

ERIK H. ERIKSON

Childhood
AND
Society

Second Edition

REVISED AND ENLARGED

Childhood AND Society

Gift of

THE ASIA FOUNDATION

ERIK H. ERIKSON
Childhood and Society
Young Man Luther
Insight and Responsibility
Identity: Youth and Crisis
Gandhi's Truth

ERIK H. ERIKSON

Childhood AND Society

23 JAN 1975



Second Edition

REVISED AND ENLARGED

W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC · *New York*

Printing History
of *Childhood and Society*

FIRST EDITION, PUBLISHED 1950
Fifteen printings

SECOND EDITION, PUBLISHED 1963
Thirteenth printing

COPYRIGHT 1950, © 1963 BY
W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, INC.

ISBN 0 393 01075 9 Cloth Edition
ISBN 0 393 09622 X Paper Edition

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 62-19009

~~ALL RIGHTS RESERVED~~

Published simultaneously in Canada by
George J. McLeod Limited, Toronto

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

TO OUR
children's children

Contents

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION	11
FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION	15
PART ONE: Childhood and the Modalities of Social Life	21
CHAPTER 1 <i>Relevance and Relativity in the Case History</i>	23
1. A Neurological Crisis in a Small Boy: Sam	25
2. A Combat Crisis in a Marine	38
CHAPTER 2 <i>The Theory of Infantile Sexuality</i>	48
1. Two Clinical Episodes	48
2. Libido and Aggression	58
3. Zones, Modes, and Modalities	72
A. <i>Mouth and Senses</i>	72
B. <i>Eliminative Organs and Musculature</i>	80
C. <i>Locomotion and the Genitals</i>	85
D. <i>Pregenitality and Genitality</i>	92
4. Genital Modes and Spatial Modalities	97
PART TWO: Childhood in Two American Indian Tribes	109
INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO	111
CHAPTER 3 <i>Hunters Across the Prairie</i>	114
1. The Historical Background	114
2. Jim	120
3. An Interracial Seminar	124

4. Sioux Child Training	133
A. <i>Birth</i>	133
B. <i>Getting and Taking</i>	134
C. <i>Holding and Letting Go</i>	140
D. <i>"Making" and Making</i>	141
5. The Supernatural	147
A. <i>The Sun Dance</i>	147
B. <i>Vision Quest</i>	149
6. Summary	153
7. A Subsequent Study	157
CHAPTER 4 <i>Fishermen Along a Salmon River</i>	166
1. The World of the Yurok	166
2. Yurok Child Psychiatry	171
3. Yurok Child Training	175
4. Comparative Summary	180
PART THREE: The Growth of the Ego	187
INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE	189
CHAPTER 5 <i>Early Ego Failure: Jean</i>	195
CHAPTER 6 <i>Toys and Reasons</i>	209
1. Play, Work, and Growth	209
2. Play and Cure	222
3. The Beginnings of Identity	235
A. <i>Play and Milieu</i>	235
B. <i>Son of a Bombardier</i>	238
C. <i>Black Identity</i>	241
CHAPTER 7 <i>Eight Ages of Man</i>	247
1. Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust	247
2. Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt	251
3. Initiative vs. Guilt	255
4. Industry vs. Inferiority	258
5. Identity vs. Role Confusion	261
6. Intimacy vs. Isolation	263
7. Generativity vs. Stagnation	266
8. Ego Integrity vs. Despair	268
9. An Epigenetic Chart	269
PART FOUR: Youth and the Evolution of Identity	275
INTRODUCTION TO PART FOUR	277

Contents	9
CHAPTER 8 <i>Reflections on the American Identity</i>	285
1. Polarities	285
2. "Mom"	288
3. John Henry	298
4. Adolescent, Boss, and Machine	306
CHAPTER 9 <i>The Legend of Hitler's Childhood</i>	326
1. Germany	328
2. Father	330
3. Mother	338
4. Adolescent	340
5. <i>Lebensraum</i> , Soldier, Jew	344
6. A Note on Jewry	353
CHAPTER 10 <i>The Legend of Maxim Gorky's Youth</i>	359
1. The Land and the Mir	361
2. The Mothers	366
3. Senile Despot and Cursed Breed	369
4. The Exploited	379
A. <i>Saint and Beggar</i>	379
B. <i>The Stranger</i>	383
C. <i>Fatherless Gang and Legless Child</i>	385
D. <i>The Swaddled Baby</i>	388
5. The Protestant	393
CHAPTER 11 <i>Conclusion: Beyond Anxiety</i>	403
PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF ERIK H. ERIKSON	427
INDEX	433

Foreword to the Second Edition

AS I RE-READ the Foreword to the First Edition the phrase "conceptual itinerary" caught my eye—and I italicized it, for I was in search of a formula which would explain the fate of this book. Originally written to supplement the psychiatric education of American physicians, psychologists and social workers, it has gone its own way, into colleges and into the graduate schools of a variety of fields in this and in a number of foreign countries. A second edition, and with it the question of a revision, has become a matter of practical urgency.

The thought that this book was being widely read by younger as well as older people who could not judge it on the basis of clinical experience, has at times embarrassed me. Before starting the revision, I took this matter up with my freshman seminar (1961–62) at Harvard, and I found that the personal unity which, for better or for worse, characterizes an itinerary may, in fact, help young students gain a first guided overview of a field which encroaches upon their self-consciousness and their vocabulary from so many divers sources. My students, incidentally, decided almost unanimously that I should not make any drastic changes—

as if tampering with an itinerary written in younger years was not one of an older man's prerogatives. My thanks to their diligence and solicitude.

But the book has also been used in the training of professional workers concerned with psychoanalysis. Here, too, I have come to the conclusion that the book's shortcomings are inseparable from its character as a record of the first phase of one worker's itinerary and that like many first voyages it provides impressions which on re-visiting prove resistant to undoing or doing over. I have, therefore, revised only in order to clarify my original intentions and added only material from the same period of my work.

In what revision has taken place, then, I have first of all corrected those passages which on re-reading I did not quite understand myself. Secondly, I have amplified or corrected descriptions and explanations which have often been misunderstood or repeatedly questioned by students of whatever field. Lengthy additions are to be found primarily at the end of Part One and throughout Part Three. Finally, I have provided initialed footnotes which reflect critically on what I wrote a decade and a half ago, and refer to later writings of mine which develop the themes then initiated.

The acknowledgments in the Foreword to the First Edition do not include the name of the late David Rapaport. He had read the manuscript but I had not received his suggestions (immensely detailed, as I need not tell those who knew him) when the book went to press. In subsequent years we worked together; and he more than anybody else (and this includes me) made explicit the theoretical implications of my work and its relation to that of other psychoanalysts and psychologists. I can only gratefully refer to some of his writings which contain exhaustive bibliographies.

Longer additions to the Second Edition are based on the papers "Sex Differences in the Play Construction of Pre-Adolescents," *Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXI, 4, 1951; and "Growth and

Crises of the 'Healthy Personality,' " *Symposium on the Healthy Personality* (1950), M. J. E. Senn, editor, New York, Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation.

ERIK HOMBURGER ERIKSON

*Center for the Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences
Stanford, California
March 1963*

Foreword to the First Edition

A FOREWORD enables an author to put his afterthoughts first. Looking back on what he has written, he can try to tell the reader what lies before him.

First: this book originated in the practice of psychoanalysis. Its main chapters are based on specimen situations which called for interpretation and correction: anxiety in young children, apathy in American Indians, confusion in veterans of war, arrogance in young Nazis. In these, as in all situations, the psychoanalytic method detects conflict; for this method was first focused on mental disturbance. Through the work of Freud, neurotic conflict has become the most comprehensively studied aspect of human behavior. However, this book avoids the easy conclusion that our relatively advanced knowledge of neurosis permits us to view mass phenomena—culture, religion, revolution—as analogies of neuroses in order to make them amenable to our concepts. We will pursue a different path.

Psychoanalysis today is implementing the study of the ego, a concept denoting man's capacity to unify his experience and his action in an adaptive manner. It is shifting its emphasis from the concentrated study of the conditions which blunt and distort the individual ego to the study of the ego's roots in social organiza-

tion. This we try to understand not in order to offer a rash cure to a rashly diagnosed society, but in order first to complete the blueprint of our theory. In this sense, this is a psychoanalytic book on the relation of the ego to society.

This is a book on childhood. One may scan work after work on history, society, and morality and find little reference to the fact that all people start as children and that all peoples begin in their nurseries. It is human to have a long childhood; it is civilized to have an ever longer childhood. Long childhood makes a technical and mental virtuoso out of man, but it also leaves a lifelong residue of emotional immaturity in him. While tribes and nations, in many intuitive ways, use child training to the end of gaining their particular form of mature human identity, their unique version of integrity, they are, and remain, beset by the irrational fears which stem from the very state of childhood which they exploited in their specific way.

What can a clinician know about this? I think that the psychoanalytic method is essentially a historical method. Even where it focuses on medical data, it interprets them as a function of past experience. To say that psychoanalysis studies the conflict between the mature and the infantile, the up-to-date and the archaic layers in the mind, means that psychoanalysis studies psychological evolution through the analysis of the individual. At the same time it throws light on the fact that the history of humanity is a gigantic metabolism of individual life cycles.

I would like to say, then, that this is a book on historical processes. Yet the psychoanalyst is an odd, maybe a new kind of historian: in committing himself to influencing what he observes, he becomes part of the historical process which he studies. As a therapist, he must be aware of his own reaction to the observed: his "equations" as an observer become his very instruments of observation. Therefore, neither terminological alignment with the more objective sciences nor dignified detachment from the clamoring of the day can and should keep the psychoanalytic method from being what H. S. Sullivan called "participant," and systematically so.