn't fear death. Although most of you are not at this point in life, perhaps you can still sympathize by considering your life up to now. We've all made mistakes, some of them pretty nasty ones; Yet, if you hadn't made these mistakes, you wouldn't be who you are. If you had been very fortunate, or if you had played it safe and made very few mistakes, your life would not have been as rich as is.

The maladaptive tendency in stage eight is called presumption. This is what happens when a person "presumes" ego integrity without actually facing the difficulties of old age. The malignant tendency is called disdain, by which Erikson means a contempt of life, one's own or anyone's.

Someone who approaches death without fear has the strength Erikson calls wisdom. He calls it a gift to children, because "healthy children will not fear life if their elders have integrity enough not to fear death." He suggests that a person must be somewhat gifted to be truly wise, but I would like to suggest that you understand "gifted" in as broad a fashion as possible: I have found that there are people of very modest gifts who have taught me a great deal, not by their wise words, but by their simple and gentle approach to life and death, by their "generosity of spirit."

Discussion

Other than Jean Piaget, who has promoted the stage approach to development more than Erik Erikson, stages are not at all a popular concept among personality theorists., only Sigmund and Anna Freud fully share his convictions. Most theorists prefer an incremental or gradual approach to development and speak of "phases" or "transitions" rather than of clearly marked stages..

But there are certain segments of life that are fairly easy to identify, that do have the necessary quality of biologically determined timing. Adolescence is "preprogrammed" to occur when it occurs, as is birth and, very possibly, natural death. The first year of life has some special, foetus-like qualities and the last year of life includes certain "catastrophic" qualities.

If we stretch the meaning of stages to include certain logical sequences, i.e., things that happen in a certain order, not because they are biologically so programmed, but because they don't make sense any other way, we can make an even better case: weaning and potty training have to precede the independence from mother required by schooling; one is normally sexually mature before finding a lover, normally finds a lover before having children and necessarily has children before enjoying their leaving!

And if we stretch the meaning of stages even further to include social "programming" as well as biological, we can include periods of dependence and schooling and work and retirement, as well. So stretched, it is no longer a difficult matter to come up with seven or eight stages; Only now, of course, you'd be hard pressed to call them stages, rather than "phases" or something equally vague.

It is, in fact, hard to defend Erikson's eight stages if we accept the demands of his understanding of what stages are. In different cultures, even within cultures, the timing can be quite different: In some countries, babies are weaned at six months and potty trained at nine months; in others, they still get the breast at five and potty training involves little more than taking it outside. At one time in our own culture, people were married at thirteen and had their first child by fifteen. Today, we tend to postpone marriage until thirty and rush to have our one and only child before forty. We look forward to many years of retirement; in other times and other places, retirement is unknown.

And yet Erikson's stages do seem to give us a framework. We can talk about our culture as compared with others', or today as compared with a few centuries ago, by looking at the ways in which we differ relative to the "standard" his theory provides. Erikson and other researchers have found that the general pattern does, in fact, hold across cultures and times

and most of us find it quite familiar. In other words, his theory meets one of the most important standards of personality theory, a standard sometimes more important than "truth:" It is useful.

It also offers us insights we might not have noticed, otherwise. For example, you may tend to think of his eight stages as a series of tasks that don't follow any particularly logical course. But if you divide the lifespan into two sequences of four stages, you can see a real pattern, with a child development half and an adult development half.

In stage I, the infant must learn that "it" (meaning the world, especially as represented by mom and dad and itself) is "okay." In stage II, the toddler learns "I can do," in the here-and-now. In stage III, the preschooler learns "I can plan," and project him or herself into the future. In stage IV, the school-age, the child learns "I can finish" these projections. In going through these four stages, the child develops a competent ego, ready for the larger world.

In the adult half of the scheme, we expand beyond the ego. Stage V is concerned with establishing something very similar to "it is okay:" The adolescent must learn that "I am okay," a conclusion predicated on successful negotiation of the preceding four stages. In stage VI, the young adult must learn to love, which is a sort of social, "I can do," in the here-and-now. In stage VII, the adult must learn to extend that love into the future, as caring. And in stage VIII, the old person must learn to "finish" him or herself as an ego and establish a new and broader identity. We could borrow Jung's term and say that the second half of life is devoted to realizing one's self.

BEHAVIOURAL THEORY

> *Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select..,regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations and race of his ancestors.*
>
> ***– John B. Watson (1925)***

In 1913, John B. Watson wrote what some consider to be a "behaviourist manifesto" when he published Psychology as the Behaviourist Views It. Watson attempted to strip away what he and others in his camp considered to be the unscientific dependence of human consciousness as the main focus of psychology. Since Watson's time, behaviourists of many varieties have passed through the literature and, in fact, behaviourism became the dominant force in psychology through the 1940's and 50's; their dominance did not begin to wane until they were forced to share the stage with the cognitive psychologists of the late 1960's.

Behavioural-learning theories are a group of psychological theories that share some important basic tenets. A list of the most important tenets are listed below:

1. Only elements of behaviour by virtue of their directly observable characteristics should be the focus of psychological study
2. Mental states such as consciousness, because they are not directly observable, are of no scientific value in the study of psychology
3. A truly scientific psychology must be limited to directly observable inputs (stimuli) and outputs (responses)
4. By carefully manipulating the connection between stimuli and responses, psychologists can establish the causal links between them and, therefore, scientifically explain these cause (stimuli)-effect (responses) relationships.

While many varieties of behavioural-learning theories have emerged over the decades, we will limit our discussion here to the two radical bevioristic perspectives (so-called because they adhere most closely to the original tenets of the science of behaviourism and one

"softer" model called the social-learning model. These two are the Classical model of behaviourism founded by Pavlov and the Operant model of behaviourism established by B.F. Skinner.

The Classical Model of Behaviourism

Ivan Pavlov (1849 - 1936)

The Basic Concepts

Classical behaviourism, known also as classical conditioning, is based on the principles of Ivan Pavlov whose experiments with dogs in the early 1900's won him the Nobel Prize. Pavlov was attempting to study digestion in dogs with a set of experiments in which he re-routed the dogs' salivary ducts into a test tube to measure the amount being secreted during feeding. What he found, however, was totally unexpected. During the experiments, the researchers found that the test tubes began to have saliva in them before the researchers placed a food powder into the dogs' chambers. They discovered that the dogs had learned to attend to the entrance of the researchers with the food powder and began salivating in anticipation of feeding. This represents the essence of classical conditioning.

Classical conditioning can be represented verbally in the following way. When a previously neutral stimulus (the sound of a researcher's footsteps) is paired with an already existing unconditional stimulus (the food), eventually the unconditioned response (salivation) to the will also begin to occur in the presence of the neutral stimulus. When this happens we say that that neutral stimulus is now a conditioned stimulus (the sound of the researcher's footsteps became a conditioned stimulus) and when it occurs only in the presence of the conditioned stimulus (the footsteps), the salivation is considered a conditioned response.

Pavlov began to condition the dogs to all sorts of previously neutral stimuli, bells, metronomes and wind-up toys, until he was certain of his conditioning principles. So, what we have so far is a set of principles listed below:

- ***Unconditioned Stimulus:*** Any stimulus which normally elicits some response in a naturally occurring setting. Food causes animals to respond in some way.
- ***Unconditioned Response:*** Any response which normally results from the presence of a stimulus in a naturally occurring setting. Animals normally salivate or engage in a variety of anticipatory behaviours (sniffing the air) when food is present.
- ***Conditioned Stimulus:*** Any stimulus which was neutral until some learning process paired it with an unconditioned stimulus until it elicited the same response as the unconditioned stimulus. After being fed at the same time each day in the laboratory the dogs began to pair the sound of the researchers' footsteps with the arrival of food.
- ***Conditioned Response:*** Any response which is elicited to an unconditioned stimulus. The dogs began to salivate to the footsteps even when the researchers were not bringing food.
- ***Acquisition:*** Once a conditioned response is established, acquisition is said to have occurred. That is, once the dog began to salivate to the footsteps, bell, tone, etc., it had acquired that new response pattern. The time it took to acquire such a response could even be plotted on an acquisition curve.

Discrimination, Generalization, Extinction and Spontaneous Recovery

Discrimination

Let us now assume that the dog had learned to salivate to the sound of a specific researcher's footsteps as he came to feed the dog. Would the dog also salivate to another researcher's footsteps? If the dog had learned to salivate to the tone of a bell, would it also respond to the tones from a piano? These are the kinds of questions that began to intrigue Pavlov and his research assistants. The answers were quite interesting.

Pavlov and later researchers found that a subject could be trained to distinguish between closely related bell tones. For example, if a dog were to be given food signalled by a bell of the tone of C#, the dog could eventually learn to salivate to that tone and only that tone. The dog would not salivate to closely related tones, unless they were so close as to be indistinguishable by a dog's hearing.

This ability to pick one subtle stimulus out of a group of related stimuli, Pavlov called stimulus discrimination.

A real-life example of discrimination might be your ability to learn to stop on red and go on green. The traffic lights are all small round lights, yet because of your ability to discriminate colours, you can easily learn different responses to these different cues.

Generalization

While working on the problem of discrimination, however, Pavlov found that animals would continue to salivate to closely related tones but not to the same degree as they salivated to the precise conditioning tone. This tendency to respond to closely related cues Pavlov called stimulus generalization.

In fact, Pavlov began to measure the degree to which an animal responded to closely related cues and found that the animal responded with greatest intensity (salivated the most) to the precise conditioning cue and then to a gradually decreasing degree as tones got progressively further in pitch from the tone of conditioning. He called this the gradient of generalization.

A real-life example of generalization might be your response to a doorbell. If you learn to answer a doorbell at one house, but then move to another house and immediately learn to answer to a doorbell of a different pitch, you have demonstrated stimulus generalization.

Other researches found the subjects' ability to discriminate among the stimuli determined the steepness of the gradient of generalization.

Extinction

Suppose that you were a researcher in Pavlov's lab and you had been feeding the dogs right after sounding a bell tone. And suppose acquisition had occurred so that the dogs were comfortably salivating away to your bell tone. What do you suppose would happen if you simply began feeding the dogs early in the morning without the bell tone, but you kept ringing the bell tone around noon without feeding immediately afterward?

If you said that the dogs would soon stop salivating to the tone, you would be exactly correct. Unless the tone is occasionally paired with the unconditioned stimulus, the animal will stop responding over time. After all, it is food, not a bell that triggers salivation.

This process of causing a response to cease by interrupting the pairing of the conditioned and unconditioned stimulus is called extinction.

A real-life example of extinction going back to the traffic-light example we used earlier, what would happen if one day while you were driving around, everyone on the highway stopped responding to traffic lights? At every intersection with a traffic light, cars just zoomed through the intersection at full speed. What would you do? Chances are you would cease to continue using the traffic lights as a means of triggering specific driving responses. For example, you might find yourself stopping at every intersection regardless of what colour the traffic light was showing. This actually happened to me when I was driving in Southern Italy around Naples. It is not the custom in Naples to pay much attention to traffic lights and I can assure you it is terribly disconcerting to find that a cue upon which you relied to trigger orderly responses is suddenly removed.

Spontaneous Recovery

Pavlov found an interesting phenomenon when working on extinction with his dogs. He put them through adequate extinction trials to cause full extinction to occur. He kept ringing the bell without providing food until the animal ceased salivating to the bell. After extinction, the dogs were taken back to their kennel for the night. The next day he wished to begin another phase of training, but he consistently found that after a night's rest in the kennel, when he rang the bell the following morning, the dogs again began salivating, albeit not as much.

This interruption in extinction after a rest Pavlov called spontaneous recovery. What he found was that the dog would again salivate after the rest period but not, as much. Then the next day they would again salivate to a lesser degree. Only after an extended period of this pattern would the dogs permanently stop salivating to the tone.

A real-life example back to our traffic lights. What do you think happened when I stopped driving in Southern Italy and flew back to America and began driving? Do you think I continued to ignore traffic lights? Of course, not; momma didn't raise no fool! That is spontaneous recovery.

Temporal Patterns in Classical Conditioning

Pavlov, early on, found that the timing of the relationship between the conditioned and unconditioned response (called temporal association or temporal pattern). For example, it soon became obvious that if the bell-tone were sounded and then an extended period of time was allowed to lapse before the food was presented, the dog did not make an association between the bell and the food and no conditioning resulted. Of course, this seems like common sense. In a real life example if school bells were to be consistently rung while you were in the middle of the class, but the class did not end until some random time, much later, the bells would cease to be a cue for class -ending and no one would pay attention to them.

However, the temporal patterns of conditioning have much more subtle aspects in classical conditioning. Below is a pictorial chart of the four major temporal patterns:

Table 2

Temporal Pattern	Description
Delayed Conditioning	Pattern in which the CS is presented prior to the UCS but with an overlap or direct contiguity in time
Trace Conditioning	Pattern in which the CS is presented prior to the UCS and there is a gap in time between the presentation of the CS and UCS
Simultaneous Conditioning	Pattern in which the CS and UCS are presented at the same period in time with no delay or gap between the two
Backward Conditioning	Pattern in which the UCS is presented prior to the CS sometimes in a delayed fashion sometimes in a trace fashion

Notice from the chart above that only two of the temporal patterns, trace and delayed, have the CS precede the UCS in time. This makes them the most effective temporal patterns.

Contingency and Informativeness in Classical Conditioning

Contingency

We have already addressed these issues in a peripheral manner, but, as a conclusion to the study of Classical Conditioning, we should briefly explore the work of two more researchers: Robert Rescorla of the University of Pennsylvania and Leon Kamin of Princeton University.

Robert Rescorla showed that in order to classically condition an organism it is essential that the CS be contingent (dependent) on the UCS.

This time let's take the empirical approach and begin with a real-life example and let you draw your own conclusions about what contingency means:

What do you suppose would happen if you found yourself barefoot in a strange room with no exit which had a funny-looking metal floor and a bunch of flashing lights and horns and every now and then the floor would become electrified and gave you a tolerable but uncomfortable shock to the feet? Sounds a bit like hell, doesn't it? If the flashing lights and horns simply sounded at random and the shocks to your feet were delivered at random, you would probably develop some pretty strange neuroses over time.

Now let's take it one step further: suppose there was a single box nailed to the floor in one corner of the room which you could stand on and avoid the shocks to your feet. Also let's assume there was some delicious food and drink on a plate attached to the floor in the opposite corner of the room and the lights, horns and shocks continued. What would you do? You would probably quickly learn to stand on the box to avoid the shocks. But how do you get to the food without the risk of getting shocked? If you stayed in the room until you got very hungry, you would probably find yourself occasionally risking the shocks to dash across the room, grab some food and quickly hasten back to the safety of the box.

Now, the final step: what if after awhile you began to detect a pattern in the relationship between the sound of the horn and the delivery of the shock. Let's say you figured out that the lights meant nothing in relation to the shock, but about five seconds after the horn went off is when the shock was delivered. What would you then do? You would probably find yourself venturing off the box and eating at your leisure, maybe even exploring the room for a way out until the horn went off, then using the five second delay to dash for the safety of the box.

That is contingency. What you have discovered is that the shock is contingent upon the sound of the horn and you can use the horn to predict an important event in the future.

This is exactly the kind of experiment that went on in Rescorla's lab (except that Rescorla used dogs and lab-rats rather than students) to establish the following principle: not only must there be a contiguous (close together in time) relationship between a CS and UCS, but the relationship must also be predictive (contingent) in nature.

Informativeness

Leon Kamin added another twist to the Classical Conditioning Model. He found that a CS must also carry a unique piece of information for it to be effective.

Again, let's begin with a real-life example: let's go back into that nasty room with the floor that shocks. In order to hypothetically demonstrate informativeness, we need only make a single, small addition to our scenario. Let's suppose you have been eating your food and exploring the room using the horn as a predictor of the shock. All of sudden, the lights begin to flash in the same pattern as the horn. Every time the horn is sounded, the lights flash, simultaneously. Would this make a difference in your behaviour? According to Kamin's experiments with rats, probably not. Why should there be a change? The lights carry no information that you can't get from continuing to respond to the horn. Kamin would say that the horn provided a blocking effect for the light; in essence, it blocked the light from acting as a CS because it had nothing to add to the horn.

Summary of Classical Conditioning

Classical conditioning is simply one way to explain how animals and people learn to respond to the signals in their environment and use those signals to guide behaviour. Does it really work on people? Of course. There are ample examples of how classical conditioning works, especially in the conditioning of emotional responses. While I have built up a plethora of examples over the years of teaching psychology, let me tell you a little true story of how one of my professors used to demonstrate classical conditioning to his classes, years ago.

We used to team-teach huge "auditorium" sections of Introductory and Developmental Psychology classes at the University of Florida; there may be 300 - 400 people in a section. How does one demonstrate classical conditioning to such a large group? Well, what one of the professors started (maybe he got the idea from someone else, but it's a good one, no matter who invented it) and we all enthusiastically embraced was a simple trick using a noisy blank pistol.

He used to hide a blank pistol under the podium before the class. Once his lecture on Classical Conditioning began, he began to periodically pause, face the audience of students and ask, "Is everyone comfortable?" Of course, the first time he did this, the students looked around at each other as if to say, "why's he asking us that, he's never cared about our comfort before." After about a five second pause, the professor quickly snatched the blank pistol from behind the podium and fired it into the air. The response was immediate. The pistol echoed loudly in a large auditorium and the students jumped in surprise. He then replaced the pistol under the podium and continued lecturing as if nothing had happened. A few minutes later, he again paused, faced the audience and asked, "Is everyone comfortable?" Well, you get the idea.

Anyway, to conclude the story, at the University of Florida, students would often attempt to get a head start out of the auditorium just before the bell rang because it was a huge campus and their next class may be a mile away with only minutes to make it. However, the wily professor waited until just before the bell rang, faced the audience and asked, "Is everyone comfortable?" A few students still tried to get a jump on the bell, but this time they walked carefully backwards toward the door without taking their eyes off that blank pistol. This last time, however, the professor pulled the trigger and the hammer simply clicked on an empty chamber. The students moaned in faux disgust and dashed for the door.

Yes, Classical Conditioning works on humans every day.

The Operant Model of Behaviourism

B. F. Skinner (1904-1990)

Basic Concepts

You are already familiar with most of the basic concepts of Operant Conditioning because they are the same as those in the Classical Conditioning Model. All concepts such as acquisition, extinction, spontaneous recovery, discrimination and generalization are functional terms in the Operant Model. You may wish to review these terms by clicking on them in the previous sentence. While the context for the use of these terms may be slightly different in the Operant Model, their definitions are identical.

Where the Operant Model differs from the Classical Model is in its reliance on the concept of reinforcement as the driving force behind all behaviour. The basic definition of the Operant Model can be seen in Edward Lee Thorndike's law of effect.

The law of effect can be stated in two ways; one is Thorndike's definition, the other is Skinner's scientifically tightened definition:

Thorndike said the law of effect is this: when an event is followed by a satisfactory state of affairs, the chances of the event reoccurring become greater.

Skinner did not like "loose" terms such as "satisfactory state of affairs," so he altered the definition, but the meaning is the same: when a response is followed by a reinforcing stimulus, the probability of that response reoccurring increases.

Now let's state the law of effect in a way we can all get our minds around, then we'll back up and look at Skinner's model: the law of effect, according to RiCharde, states: if I do something and it gets me something I like, I'm probably going to do it again.

Positive Reinforcement, Negative Reinforcement and Punishment

Skinner's most basic premise, then, is that organisms (people and animals) are more likely to respond in specific ways only when those responses are reinforced.

However, Skinner was always quick to point out that punishment is only a temporary deterrent to responses. We'll explore this theme a bit further in this section.

In Skinner's model, a clear distinction is drawn between positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement, positive punishment and negative punishment and between reinforcement and punishment. What is this distinction?

Below are verbal explanations of these differences:

- Reinforcement is when an organism gets something good for something it does so that it will do it again.
- Punishment is when an organism gets something bad for something it does so that it will not do it again.
- Positive reinforcement is when the organism receives a good thing to reinforce a response.
- Negative reinforcement is when the organism is removed from a bad situation to reinforce a response.

At this point let's take a quick look at the main differences between negative reinforcement and punishment.

- Type I or Positive punishment is when the organism receives something bad to prevent a response from reoccurring.
- Type II or Negative punishment is when the organism avoids something bad by preventing a response.

It is clear that we need some real-world examples here:

- If I'm a good boy and clean my room, I get ice cream so that I'll clean my room again next time: that's positive reinforcement.
- If I'm a good boy and clean my room, I get to leave my room where I have been secluded by my mom: that's negative reinforcement.
- If I'm a bad boy and bite my brother, my mom spanks me so that I won't bite him again: that's positive punishment.
- If I'm a bad boy and keep going in the neighbour's yard and kicking the cat, my mom doesn't give me my allowance: that's negative punishment.

Here's a little table to help you remember:

Table 3

	Stimulus Presented	Stimulus Removed
Increase in Response Probability	Positive Reinforcement	Negative Reinforcement
Decrease in Response Probability	Positive Punishment (Type I Punishment)	Negative Punishment (Type II Punishment)

Escape vs. Avoidance Conditioning

Escape is a word with which everyone is familiar and your intuitive definition is exactly right in conditioning terms. It refers to removing oneself from an aversive stimulus. In other words, if you were standing on an electric grid and suddenly the electricity were turned on,

you would do what you could to move to an area that was not electrified. In escape conditioning an animal, a dog, say, is placed on an electrode-laced grid behind a small barrier. When the power is turned on, the dog quickly learns to leap over the barrier to escape the uncomfortable shock.

Avoidance is only slightly different, but it too is precisely what you think of when you hear the word avoid. In your everyday environment you use avoidance all the time. Anytime you find yourself in a situation where there is the potential for aversive stimuli, you attempt to avoid those stimuli. For example, when you drive a car, speed signs are signals of a potential aversive stimulus in the form of a speeding ticket. In avoidance conditioning the dog is placed behind the barrier on the electric grid, but this time a horn is sounded five seconds before the electric shock is given. The dog quickly learns to leap over the barrier at the sound of the horn to avoid the shock before it is given.

Therefore, the difference between escape and avoidance is in your ability to get out of aversive situations once they occur (a policeman stops you and you try to talk your way out of a ticket) as opposed to avoiding the situation all together (you drive within the speed limit).

Avoidance conditioning provides a great example of combining the classical and the operant models of conditioning. From the classical perspective, the animal learns a conditioned fear response to the sound of the horn that predicts the shock (the horn becomes a CS that predicts the shock, the UCS, which leads to a fear response which is the CR when evoked by the horn). From the operant perspective, the leap over the barrier is an instrumental or operant response (R = operant response) which reduces fear (S = reinforcing stimulus).

Operant vs. Classical: Differences

You should glean from the discussion above regarding reinforcement in Skinner's model, that there is a big difference between Skinner's Operant Model and Pavlov's Classical Model regarding the temporal relationship between the stimulus and the response. In Pavlov's Model, there is an S-R relationship whereby the response follows a stimulus (the bell chimes and the dog salivates); in Skinner's Model there is an R-S relationship whereby the response is followed by the reinforcing stimulus.

This difference is sometimes considered artificial, since in both models there must be some form of reinforcement in order for the S-R connection to hold. For example, in Pavlov's Model, what happened when the bell was rung persistently without the occasional presentation of food?

Primary and Secondary Reinforcers and Punishers

Skinner distinguished between the concept of a primary reinforcer or punisher and a secondary reinforcer or punisher.

Primary reinforcers or punishers include those things that we find naturally reinforcing. For example, most people prefer a comfortable room temperature of about 72 degrees to an extremely hot or cold room. Room temperature, sweet-tasting food and drink, ambient light, all of these can be considered primary reinforcers. On the other hand, extreme temperatures, starvation and thirst, painful shock, etc., could be considered a primary punisher.

Secondary reinforcers or punishers are those things that are indirectly reinforcing or punishing. For example, in our culture, the universal secondary reinforcer is money. We can't eat money or drink money or wear money, but it sure can buy us all those primary reinforcers. Secondary punishers are those things that are indirectly punishing; for example, sometimes it's better to have a parent go-ahead and spank you (a primary punisher) than to scold you incessantly (secondary punisher).

Schedules of Reinforcement

Skinner found that in order to get an organism started on a new behavioural response, it was often necessary to reinforce the organism each time the response was elicited. The reinforcing of an organism for every appropriate response is called continuous reinforcement.

However, Skinner found that in order to keep the behaviour going after acquisition, a concept called response maintenance. It was better to place the organism on a schedule of reinforcement whereby the organism would be reinforced on some schedule; this is called partial reinforcement.

You may ask why it is better to use a schedule rather than reinforcing for every response. This can be seen in a phenomenon called the partial reinforcement extinction effect.

In the Operant Model, there are four basic types of schedules of reinforcement based on the partial reinforcement extinction effect. These four types of schedules are presented in the table below.

Table 4

	Ratio	Interval
Fixed	Fixed Ratio The reinforcement is presented on *regular* occasions of the response, e.g., every third response is reinforced.	Fixed Interval The reinforcement is presented at *regular time intervals*, e.g., every three minutes the next bar press is reinforced.
Variable	Variable Ratio The reinforcement is presented on *irregular occasions of the response*, e.g., on an average of every third response the reinforcement is given.	Variable Interval The reinforcement is presented at *irregular time intervals*, e.g., on an average of every three minutes the next bar press is reinforced.

"Which schedules work better?" you may ask.

That depends on what you mean by work better.

If you mean, "which generates the most number of responses?" you get one answer.

If you mean, "which are most resistant to extinction?" you get another.

In general, variable schedules of reinforcement are superior for response maintenance, especially variable ratio schedules.

However, fixed ratio can be effective if the response to reinforcement ratio is adjusted properly. For example, a pigeon will peck for food more frequently on an FR 65 than on an FR 185, but may be more susceptible to extinction on the FR 65.

How about some real-life examples of schedules of reinforcement? Below is an example of each schedule from situations to which humans can usually relate. What other examples can you come up with?

Table 5

Schedule of Reinforcement	Real-life Example
Fixed Ratio	A writer receives an advance royalty for every four chapters of a book submitted. After five consecutive foul shots made, the coach comes over and pats you on the back and says, "Good job."
Variable Ratio	You just keep pumping money in that slot machine and pulling that arm down, every so often you hit a jackpot.
Fixed Interval	Everyone is familiar with this one, I get paid once a month, therefore, I am on a fixed interval schedule of reinforcement.
Variable Interval	If you go fishing, you don't know how long you'll sit until you get a bite.

Behaviour Modification and Shaping

Skinner believed that behaviours could be slowly shaped into any form desired using the principles of operant conditioning.

The basic force behind this shaping of behaviour is the principle of successive approximations.

If you have ever been to a carnival or theme-park where animals perform elaborate feats, then you have seen the product of successive approximations.

All the principles of shaping, successive approximations and schedules of reinforcement are combined into the general concept of behaviour modification; the gradual alteration of behaviour into desired outcomes over time and the maintenance of those behavioural outcomes through schedules of reinforcement.

Summary and Evaluation of Operant Conditioning

Skinner's operant model gained wide popularity in psychology during the mid-twentieth century only to wane during the latter part of the century when the rise of computer technology pushed forward the so-called information-processing and other cognitive models of psychology.

The principles of operant conditioning still have great force and are clearly the most parsimonious principles to explain many behaviours. For example, it is easy to see operant principles at work when a chicken is slowly trained to perform a complex dance-routine when a red light is on. However, critics found it much harder to explain more complex human behaviours by relying solely on operant principles. How can one explain the behaviours of a child sitting quietly in the corner reading an adventure story? Can we deny that important cognitive activity is going on even in the absence of overt behaviours other than eye movements?

As the operant model came under increasing attack, some behaviourally oriented psychologists began to introduce models of their own which relied less on overt stimuli and reinforcers to explain behaviour. We conclude this chapter by reviewing one of these; Albert Bandura's Social Learning Model.

Social Learning Theory

Albert Bandura (B. 1925)

In 1965 Albert Bandura conducted a landmark experiment since known as the "Bobo Doll" experiment. He had young children observe adults playing with a bobo doll (a sort of punching-bag doll) commonly sold in toy stores at the time. The study's conclusions were simple, but the ramifications for behavioural research were profound.

Bandura found that children who watched adults playing calmly and nicely with the bobo doll also played calmly and nicely with the bobo doll; children who observed the adult beating and punching the doll also beat and punched the doll. This and similar experiments lead Bandura to the basic premises of Social Learning Theory.

Tenets of Social Learning Theory

The list below is a brief overview of the principles of Social Learning Theory:

- All principles of radical behaviourism, e.g., conditioning, reinforcement, generalization and discrimination, are acceptable ways of discussing the acquisition, maintenance and extinction of behaviour.
- Humans, however, respond to an array of other behavioural elements not included in the radical-behavioural system.
- These additional elements include the following:

Bandura's Model of Observational Learning

1. Observational learning, also known as Vicarious learning or conditioning: whereas it is assumed in radical behaviouristic theories that organisms must themselves respond in order to acquire behaviour, the social-learning theorist believes that people can learn by observing others and respond at a later date: this learn-now, respond-later situation is called latent learning.

2. ***Self-reinforcement:*** Whereas the radical behaviourist believes that reinforcement must be extrinsic (external) to the organism, the social-learning theorist believes that certain behaviours or vicarious learning can be self-reinforcing. This means that observing someone else gets reinforced in the a behaviour and can have reinforcing contingencies for the observer.

3. ***Anticipatory control:*** Because observational learning is a real phenomenon to the social-learning theorist (meaning the behaviour need not be reinforced immediately in the observer until the behaviour is elicited), behaviour can be said to be under anticipatory control because the behaving organism need only the expectation of reinforcement in order to perform.

4. ***Motivation:*** Because of latent learning and anticipatory control, the organism can be said to rely on internally based (intrinsic) motivation for behaviour. That is, motivational states are essential to the social-learning theorist's explanation of behaviour.

5. ***Reciprocal determinism:*** Because both internal and external states are important to the social-learning theorist, behaviour is a product of the interaction between the individual person and the environment; this interaction is called reciprocal determinism.

Conclusion

Rogers theory has greatly influenced professional social work practice. The social worker follows most of the principles such as, non-judgmental attitude, dignity and worth of human being and right of self-determination, based on Rogers client-centred therapy. Thus Rogers has made a very valuable contribution to the social philosophy and sociology.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the different schools of thought in the explaination of theory of personality development?

2. Discuss the contributions made by:

   a. Sigmund Freud

   b. Erik Erikson

   c. Ivan Pavlov

   d. B. F. Skinner

   e. Albert Bandura

   f. Carl Rogers

   In the development of theory of development.

3. Which theory do you agree upon the most? Gives reasons for your answers.

4. Prepare a summary of the theory of personality development synthesizing all the given theories.

CHAPTER

5

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT AND EMOTIONAL QUOTIENT

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Factor Theories of Intelligence
- Intelligence Quotient (IQ)
- Multiple Intelligences
- Social Intelligence
- Emotional Intelligence

It is difficult to define intelligence. It seems easy and people say they can define but when they sit shown they find it very difficult. But to find a common definition for intelligence is very difficult to achieve. However, there are wide variations in lay people's definitions of intelligence. Psychologists, too, have wide differences of opinion. One group consists of theorists who have studied the organization of mental ability; their primary interest is in identifying the factor or factors which constitute intelligence. The theories that have emerged from these efforts are called factor-theories. Their opinion seems to be convincing, looked at from one point of view.

The second group of theorists has laid emphasis not on the component parts of the intellect but on the process involved in intellectual activity, that is, the processes involved in solving problems or planning how to remember something. The result of their efforts has been a group of process-oriented theories of intelligence. Let us now analyze the factor theories.

FACTOR THEORIES OF INTELLIGENCE

The important thing here is, is intelligence a single characteristic, or is it a collection of specific distinguishable abilities? This is the centerpiece of discussion and debate among the factor theorists. It is hard to answer this because this involves the underlying intellectual capacities which we cannot see directly. We can only infer these underlying capacities from the behaviour of the people following intellectual tests. Thus to find an answer on this statistical technique known as factor analysis has been undertaken. This technique is a way of identifying group of abilities or behaviours or traits that are related to one another. Thus it falls in the value of inference.

The test-taker is asked to remember a series of numbers called out by the tester - another sub-test might require the test-taker to arrange pictures in an order that tells a coherent story, and so forth. Correlation coefficients are then computed among the various sub-tests to determine which ones are most closely related to each other. Sub-tests that correlate well with each other but not with other sub-tests are said to represent a common factor. By inspecting the subtests that form a common factor, psychologists thus make a decision about the nature of that factor.

For instance, that one factor has been found to include the following sub-tests: remembering a series of numbers, recalling a series of steps in a production manual, etc. The factor that includes these tests might reasonably be considered a memory factor.

British psychologist, Charles Spearman (1927) proposed a broad general intelligence (G) factor that is beneath the surface. Spearman noted that a number of different cognitive tasks and intellectual measures tend to be correlated with one another, that is, people who score high on one tend to score high on the others, as well. Using an early version factor, G, shared by the various tests, Spearman argued that each individual intellectual task taps both general intelligence, G, and some other ability, S, Specific to that particular task. For example, an arithmetic test might tap both G and a specific mathematical ability. Spearman's views, which have come to be called G-factor theory, are reflected in intelligence tests that yield a single score, such as an IQ notion, that intelligence can be largely summed up with one score which is closely related to Spearman's idea that intelligence consists of one general ability factor.

Multifactor Theories: Against the above theory of spearmen, many other theorists concluded that intelligence has multiple components. These theorists agree with Spearman that diverse intellectual tasks are usually correlated with one another, the basic fact that led to G-factor theory in the first place. However, they go beyond this fact, noting that certain clusters of tests show higher correlations with one another than with other tests. Thus spearman's theory became the base on which others began to develop their principles.

One of the most influential of the multifactor theories grew out of the work of factor analyst, L.L. Thurstone (1938). Thurstone started with a set of 56 tests; from the patterns of correlation among these tests, and identified factors, which are called, primary mental abilities. These included verbal comprehension, word fluency, perceptual speed, memory, numerical ability, spatial ability and reasoning. Thurstone assembled a battery of tests to measure these abilities. This Primary Mental Abilities test (PMA) is still widely used.

The three-dimensional theory of Guildford became the next massive analysis based on a great many existing tests. This model provides for 120 factors of intelligence. Each factor is represented by a cell in the cube and is a sum combination of these three dimensions.

Guilford's concept of intelligence also includes what he calls divergent thinking, which is involved in solving problems with a single correct answer.

In such a theory, intelligence is pictured as a sort of pyramid. At the top of the pyramid is G, general intelligence, which shows up in virtually all kinds of intellectual activity. Underneath it are several moderately specific ability factors like Thurstone's primary mental abilities. At the bottom of the pyramid are a larger number of highly specific abilities, similar to Spearman's (1927) S factors- abilities that may come into play on one particular task. This hierarchical theory borrows from several factor theories to form a multilayered view of intelligence, a view that may turn out to be the most reasonable of all.

Each of the preceding theories is an attempt to unravel intelligence to find its component parts and describe how those parts fit together. This is not the only path to an understanding of intelligence. An alternative approach taken by several influential theorists is to focus on intellectual processes, the patterns of thinking that people use when they reason and solve problems. These theorists use a somewhat different vocabulary than the theorists described above, for example, they often speak of cognition and cognitive processes rather than intelligence. Also, they are often more interested in how people go about solving problems and figuring out answers than in how many right answers people get. Finally, the process-oriented theorists tend to focus on the development of intellectual processes of how the processes change as individuals mature.

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT (IQ)

What is Intelligence Quotient: Is the intelligence quotient (IQ) test outdated? Can we rely on Intelligent Quotient? Or does it require any modification? These are some questions that come to our mind. Psychologist Robert Sternberg stated that "intelligence testing remains virtually alone among modern technologies in its slow pace of innovation." The surprising fact about this is that it is from the mouth of one of the most famous intelligence researchers today.

In 1905, the French government approached a psychologist, Alfred Binet, and commissioned the first intelligence test. The test was to decide, which children could profit from education and who could be weeded out from the rest. The task was very difficult. How do we measure the abstract and amorphous entity as intelligence? This was the problem that we face.

Binet reasoned that an intelligent person is one who can adapt to the environment and get along well in the world. An intelligent person could move freely with other people. He is an extremely reliable social being. He was able to design a test with many questions to determine how well children understand the world around them. The test was conducted on a large number of children of different age groups. The results were to be tabulated from this to decide the sociableness of the children and based on this, a scale to measure intelligence.

A child's knowledge about the environment and ability to adapt to the environment changes with his development. These are the focal points. The result was different for different age groups. Binet found this as a way to find out the child's age. He designed an "average mental level" for each age group and tallied the average number and type of questions correctly by each age group.

The famed intelligence quotient was computed by dividing the child's mental age by his or her chronological age. There were doubts about the value of the IQ test but the term "intelligence quotient" could be worked out. IQ is not a very accurate measurement but the quotient hasn't been used for over half a century.

The question that arises now is how do to study intelligence. Binet and other psychologists view intelligence as one's ability to solve problems, understand ideas, learn and adapt to the world around us. The most common intelligence test for children and adults consist of subtests that measure components of intellect such as memory, general knowledge, vocabulary, mathematical ability, planning and more. The results show broadly the individual's pattern of intellectual strengths and weaknesses.

Unlike Binet's test, IQ score is not a quotient. Instead it is computed by mathematically converting the subtest scores into one specialized score that compares the individual's performance with what is average for a given age.

Recently, psychologists have broadened the definition of intelligence to include nonacademic forms of knowledge such as artistic, musical and other abilities. Despite these the tests on intelligence remain. It is criticized that intelligence tests assess a narrow set of abilities and focus heavily on school-based knowledge. Current tests don't assess other forms of intelligence such as creativity, social sensitivity, or street smarts. Today many scholars recognize that there is much more to intelligence than what the test measures. There are various other components which go to make a person intelligent.

Psychometric IQ

Perhaps, surprisingly, given its status, psychometric measured intelligence leaves out by design some aspects of cognition known to link to intelligent behaviour. First, Binet and Simon, the founders of IQ testing at its start, wished to separate 'natural intelligence from instruction' by disregarding, in so far as possible, the degree of instruction which the subject possesses (Binet & Simon, 1908/1961, p. 93). As a result, from its beginnings, IQ has excluded that important aspect of intelligence that concerns a person's capacity over a prolonged period to learn a skill in-depth (which would require measuring skills that might have depended upon 'instruction'). Second, IQ tests for pragmatic reasons are restricted to measuring skills that can be tested with easily administered and standardized tasks. The result of this is that IQ tests are biased to measure those skills which can be measured in terms of performance against time. It is easy to time performance while ignoring a person's capacity to expertly know a specialized domain in-depth. It is difficult to create standardized measurements for them. Reflecting these factors, while IQ tests show high correlations with tasks that measure reaction speeds such as the time to judge whether two lines are of different lengths (Deary & Stough, 1996; Kranzler & Jensen, 1989), they show no or very

moderate correlations with people's ability to acquire expertise (Ackerman, 1996; Ceci & Liker, 1986; Doll & Mayr, 1987; Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996; Shuter- Dyson & Gabriel, 1981).

A normal intelligence quotient (IQ) ranges from 85 to 115, according to the Stanford-Binet scale. Only approximately 1% of the people in the world has an IQ of 135 or over. In 1926, psychologist Dr. Catherine Morris Cox - who had been assisted by Dr. Lewis M. Terman, Dr. Florence L. Goodenaugh and Dr. Kate Gordon - published a study "of the most eminent men and women" who had lived between 1450 and 1850 to estimate what their IQs might have been. The resultant IQs were based largely on the degrees of brightness and intelligence each subject showed before attaining the age of 17. Taken from a revised and completed version of this study, it shows the projected IQs of some of the best scorers.

Cox also found that different fields have quite widely varying average IQs for their acknowledged leading geniuses. Displayed below are the calculated Deviation IQs. The number in brackets is the number in the sample considered:

Philosophers (22), average IQ 160; Scientists (39), 159; Fiction writers (53), 152; Statesmen (43), 150; Musicians (11), 149; Artists (13), 153; Soldiers (27), 136.

English philosopher and mathematician, Bertrand Russell interpreted Nietzsche's overman as a person with an IQ of at least 180. (Actually Russell considered himself to have this IQ!). Einstein , regarded as the prototype for a genius, may "only" have had just above 160.

It is important to distinguish between the intelligence quotients measured for adults and for children. While the intelligence quotient in theory has no upper limit for children, it is often considered as unmeasurable for adults if it exceeds 200 (Normally, it is never set above 210. However, the highest possible scores to date should lie in the interval, 210-220, with decreasing probability). This is caused by the different measuring methods used. According to the definition of intelligence quotient for a child, the mental age is divided by the chronological age. The quotient is then multiplied by 100 (Ratio IQ). This implies, of course, that you cannot use the same method for adults as for children. Instead you use a statistical mean value of 100 for the average number of correct answers for a representative adult group of people (Deviation IQ).

MULTIPLE INTELLIGENCES

Howard Gardner gave another theory which he called multiple intelligences. Here, he makes people think about "IQ," about being "smart." The theory is changing the way some teachers teach. Gardner in this included an eighth intelligence! Later, he included the Ninth one.

When Howard Gardner's book, Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences (Basic Books, 1983) was published it seemed to contain answers to many questions for experienced teachers. We all had students who didn't fit the mould; we knew the students were bright, but they didn't excel on tests. Gardner's claim that there are several different kinds of intelligence gave us and others involved with teaching and learning a way of beginning to understand those students. We would look at what they could do well, instead of what they could not do.

Later, Gardner's books such as The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach (Basic Books, 1991) and Multiple Intelligences: The Theory in Practice, etc., (Basic Books, 1993) helped us understand how multiple intelligences could help us teach and evaluate our students in new and better ways.

A professor at the Harvard University Dr Howard Gardner, Ph.D. is the author of many interesting books and articles. His theory of multiple intelligences questioned many long-held assumptions about intelligence – especially about a single measure of intelligence. Dr. Gardner is also co-director of Harvard's Project Zero.

Let us look at this eighth intelligence which Dr. Gardner talks about. Originally psychologist Gardner was holding on to only seven intelligences. Later on, he changed to eight and than to nine

Howard Gardner first identified and introduced us to seven different kinds of intelligence which were mentioned in 'The Frames of Mind'. These were as follows:

- ***Linguistic intelligence:*** a sensitivity to the meaning and order of words.
- ***Logical-mathematical intelligence:*** ability in mathematics and other complex logical systems.
- ***Musical intelligence:*** the ability to understand and create music. Musicians, composers and dancers show a heightened musical intelligence.
- ***Spatial intelligence:*** the ability to "think in pictures," to perceive the visual world accurately, and recreate (or alter) it in the mind or on paper. Spatial intelligence is highly developed in artists, architects, designers and sculptors.
- ***Bodily-kinesthetic intelligence:*** the ability to use one's body in a skilled way, for self-expression or toward a goal. Mimes, dancers, basketball players and actors are among those who display bodily-kinesthetic intelligence.
- ***Interpersonal intelligence:*** an ability to perceive and understand other individuals – their moods, desires and motivations. Political and religious leaders, skilled parents and teachers and therapists use this intelligence.
- ***Interpersonal intelligence:*** an understanding of one's own emotions. Some novelists and/or counsellors use their own experience to guide others.

The eighth intelligence which he, later on, included was the naturalist intelligence.

Gardner discussed the "eighth intelligence" with Kathy Checkley, in an interview for Educational Leadership, The First Seven... and the Eighth. Gardner said, "The naturalist intelligence refers to the ability to recognize and classify plants, minerals and animals, including rocks and grass and all variety of flora and fauna. The ability to recognize cultural artifacts like cars or sneakers may also depend on the naturalist intelligence. Some people from an early age are extremely good at recognizing and classifying artifacts. For example, we all know kids who, at 3 or 4, are better at recognizing dinosaurs than most adults."

Gardner credited Charles Darwin as a prime example for this type of intelligence.

The naturalist intelligence meshed with Gardner's definition of intelligence as "...the human ability to solve problems or to make something that is valued in one or more cultures." And the naturalist intelligence met Gardner's specific criteria:

- "Is there a particular representation in the brain for the ability?
- "Are there populations that are especially good or especially impaired in an intelligence?
- "And, can an evolutionary history of the intelligence be seen in animals other than human beings?"

The question that arises is how do we introduce this eighth intelligence in the classroom for our purpose.

Gardner says, "It's very important that a teacher takes individual differences among kids very seriously ... The bottom line is a deep interest in children and how their minds are different from one another, and in helping them use their minds well."

An awareness of multiple-intelligence theory has stimulated teachers to find out more ways of helping all students in their classes. Some schools do this by adapting curriculum. In Variations on a Theme: How Teachers Interpret MI Theory (Educational Leadership, September 1997), Linda Campbell describes five approaches to curriculum change:

- ***Lesson-design:*** Some schools focus on lesson-design. This might involve team teaching ("teachers focusing on their own intelligence strengths"), using all or several of the intelligences in their lessons, or asking student opinions about the best way to teach and learn certain topics.
- ***Interdisciplinary units:*** Secondary schools often include interdisciplinary units.
- ***Student projects:*** Students can learn to "initiate and manage complex projects" when they are creating student projects.

- ***Assessments:*** Assessments are devised which allow students to show what they have learned. Sometimes this takes the form of allowing each student to devise the way he or she will be assessed, while meeting the teacher's criteria for quality.

- ***Apprenticeships:*** Apprenticeships can allow students to "gain mastery of a valued skill gradually, with effort and discipline over time." Gardner feels that apprenticeships "...should take up about one-third of a student's schooling experience."

Sharon Elementary School in Charlotte, North Carolina, brought in "problem-based units school-wide to bring together activities from the intelligences." Sharon School has identified Seven Ways of Learning that relate to seven intelligences and related those to student behaviour.

With an understanding of Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences, teachers, school administrators and parents can better understand the learners in their midst. They can allow students to safely explore and learn in many ways and they can help students direct their own learning. Adults can help students understand and appreciate their strengths and identify real-world activities that will stimulate more learning.

What is the theory of multiple intelligences (M.I.)?

Howard Gardner claims that all human beings have multiple intelligences. These multiple intelligences can be nurtured and strengthened or ignored and weakened. Here, he believes each individual has nine intelligences:

Verbal-Linguistic Intelligence: well-developed verbal skills and sensitivity to the sounds, meanings and rhythms of words;

Mathematical-Logical Intelligence: ability to think conceptually and abstractly and capacity to discern logical or numerical patterns;

Musical Intelligence: ability to produce and appreciate rhythm, pitch and time;

Visual-Spatial Intelligence: capacity to think in images and pictures, to visualize accurately and abstractly;

Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence: ability to control one's body movements and to handle objects skillfully;

Interpersonal Intelligence: capacity to detect and respond appropriately to the moods, motivations and desires of others;

Intrapersonal Intelligence: capacity to be self-aware and in tune with inner feelings, values, beliefs and thinking processes;

Naturalist Intelligence: ability to recognize and categorise plants, animals and other objects in nature; and

Existential Intelligence: sensitivity and capacity to tackle deep questions about human existence, such as the meaning of life, why do we die, and how did we get here, etc.

Howard Gardner who defined the first seven intelligences in FRAMES OF MIND (1983) book added the last two in INTELLIGENCE REFRAMED (1999).

Based on his study of many people from many different walks of life in everyday circumstances and professions, Gardner developed the theory of multiple intelligences. He performed interviews and conducted brain research on hundreds of people, including stroke victims, prodigies, autistic individuals and so-called "idiot savants."

According to Gardner, all human beings possess all the nine intelligences in varying amounts:

- Each person has a different intellectual composition,
- We can improve education by addressing the multiple intelligences of our students,
- These intelligences are located in different areas of the brain and can either work independently or together, and

- These intelligences may define the human species.

This theory differs from the traditional definition of intelligence in many ways. Let us look at these now. These are defined in the following.

Gardner's multiple intelligences theory challenged traditional beliefs in the fields of education and cognitive science.

According to a traditional definition, intelligence is a uniform cognitive capacity people are born with. This capacity can be easily measured by short-answer tests.

According to Howard Gardner, intelligence is:

- The ability to create an effective product or offer a service that is valued in a culture;
- A set of skills that make it possible for a person to solve problems in life;
- The potential for finding or creating solutions for problems, which involve gathering new knowledge.

An educational system based on national standards and efficient, relatively cheap, universal multiple choice testing is central to the traditional concept of intelligence. In practice a student's score on an I.Q.2 test or WISC3 ranks his or her strengths and weaknesses. It qualifies students for special services (such as programmes for the gifted or for those with learning disabilities). An unfortunate use of IQ tests in schools is that it often results in labelling students.

Many educators, researchers, students and parents have long rejected multiple choice testing as a measure of intelligence. Multiple intelligence theory has served as a rallying point for a reconsideration of the educational practice of the last century.

Table 6

Intelligence can be measured by short-answer tests: Stanford-Binet Intelligence Quotient Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISCIV) Woodcock Johnson test of Cognitive Ability Scholastic Aptitude Test.	Assessment of an individual's multiple intelligences can foster learning and problem-solving styles. Short answer tests are not used because they do not measure disciplinary mastery or deep understanding. They only measure rote memorization skills and one's ability to do well on short answer tests. Some states have developed tests that value process over the final answer, such as PAM (Performance Assessment in Maths) and PAL (Performance Assessment in Language).
People are born with a fixed amount of intelligence.	Human beings have all intelligences, but each person has a unique combination, or profile.
Intelligence level does not change over a lifetime.	We can all improve each of the intelligences, though some people will improve more readily in one intelligence area than in others.
Intelligence consists of ability in logic and language.	There are many more types of intelligence which reflect different ways of interacting with the world.
In traditional practice, teachers teach the same material to everyone.	M.I. pedagogy implies that teachers teach and assess differently based on individual intellectual strengths and weaknesses.
Teachers teach a topic or "subject."	Teachers structure learning activities around an issue or question and connect subjects. Teachers develop strategies that allow for students to demonstrate multiple ways of understanding and value their uniqueness.

Critics of the theory say that:

- ***It's not new:*** Critics of multiple intelligence theory maintain that Gardner's work isn't groundbreaking – that what he calls "intelligences" are primary abilities that educators and cognitive psychologists have always acknowledged.
- ***It isn't well-defined:*** Some critics wonder if the number of "intelligences" will continue to increase. These opposing theorists believe that notions such as bodily-kinesthetic or musical ability represent individual aptitude or talent rather than intelligence. Critics also believe that M.I. theory lacks the rigor and precision of a real science. Gardner claims that it would be impossible to guarantee a definitive list of intelligences.
- ***It's culturally embedded:*** M.I. theory states that one's culture plays an important role in determining the strengths and weaknesses of one's intelligences. Critics counter that intelligence is revealed when an individual confronts an unfamiliar task in an unfamiliar environment.
- ***It defeats National Standards:*** Widespread adoption of multiple intelligence pedagogy would make it difficult to compare and classify students' skills and abilities across classrooms.
- ***It is impractical:*** Educators faced with overcrowded classrooms and lack of resources see multiple intelligence theory as utopian.

These are many benefits of using the multiple intelligences approach in school. These are given below in serial order.

You may come to regard intellectual ability more broadly. Drawing a picture, composing or listening to music, watching a performance – these activities can be a vital door to learning – as important as writing and mathematics. Studies show that many students who perform poorly on traditional tests are turned on to learning in a classroom;

You will provide opportunities for authentic learning based on your students' needs, interests and talents. The multiple intelligence classroom acts like the "real" world: the author and the illustrator of a book are equally valuable creators. Students become more active, involved learners.

Parent and community involvement in the school may increase. This happens as students demonstrate work before panels and audiences. Activities involving apprenticeship learning bring members of the community into the learning process.

Students will be able to demonstrate and share their strengths. Building strengths gives a student the motivation to be a "specialist." This can, in turn, lead to increased self-esteem.

When you "teach for understanding," your students accumulate positive educational experiences and the capability for creating solutions to problems in life.

We now come to the Concept of Social Intelligence.

When Alfred Binet devised a measure to predict which Paris youngsters would succeed and which would fail in the primary grades at the beginning of the twentieth century, he started what was to become the vast intelligence quotient-IQ-sub-culture. This new intellectualist clan expanded widely when Binet's test was used with over one million American military recruits for World War I. Since then the IQ sub-culture has expanded into the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), the American College Test (ACT), the Graduate Record Examination (GRE), the Miller Analogies Test (MAT) and many others. Like any sub-culture, once it started rolling it had its believers and its detractors.

Edward L. Thorndike maintained that there are three intelligences: abstract, mechanical and social. In a Harper's Magazine article in the 1930s, he defined social intelligence as the ability to understand others and "act wisely in human relations.: He maintained that social intelligence is different from academic ability and a key element in what makes people

succeed in life. But beyond those general characterizations of social intelligence, Thorndil didn't have much to say.

SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE

A definition is a way of placing a concept in a general category and then distinguishing th particular concept from others in that category. So we define a wine bottle as being in th category of a container and distinguish it from other containers as being usually a gla container.

In defining social intelligence we're talking about a general category: the human capacity understand what's happening in the world and responding to that understanding in personally and socially effective manner. We have to confine our definition of soci intelligence. So we're not including within it all positive human attributes, making it a kind definitional panacea.

EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Emotional intelligence is based on the concept of "social intelligence," first identified b E.L. Thorndike in 1920. Psychologists were identifying other intelligences for some tim now, and grouping them into three groups. These are abstract intelligence (the ability understand and manipulate with verbal and mathematical symbols), concrete intelligenc (the ability to understand and manipulate with objects), and social intelligence (the abilit to understand and relate to people) (Ruisel, 1992). Thorndike (1920: 228), defined soci intelligence as "the ability to understand and manage men and women, boys and girls – t act wisely in human relations." And (1 ...) this consists of inter and intraperson intelligences in his theory of multiple intelligences (Gardner). These two intelligence comprise social intelligence. He defines them as follows:

Interpersonal intelligence is the ability to understand other people: what motivates then how they work and how to work cooperatively with them. Successful sales people, politicians teachers, clinicians, and religious leaders are all likely to be individuals with high degrees interpersonal intelligence. Intrapersonal intelligence ... is a correlative ability, turned inwar It is a capacity to form an accurate, vertical model of oneself and to be able to use that mod to operate effectively in life.

Emotional intelligence, on the other hand, "is a type of social intelligence that involves th ability to monitor one's own and others' emotions, to discriminate among them, and to u the information to guide one's thinking and actions" (Mayer & Salovey, 1993: 433). According to Salovey & Mayer (1990), EI subsumes Gardner's inter and intrapersonal intelligence and involves abilities that may be categorized into five domains:

- ***Self-awareness:*** Observing yourself and recognizing a feeling as it happens.
- ***Managing emotions:*** Handling feelings so that they are appropriate; realizing what behind a feeling; finding ways to handle fears and anxieties, anger and sadness.
- ***Motivating oneself:*** Channeling emotions in the service of a goal; emotional se control; delaying gratification and stifling impulses.
- ***Empathy:*** Sensitivity to others' feelings and concerns and taking their perspectiv appreciating the differences in how people feel about things.
- ***Handling relationships:*** Managing emotions in others; social competence and soci skills.

Self-awareness (intrapersonal intelligence), empathy and handling relationshi (interpersonal intelligence) are essentially dimensions of social intelligence.

Why is Emotional Intelligence Important?

Researchers investigated dimensions of emotional intelligence (EI) by measuring related concepts, such as social skills, interpersonal competence, psychological maturity and emotional awareness, long before the term "emotional intelligence" came into use. Grade school teachers have been teaching the rudiments of emotional intelligence since 1978, with the development of the Self-Science Curriculum and the teaching of classes such as "social development," "social and emotional learning," and "personal intelligence," all aimed at "raise[ing] the level of social and emotional competence" (Goleman, 1995: 262). Social scientists are just beginning to uncover the relationship of EI to other phenomenon, e.g., leadership (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995), group performance (Williams & Sternberg, 1988), individual performance, interpersonal/social exchange, managing change, and conducting performance evaluations (Goleman, 1995). And according to Goleman (1995: 160), "Emotional intelligence, the skills that help people harmonize, should become increasingly valued as a workplace asset in the years to come."

Emotions

Effect, Mood and Emotions

"It is clear, however, that, without the preferences reflected by positive and negative effect, our experiences would be a neutral gray. We would care no more what happens to us or what we do with our time than does a computer."

C. Daniel Batson, Laura L. Shaw & Kathryn C. Oleson (Differentiating Effect, Mood, and Emotion: Toward Functionally Based Conceptual Distinctions, 1992).

The terms effect, mood, and emotion are used interchangeably throughout much of the literature, without distinguishing among them (Batson, Shaw, & Oleson, 1992: 294). Some of the confusion or lack of clarity may be a result of the overlap among the concepts (Morris, 1992). Some researchers have attempted to distinguish these concepts based on structural differences and functional differenees. Schwarz and Clore (1988) differentiated emotion from mood, based on structural differences, such as the specificity of the targets (e.g., emotions are specific and intense and are a reaction to a particular event, whereas moods are diffused and unfocused (George & Brief, 1995; Frijda, 1987; Clark & Isen, 1982) and timing (e.g., emotions are caused by something more immediate in time than moods). Batson and colleagues (1992) differentiated mood, effect and emotion based on functional differences, like changes in value state (effect), beliefs about future affective states (mood), and the existence of a specific goal (emotion).

"Effect seems to reveal preference (Zajonc, 1980); it informs the organism experiencing it about those states of affairs that it values more than others. Change from a less valued to a more valued state is accompanied by positive effect; change from a more valued to a less valued state is accompanied by negative effect. Intensity of the effect reveals the magnitude of the value preference."

How do we Measure Emotional Intelligence: Measuring your Emotional Intelligence is one of the most important ways you can ever do in your lifetime. This is significantly improving the quality of your life!

The Simmons Personal Survey: Since 1975, The Simmons Personal Survey, has measured 13 key emotional characteristics. In our initial independent research on thousands of people and in hundreds of companies, we found that these particular traits were responsible for job success and for success in personal relationships.

Twenty years later, in 1995, Daniel Goleman publish ed his well-known book titled "Emotional Intelligence". Goleman did a good job of summarizing other's research on a few of these emotional characteristics, (Empathy, Optimism, Self-Awareness, etc.) and borrowed the name Emotional Intelligence from Dr. Peter Solovy. To his credit, Goleman did popularise Emotional Intelligence.

At this time, "Emotional Intelligence" became the international buzz-word for the emotion characteristics that we had so carefully researched and measured for 20 years. Therefore, i 1995, we also began to call our traits Emotional Intelligence. Simmons Management System was the first company in the world to measure the complete set of characteristics that ar now called Emotional Intelligence!

"Emotional Intelligence", Goleman stated that "there is, as yet, no single paper-and-penci test that yields an emotional intelligence score, and there may never be one." Goleman was by his own admission, clueless as to how to measure emotional intelligence.

Measures for Various Aspects of Emotional Intelligence: For definition of emotional intelligence and theoretical issues regarding its measurement, see the section below on Theoretical Consideration.

Emotional Empathy and Affiliative Tendency: Two positively correlated measures of pro-social orientation deal with major facets of emotional intelligence and are particularly relevant to success in interpersonal relationships. The first of these tests is the Balanced Emotional Empathy Scale (BEES) and measures individual differences in the tendency to feel and vicariously experience the emotional experiences (both positive and negative) of others (Mehrabian, 1997).

The second of these tests is the Affiliative Tendency Scale (MAFF). Affiliative persons are friendly, sociable, helpful, and skillful in dealing with people, and open about their feelings. They make good companions because they are pleasant and agreeable. Others feel comfortable with them and like them. In other words, affiliative persons have superior emotional and social skills in dealing with others, derive gratification and reward from their interpersonal contacts, and tend to be a source of happiness to others. Affiliative Tendency is understandably important in achieving success in relationships and can be an asset generally in other settings (e.g., work). You can use a combination of the BEES and the MAFF as follows. First, you would obtain two separate scores (one for the BEES and a second for the MAFF) for each of the participants in your study. You would correlate both these scores, separately, with any other tests or criterion measures you are employing in your study. You would also be able to test relations of both scales to your criterion measure using regression analysis, as follows:

Criterion measore = a * BEES + b * MAFF

Where (a) and (b) are regression beta weights. In case you are not familiar with regression analysis, you can simply use correlations of the BEES and of the MAFF with any other measures you use in your study.

Achieving Tendency & Disciplined Goal Orientation: The Achieving Tendency Scale (Mehrabian, 1968, 1969, 1994-95) has been used for over three decades to predict individual differences in general levels of achievement, particularly achievement or success at work. In recent work, the Achieving Tendency Scale has been augmented by a related (i.e., positively correlated) scale dealing more directly with individual characteristics associated with goal setting and adherence to a coherent plan to achieve one's goals. Together, the Achieving Tendency and Disciplined Goal Orientation scales have been found to be highly relevant for predicting life success in general and, in particular, the level of success a person is likely to achieve at work and in his career and finances.

With reference to the conventional definition of emotional intelligence, these two scales relate to emotional control, impulse control, goal management and self-motivation. In short, whether viewed primarily in terms of their relevance to life-success or in terms of the conventional definition of emotional intelligence, Achieving Tendency and Disciplined Goal Orientation are deemed to he highly relevant for assessing emotional intelligence.

Emotional Thinking

Emotional Thinking refers to a generalized inability to distinguish emotions and thoughts. For some, strong emotions tend to interfere with balanced and realistic thought processes

and can result in distorted views of situations and relationships. The Emotional Thinking Scale (ETS) is a completely new and improved version of the Globality-Differentiation Scale (Mehrabian, Stefl, & Mullen, 1997). Reliability and validity data on the Emotional Thinking Scale were provided by Mehrabian (2000), showing that Emotional Thinking is a highly relevant negative predictor of life-success. With reference to the conventional definition of emotional intelligence, Emotional Thinking relates to low emotional control, inability to manage stress and life difficulties, inadequate communication skills due to distorted perceptions of others, and low impulse control.

Relaxed Temperament: "Relaxed Temperament" refers to a generalized emotional predisposition to be relaxed (i.e., generally to be inclined to gravitate to emotional states that combine pleasure, low arousal (or low emotional activation), and dominance (or high internal control). Within Mehrabian's (1996a, 1996b) PAD Temperament Model, a relaxed temperament is the healthiest variant of temperament (or personality) constellation, because it provides an inbuilt resilience to stress and everyday life difficulties. Relaxed temperament facilitates a person's ability to deal with (or manage) stress, to exercise control over his/her emotions, to have a positive and constructive attitude towards life and to have accurate and realistic perceptions and expectations in various life situations.

PAD Temperament Model

In the second approach to measuring "Relaxed Temperament," you would use a constellation of five major personality scales that are moderately to highly correlated. Whereas, the PAD Temperament approach identifies temperament qualities underlying relaxed temperament, this approach includes an alternative and interrelated group of five surface traits. A combined total score for the five traits is used in data analyses and is labelled the Relaxed Temperament Scale, because the total score for this scale has been shown to relate to relaxed temperament as measured by the PAD scales.

Most importantly, the Relaxed Temperament Scale is an excellent predictor of life success. It has been found to exhibit significant positive relations with a highly diverse set of life success measures (e.g., relationships, work, career).

Overview of Measures: Here are the various aspects of Emotional Intelligence as measured within Mehrabian's (2000) approach:

- Emotional Empathy and Affiliative Tendency (composed of 2 scales; particularly relevant to relationship success).
- Achieving Tendency & Disciplined Goal Orientation (composed of 2 scales; relevant to all facets of success, particularly work, career, and finances).
- Emotional Thinking (a single scale; relevant to all facets of success).
- Relaxed Temperament (composed of 5 scales; relevant to all facets of success).

Here is a list of the test manuals corresponding to the above scales:

- Manual for the Balanced Emotional Empathy Scale (BEES).
- Manual for the Affiliative Tendency Scale (MAFF).
- Manual for the Achieving Tendency & Disciplined Goal Orientation Scales (includes two separate scales).
- Manual for the Emotional Thinking Scale (ETS).
- Manual for the Relaxed Temperament Scales (includes five separate scales).
- Manual for the Trait Pleasure-Displeasure Scale (the most important of the PAD scales for assessing emotional intelligence).
- Manual for the Trait Dominance-Submissiveness Scale (the second most important of the PAD scales for assessing emotional intelligence).

Theoretical Considerations: Rational Underlying the Concept of Emotional Intelligence & an Alternative Approach to its Measurement. Those who support the concept of emotional intelligence argue that IQ measures do not account for (or explain) most of the variance in individual differences in life-success. Alternative measures dealing with various aspects of an individual's emotional functioning are then offered for understanding why some persons are successful in life while others are miserable failures. Bear in mind, then, that life-success (e.g., success in relationships with mates or co-workers, success at work) is the key issue here and that personality scales are needed to help us make better predictions of life-success than can be achieved with IQ measures alone. This is one of the main difficulties with the IQ measurement.

An alternative to the conventional definition and measurement of emotional intelligence deals directly with the key issue: life- success. What personality and temperament characteristics exhibit sufficiently strong relations to life success so that they can provide superior predictions of success when compared with IQ measures? Psychologists are still finding out a foolproof theory to explain these and other difficulties.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is intelligence? What do you mean by IQ and EQ?
2. What is the theory of multiple intelligence?
3. What is meant by social intelligence?
4. What is the importance of EQ?
5. In your opinion, what is more important - IQ or EQ?