Identity formation and its role in optimal human development: A psychobiographical study of artist Jackson Pollock

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ABSTRACT

Celebrated artist Jackson Pollock challenged the concept of art by moving beyond paintbrush and easel to throwing paint across canvasses laid out on the floor, and using his entire body to create an abstract image. However, despite this capacity for originality, Pollock’s life was bracketed by severe binge drinking, alcoholism, and emotional instability. The importance of identity formation for healthy development is illustrated by a psychobiographical study of Jackson Pollock. Pollock’s difficulties in establishing a stable identity seemed to play an integral part in impeding a positive life course. The developmental theory of Erik Erikson was the lens through which Pollock’s life was studied, with a focus on Erikson’s proposed fifth stage of development, Identity versus Role Confusion. From the study it emerged that it was largely the individuals who surrounded Pollock who shaped him into what they wanted him to be with Pollock lacking the stable sense of self to protect him from a society that treated both him and the art he poured himself into as a commodity to be celebrated and vilified on whim. Alcoholism would cause...
his death at the age of 44, when, while heavily intoxicated, Jackson Pollock drove his car into a tree.

**Keywords:** developmental theory; Erikson; identity development; Jackson Pollock; psychobiography; psychosocial stages; role confusion

On November 28, 1950 a 38-year-old Pollock stood quiet, immobile and uncharacteristically sober at an exhibition of his work. Fans surrounded him, talking excitedly of an extensive article in *Life* magazine in which the million dollar question was raised: “Jackson Pollock: is he the greatest living painter in the United States?” (Seiberling, 1949, p. 42). An outsider might imagine that Pollock had finally found his place in the world. But, as he would later reveal, “People don’t look at you the same, and they’re right. You’re not your own you anymore . . . whatever the hell you are after that, you’re not your you” (Landau, 1989, p. 262). Over the next few years Pollock’s already chronic alcoholism worsened, his productivity as an artist was sporadic at best, and his marriage began to crumble.

Precisely what led Pollock to feel ‘not your you’ is best understood using a psychobiographical approach which affords one an in-depth inspection of his personality development. Specifically, Pollock’s identity development was approached through the lens of Erik Erikson’s (1950) theory of psychosocial stages, with particular focus on Erikson’s proposed fifth stage, that of *Identity versus Role Confusion*. Erikson’s concept of ‘role confusion’ could explain Pollock’s dissolution of the self in spite of the success he achieved in his work. Consideration of Pollock’s life story illustrates why the establishment of a stable, internal identity plays an integral role in successfully negotiating the demands of adulthood.

**METHOD**

The psychobiographical approach uses psychological theory to provide an in-depth interpretation of a life (McAdams, 1988, 1994; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005). As this study utilises a single-case interpretive research method it is situated within the qualitative research paradigm (Yin, 2003).

The data collected were obtained from several information sources. The primary documents analysed were paintings and letters produced by the subject. The secondary documents analysed were biographies, interviews, documentaries and journal articles. Miles and Huberman’s (1994) systematic approach to data analysis was utilised, and Alexander’s (1990) proposed nine guidelines for identifying important units of data was employed to improve the validity of the findings.

This study was conducted in accordance with the 1976 ethical guidelines set out by the American Psychiatric Association that state that psychobiographical studies may be carried out on, preferably, long dead persons with no close surviving
relatives who might be embarrassed by unsavoury revelations (Elms, 1994). With the psychobiographical approach, different theories yield different areas of insight. The psychosocial theory of Erik Erikson was selected as it emphasises identity development and its role in the human lifespan.

What follows is first a brief discussion of Erikson’s (1950) proposed fifth stage of development (Identity versus Role Confusion), placed in the context of Erikson’s overall theory. Erikson’s (1950) theory is then interwoven with an account of important events in Pollock’s development. These provide a context for explaining why the choices the individual makes at each stage of development affects their negotiation of subsequent stages. The fifth stage is pivotal, however, as it explains the danger of grounding self-identity in work produced and the effect this had on Pollock’s adult life.

ERIK ERIKSON’S THEORY OF PSYCHOSOCIAL STAGES

Erikson (1950) conceptualised psychosocial development in eight, discrete stages. The stages are based on Erikson’s critical appropriation of Freud’s psychosexual stages of development, but Erikson placed special emphasis on the adolescent task of identity formation, and the subsequent conflicts of adult development (Slater, 2003).

Erikson saw the person as an agent of his or her own psychosocial maturation with each psychosocial stage presenting specific developmental crises which the individual then has to resolve through action and decision. These challenges are necessary for healthy growth to occur (Hook, 2002). Depending on how the developmental crisis is resolved, the person will either make progress towards integration as an individual, or become fixed and retarded in their psychosocial growth (Hook, 2002). Through positive resolution of a stage, a person acquires a psychosocial strength (virtue), a life skill, which ultimately contributes to healthy identity formation (Hook, 2002; Massey, 1986). To this end, the identity we form is largely the result of the choices we make at each of these stages (Corey, 2005).

Refer to Table 1 for a summary of Erikson’s proposed psychosocial stages, with a brief explanation of the crisis pertaining to each stage and the related virtue or developmental deficit of each (ages provided are an estimate). Information in the table is sourced from: Corey (2005), Craig (1996), Erikson (1963, 1978, 1980), Hook (2002), Louw and Louw (2007), Maier (1988), and Massey (1986).
Table 1: Erikson’s (1950) eight psychosocial stages of development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
<th>VIRTUE</th>
<th>DEVELOPMENTAL DEFICIT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Trust vs. Mistrust</td>
<td>If the basic physical and emotional needs of the infant are met by primary caregivers, the child develops a sense of basic trust in self and others.</td>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>Mistrust</td>
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<td>(Birth – 18 months)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt</td>
<td>Once basic trust has developed, infants begin to realise they can determine their own behaviour, and can move towards a sense of autonomy (which needs caregiver approval).</td>
<td>Will</td>
<td>Shame, self doubt</td>
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<tr>
<td>(age 18 months – 3 years)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Initiative vs. Guilt</td>
<td>In this stage, children become more directed in mastering tasks. If making their own choices is disapproved of, children may develop guilt over taking initiative. This may prevent them from taking an active role in their own lives leading to a tendency to let others choose for them.</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Guilt</td>
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<tr>
<td>(age 3-5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Industry vs. Inferiority</td>
<td>Here children develop pride in what they produce. Gaining positive acknowledgement from the peer group is important, and if children learn to take pride in what they produce, a sense of competence develops.</td>
<td>Industriousness</td>
<td>Inadequacy/Inferiority</td>
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<td>(ages 5-13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identity vs. Role Confusion</td>
<td>This stage marks the transition between childhood and adulthood. Developing self-consistency by integrating all possible identifications into a stable identity is important.</td>
<td>Fidelity</td>
<td>Role confusion/Ego diffusion</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Ages 13-21)</td>
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Identify formation and Its role in optimal human development

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<tr>
<th>Intimacy vs. Isolation (Ages 21-40)</th>
<th>Once individuals have developed a sense of identity, they focus on developing an intimate and mutual relationship with another. They need to have a stable sense of their own identity to do this.</th>
<th>Love</th>
<th>Isolation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generativity vs. Stagnation (age 40-60)</td>
<td>This stage centres on individuals directing their attention to others, and building up the next generation. At this point individuals have to adjust to the discrepancy between their dreams and what they have actually achieved.</td>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>Stagnation/Self-impoverishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity vs. Despair (age 60-Death)</td>
<td>If individuals are able to look back on their life and feel that it was worthwhile, ego integrity results.</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Despair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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While seven of the eight stages have relevance regarding Jackson Pollock’s psychosocial development (Pollock died at 44 and therefore did not reach the final stage), particular focus is placed on Erikson’s proposed fifth stage of development, that of Identity versus Role Confusion, because of its pivotal role in subsequent development.

This fifth stage is a time of transition between childhood and adulthood where the individual begins to test limits and establish an identity in a new social matrix, which now includes romantic relationships and the work environment. The entire developmental span of childhood must now be left behind, and a whole new set of challenges (such as deciding who one is and what one wants from life) must be met if the adolescent is to successfully become an adult (Maier, 1988). For Erikson (1963), the idea of identity centres on knowing who we are, and on experiencing a self-consistency irrespective of the contexts in which we find ourselves.

There are many choices for adolescents at this stage of development and these will have an impact on their choice of career, the nature of their relationships with peers, and the personal alliances they will be prepared to enter into with others (Hook, 2002). As Hook goes on to say, the key tension at this stage lies in holding together this dispersed array of possible identifications, and in trying to integrate the disparate rudiments of an identity.
The mind of the adolescent is essentially a mind of moratorium (i.e., a time of experimentation with different beliefs and careers that should ultimately be resolved with an enduring sense of identity) (Hook, 2002). The adolescent requires sufficient time and social freedom to experiment with developing identities, yet within a supportive environment. If the adolescent fails to integrate a central identity, to bring one’s moratorium to a productive close, then a result of ego diffusion can occur. Ego diffusion refers to an inability to settle on a stable and well-founded sense of self (Corey, 2005; Maier, 1988). Ideally, as the adolescent moves towards resolution of this stage, he or she begins to integrate as a member of society while maintaining a sense of individuality and autonomy (Erikson, 1963). Therefore, identity development is both psychological and social.

The aim of this analysis is to show that this particular stage of development in Pollock’s life had far reaching consequences for the rest of his psychosocial development and life course.

**RESEARCHING JACKSON POLLOCK**

Erikson’s first stage, *Trust versus Mistrust*, is focused on how infants learn, through their environment, what quality of life to expect. Ideally, if that environment is dependable and nurturing, infants will learn that people and the world are basically trustworthy and good (Massey, 1986). This then helps them develop the necessary self-confidence to explore their environment (Louw & Louw, 2007). If the surrounding environment is characterised by inconsistency and neglect, infants may develop an attitude of mistrust toward the world and interpersonal relationships (Corey, 2005; Hook, 2002).

Paul Jackson Pollock was born on January 28, 1912 in Cody, Wyoming, in the United States of America. He was the fifth of five boys born to Stella and LeRoy Pollock, and spent much of his childhood moving around middle-America (Hunter, 2002; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992). The family’s existence was essentially an unstable one. While LeRoy Pollock tried to make a living through farming and land surveying, Stella hankered after refinery and high society. Theirs was not a happy marriage, all the more compounded by financial difficulty (Stella was particularly extravagant when it came to clothing and house decorating) and an inability to make an economic success of the various business ventures they pursued (Engelmann, 2007).

At the time of Jackson’s birth, the Pollocks had already decided to leave Cody in search of work and better prospects elsewhere. In Jackson’s early months, in which he should have discovered a secure and safe environment, he found only movement and change. As the family travelled almost continuously for Jackson’s first nine months, Stella’s preoccupation with four other siblings meant she was unable to provide the infant with the nurturance he may have needed. At a time when Erikson
(1950) proposes Jackson should have found attachment and safety in his relationship with his mother, it was, by all accounts, lacking. This is likely to have compounded a strong sense of instability in Jackson. Throughout his life he displayed, in his behaviour and in his relationships, ambivalence between trusting and not trusting those around him. He was predominantly shy and withdrawn except when very drunk when he became verbally and physically aggressive towards others, including his wife Lee Krasner.

Erikson’s second stage, Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt, is centred on the child’s growing physical self-sufficiency. If this is encouraged and supported by caregivers, the child develops a sense of will. If not supported, shame and doubt in one’s abilities dominate (Welchman, 2000).

The Pollock family moved to a farm in Phoenix, Arizona in August 1913. As a toddler Jackson was too young to participate in the farm chores expected of his older brothers, and his domain tended to be limited to the house. When work was allocated to the older boys, Jackson’s constant refrain would be “I will too” (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992, p. 61), which became a favourite taunt in the family as the years went on. This child who was maligned in terms of his age, and who was derided when attempts were made to assert his independence, struggled to find an autonomous role for himself within his family. Self-doubt, doubt concerning who he was and what he was capable of achieving, continued to surface throughout the rest of Jackson’s life. Jackson’s wife, Lee Krasner, once stated in an interview, “Only some part of [Jackson] knew he was terrific” (Landau, 1989, p. 155).

In Erikson’s third stage, Initiative versus Guilt, the child’s energy is more directed to mastering specific tasks (Hook, 2002). At this stage children tend to be fascinated by how the world works, and how they may be able to influence it (Erikson, 1963). If children are prevented from making their own decisions, they develop guilt over taking initiative. Although Jackson’s attempts to participate in family life were curtailed, it did not prevent him from taking initiative. In 1916, when Jackson was four-years-old, one such opportunity arrived.

At this point he had been placed in the care of his older brother Sande and he, Sande and a neighbourhood friend, Charles, were playing in the barn. The older boys were for the most part ignoring Jackson until he grabbed an axe in an attempt to chop a log. Charles reminded Jackson that he was too young to handle the axe and offered to cut the log. When the blade came down, it caught Jackson’s little finger above the last knuckle and severed the fingertip. While there is some mystery regarding what happened to the fingertip (possibly eaten by a large rooster), what does emerge is that Jackson, perhaps from shock, never cried, while Sande vomited (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992). Much like a parent who overreacts when a child drops and breaks a cup, Sande’s reaction may have communicated to young Jackson that taking initiative was a negative action and therefore discouraged.
Erikson (1963) notes that if children are prevented from making their own decisions, they develop guilt over taking initiative. This may prevent them from taking an active role in their lives and thus developing a tendency to let others choose for them. From Jackson’s history, it is clear that Sande remained a caregiver in Jackson’s adulthood, particularly when Jackson’s alcoholism was at its worst. This role of decision-maker was subsequently passed on to Jackson’s wife, Lee Krasner in later years. Jackson did attempt to challenge this dependence, and to master tasks, due to self-doubt and guilty concern that he was doing the wrong thing, insecurity constantly resurfaced (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992).

Erikson’s fourth stage, *Industry versus Inferiority*, involves the child’s move beyond the family into the school environment. Emphasis is placed on mastering skills for work production. The danger here for children is two-fold. Discouraging their pursuits too severely is as detrimental to development as encouraging them so strongly that children identify too completely with the world of work, ultimately becoming slaves to it and to those who are in a position to exploit it (Welchman, 2000).

Due to the economic downturn after World War I, and failures to make various business ventures work, the Pollock family moved five times between 1917 and 1924. It was also at this point that LeRoy walked out on the family and took on work as a land surveyor (Engelmann, 2007; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992). Because of all the moves, Jackson had little opportunity to form external social networks. It can be seen as a time when Jackson failed to find his unique, independent role within the family as well as in his social environment. Also during this period, two of Jackson’s older brothers became interested in art and in being artists. It was a pursuit actively encouraged by their mother and one which the young Jackson began to aspire towards (Friedman, 1995; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992).

With all this as a precursor, Jackson became an adolescent, and arrived at Erikson’s (1950) fifth stage of development, *Identity versus Role Confusion*, and to a time in his life when choices were made with regard to what he wanted from his future. Jackson made no secret of his aspirations and being an artist was what and who he planned to be. However, for Jackson, there were other obstacles to deal with.

In 1927, when Jackson was 15-years-old, he and Sande joined their father for a surveying job on the rim of the Grand Canyon. During this trip, and while surrounded by seasoned surveyors, Jackson and Sande did their best to fit in with the older men, and one way to do this was to drink – at this point mostly wine and beer. Relatively small amounts of alcohol had the adolescent (and later, the adult) heavily inebriated to the extent that he would pass out, an early indication of his physical intolerance for liquor (Emmerling, 2009; Friedman, 1995; Gray, 2003; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992; Spring, 1998). What is most marked is that alcohol evoked a personality change in Jackson – while drinking or drunk he was known to be self-destructive, aggressive, and generally out of control (Frank, 1983; Friedman, 1995; Gray, 2003).
After the surveying expedition, Jackson began a period marked by conflict with authority and being either suspended or expelled from various schools (Frank, 1983; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992; Pivano, 2002).

In January 1929, Jackson wrote a letter to his brother Charles in which he expressed frustration (the transcription is faithful to Jackson’s print), “This so called happy part of one’s life youth to me is a bit of damnable hell. If I could come to some conclusion about myself and life perhaps there I could see something to work for” (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992, p. 147).

In March 1930, that conclusion presented itself when brothers Charles and Frank arrived from New York and urged Jackson to return to the city with them. Jackson readily agreed. On the trip, the brothers between them decided that Paul Jackson Pollock was too long a name for an artist and so ‘Paul’ was dropped and Jackson officially took the name ‘Jackson Pollock’ (Frank, 1983; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992).

What is seen at this stage is that Jackson was beginning to form an identity for himself, that of artist, to the extent that he equated being an artist with living life (Frank, 1983; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992). To this end he achieved a certain level of self-consistency, what Erikson (1963) would see as the individual being at one with oneself. However, Jackson’s sense of self and his role within society was enmeshed with artistic pursuits and production. As mentioned, danger arises when the child identifies too much with the world of work and production, because those who evaluate the work become the ones in control (Welchman, 2000). Jackson’s own agency, his choices, became dependent on the reactions of those around him. This would create great difficulty for him as he moved into Erikson’s (1950) next three proposed stages, and which had far reaching implications regarding his resilience.

Erikson’s sixth stage, *Intimacy versus Isolation*, is centred on the individual forming a healthy, intimate relationship with a partner. This, however, requires having developed a stable sense of self (Craig, 1996). Up to this point in his life, Jackson had been dependent on Sande to make decisions and care for him when he went on his drunken binges. Instead of entering into his relationship with fellow artist Lee Krasner in 1942 as a self-sufficient individual, Pollock seemed to transfer his dependence on Sande to dependence on Lee (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992).

The ‘artist identity’ began to create difficulty for Jackson, even as his artworks became an interest in art circles. Jackson began to experiment with various artistic styles, eventually settling on paintings created by placing enormous canvases on the floor and then pouring and dripping paint on to them. Jackson stated that this technique enabled him to “be in the painting” (Spring, 1988, p. 54). While he could show initiative and creativity as Jackson Pollock, the artist, he was essentially a non-verbal and uncommunicative man in company, unless drunk. To this end, Lee became his voice and often spoke for him at social gatherings and showings. This spilled over into other areas of Jackson’s life – interviewers would draft answers for Jackson, and friends and critics named his paintings (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992).
Jackson’s biggest joy seemed to come from the recognition he was receiving for the art he was producing. However, ‘Jackson Pollock, the artist’, became a social construction. When the art community approved, Jackson was validated. However, unresolved earlier developmental stages began to surface when critiques of Jackson’s art were received as personal attacks by this individual who equated himself with his work. Jackson began to grow increasingly self-conscious and uncomfortable in the media spotlight (Friedman, 1995). At one stage he invited Lee into the studio at their house on Long Island, and pointing at the critically acclaimed painting, Lavender Mist, asked her, “Is this a painting?” (Hunter, 2002, p. 60; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992, p. 649). This question is symptomatic of a rising doubt concerning his abilities and achievements.

In August 1950, photographer and filmmaker Hans Namuth began filming Jackson’s method of painting. However, once-natural gestures by Jackson such as stirring paint or a cigarette being discarded, were shot and reshoot, each movement choreographed down to the tiniest detail (Friedman, 1995; Gray, 2003; Varnedoe, 2002). Filming came to an end on November 25, 1950. Jackson headed to the house and downed a glass of bourbon. As Namuth attempted to direct Jackson to stop, Jackson pointed back at him accusingly. “I’m not a phony,” he shouted (Emmerling, 2009, p. 76; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992, p. 652). This argument went back and forth until Jackson upturned the dinner table and stormed from the house.

It would seem that Jackson began to realise how much he was being moulded into what others wanted and expected him to be. A number of difficulties emerged during this time that may link back to a failure in resolving earlier developmental crises. He vacillated between trust and mistrust, at times showed autonomy and then reverted back to dependence on Lee, and took initiative but then failed to attain the approval from his family who never took him seriously as an artist. He would receive that approval from the public only to then be criticised and have his work described as “baked-macaroni” (Tyler, 1945, p. 30), therefore leaving him feeling inferior and his efforts at production ridiculed. An independent, internal identity may have served as a psychological buffer for Jackson but as he equated himself so completely with being an artist, it meant that criticisms of the work became criticisms of the man.

In Erikson’s seventh stage (and Jackson’s last), Generativity vs. Stagnation focuses on caring for others and guiding the next generation – be it one’s own children, or making a creative contribution to society. Failure to navigate this stage may lead to a pervading sense of stagnation and self-impoverishment which the adult then looks to the child (or to others) to redeem (Welchman, 2000).

By 1952, Jackson’s moment in the limelight was coming to an end. As friend Bud Hopkins commented, “There was a lot of feeling that the work was falling apart. Pollock was physically, psychologically, personally in terrible shape and . . . the art as art was in terrible shape, too” (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992, p. 752). Jackson began to drink more heavily, had affairs, and produced less art. The art
critics had moved on to venerating other artists while simultaneously proclaiming Jackson’s 10-year run as over (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992).

As Jackson began to look back on his life, back on the child who dreamt of being a great artist and finding his place within his family, and back on the adult who, for a brief moment, had achieved great success only to lose it on a very public platform, he may have been overwhelmed by the discrepancy between his dreams and reality. He began to stagnate. Eventually his only form of coping became alcohol. On August 11, 1956, while driving a car that was also occupied by his girlfriend and a friend of hers, Jackson raced up the road towards his home. He was heavily inebriated. The car hit a bump and careened off the road before flipping, end over end. Jackson was thrown from the car, hitting his head on a tree and was killed instantly. He was 44-years-old (Friedman, 1995; Naifeh & White Smith, 1992; Spring, 1998).

CONCLUSION

Jackson’s lifelong ambivalence served as little protection from a society that treated both him and the art that he ‘poured himself into’ as a commodity. True to Erikson’s emphasis on identity development, without a true sense of who he was as separate from his paintings, Jackson had nothing to fall back on when the value of his work was questioned. This is not to suggest that Jackson committed suicide, but simply that he seemed to give up.

To illustrate this, friend Ronald Stein related an incident in which a group (which included Pollock) had been drinking and decided to bicycle to the beach for a swim. Pollock could barely stay upright and crashed a number of times. At one point, he fell over and did not get up. Wearing shorts, Pollock continued to pedal while lying on the ground, with his bare leg scraping on the tarmac. He would not allow anyone to touch him even though he was taking the skin off his legs and elbows. Eventually the friends had to physically restrain him in order to stop him from pedaling (Naifeh & White Smith, 1992, p. 718). So too, towards the end of his life, although Pollock moved from day to day, the vulnerability of an unstable ego identity became more visible and raw. Pollock kept moving on a path of self-destruction until he was physically prevented from doing so, with the car accident that claimed his life.

Jackson Pollock’s life illuminates some of the more psychodynamic aspects of Erikson’s theory, lending weight to this important theory of human development. While psychobiographical research does not aim to generalise, this study does provide impetus for further investigation into ego development and the potential for closer focus on this issue in therapeutic practice.
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