

**ADULTS MENTORING ADOLESCENTS:
A CONCEPTUAL AND PRACTICAL CLARIFICATION**

by

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**A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Education
Department of Theory and Policy Studies
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Lorne David Overholt, EdD, 2001

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ABSTRACT

Youth workers, big sisters, and social workers among others are attempting to facilitate the personal development of adolescents. Mentoring is a relationship that has potential in these endeavors, but the concept has not been explored specifically in the area of adults mentoring adolescents. This thesis argues that the mentoring of adolescents is significantly different than other forms of mentoring. It does so by identifying the special needs of identity formation in adolescents.

An initial summary of the history and literature of mentoring is used to identify several markers of mentoring. Three of these markers are found to be helpful in identity formation of adolescents. These markers include the type of power, dialogue and modeling in the relationship. Each of the above markers is examined in the following chapters. The markers are clarified as referent power, dialogical relationship and identification modeling. In each case further clarification of the markers are made by contrasting them with other adult-adolescent relationships, such as teachers, coaches, and parents.

The final chapter of the thesis takes the conceptual analysis of mentoring adolescents and makes recommendations to mentors and mentoring programs, bringing a greater degree of clarity to the practice of adults mentoring adolescents.

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Chapter One

Introduction: the Need for an Analysis of an Adolescent Oriented Mentoring Relationship

Personal Journey

My personal journey in mentoring began when I had just graduated from undergraduate studies. While I was giving interviews for the next step in my education, I volunteered at a church youth group in my city. The various "official" volunteer positions were already in place so I was asked simply to spend time with teens. As a newcomer to the group it took awhile for any of the students to be willing to talk with me. I played the games and led the discussions, but the trust factor was low and the students were reluctant to open up to me.

Early in the autumn of my first year with them, the youth group went on a retreat at a local ranch. I was put in charge of a boys' cabin of fourteen-year olds. Through the day we rode horses, played floor hockey and sang around the campfire. Although the lights were out at midnight, the talk continued into the small hours of the morning. Relationships were deepening. After that weekend, three of the fourteen-year-olds wanted to get together with me. We set up a meeting time every Saturday morning that eventually continued over a year.

Each of those Saturday mornings was unique. In the summer we went to a beach or went fishing. In the winter we went tobogganing. Sometimes we just "hung out" at the mall and observed people. My old car was the first car they drove Sunday mornings in a mall parking lot. Sometimes we talked for hours about the bigger questions in life,

helping them to understand themselves and their life dreams. Most often we talked about school, girls, music and sports teams.

One of the young men, John, had a physically abusive father. Earlier in John's life the dad had thrown him down the stairwell. That became the catalyst for his mother to leave her husband and to take John with her. Another young man was Roberto; he had just lost his mother to cancer three years earlier. The third young man was Kyle, who had an intact family, yet he was struggling with major self-image problems. Our conversations over that year went deep enough for us to be angry together with John's father, to cry with Roberto during feelings of loss, and to encourage Kyle in the face of low self-confidence.

After meeting with them for a year, I had to move to my new job in upstate New York. The parting was emotionally difficult, but we have since kept in touch for over fifteen years. Five years after I had left, John's mother phoned me. She gave me the news that John was engaged and asked me a pointed question, "What did you teach my son?" She explained to me that she caught him treating his fiancée with great respect. John's mom asked her son where he had learned to treat his fiancée with such respect; he certainly didn't learn it from his father. John didn't know at first, but a day later remembered that he had seen Dave treat his new wife with great respect and he wanted to have that as a part of his life also.

Years after my time with those three young men, I had heard that such relationships were called mentoring. In general, I discovered that mentoring was an educating relationship with the emphasis on relationship. Working with adolescents for over twenty years, I have found many such relationships springing up in my life. Some of

these relationships were planned as mentoring relationships while others began simply as friendships, or as teaching or coaching relationships. Frequently they would grow into deeper opportunities for mentoring.¹ The mentoring relationships I have experienced are different than teaching a class of students at large. In both cases care and concern for the growth of the students are similar. However, no protégé asked me after a good discussion, “Is this going to be on the test?” or “Do I have to memorize this?” Something palpable changes in a classroom situation when the first marks are given back. The mentoring relationships I have experienced are also different from the swimming and water polo coaching in which I have participated. Guiding young people into good life skills is similar to mentoring. However, possessing the power to bench a player, or decide who will start in a game tends to colour personal attitudes. I found that mentoring offered a unique kind of relationship.

I have been involved in youth work over the last twenty years: organizing drop-ins, seminars and “all-nighters,” counseling troubled teens and training teen leaders. From my experience the greatest source of positive, behavioural and attitudinal change has not been through programs in and of themselves, but through mentoring relationships. Students from both healthy and dysfunctional backgrounds have grown beyond their personal histories to become healthy individuals, leaders and peer-counselors. I believe that the mentoring of adolescents could be a central focus for many in the helping

¹ The differences between mentoring, parenting, teaching peer relationships and coaching will be covered in more depth in chapters 4-6. I will be using anecdotal stories of my experiences working with teens in mentoring relationships. The stories will give the conceptual analysis a human face. I will not draw on these anecdotes as research; I do not pretend that my experiences are universal examples of mentoring. I will use my stories in the introduction of each chapter to give a human context in which to read the chapter. I will also use personal examples in other places throughout the thesis if the concept under discussion would benefit

professions, such as child and youth workers, youth pastors, and drop-in centre workers. A clear understanding of mentoring adolescents would augment the good work that is already taking place in Big Sister and Big Brother programs. Contemporary educators realize that schooling not only involves academic excellence, but also an ability to facilitate personal development of the student. A clearer understanding of mentoring adolescents would help teachers move some of their relationships, which began in the classroom, to a deeper mentoring relationship. Some school boards are interested in starting mentoring programs. "Mentorship programs in school settings seek to link students with their 'life after school' and to assist students through a difficult time in their development, a time during which they must seek to understand their role in the society in which they will need to function as competent and responsible adults."² A clearer understanding of what adolescent mentoring is will help those boards in the structuring of the programs. Many adolescent workers are so busy with their programs that they unfortunately do not test their greatest educational potential in a person-to-person, mentoring relationship.

Is Mentoring for All Adolescents?

Through answering this question I will discuss why the subject of mentoring adolescents is important. From experience, I have seen that mentoring is helpful for every adolescent. At-risk teenagers look for a place of safety and support with adult mentors. In many ways, adult mentors become the extended family that has been forfeited over the

from an example. Every person who is mentioned has given their consent.

² Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, "Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages," *Youth and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1993, p. 215.

years.³ Years ago, adolescents could talk to grandparents who lived nearby. The grandparents, aunts or uncles had an interest in the young person's care, but were one step removed from the parents. In a way, modern mentors provide that personal care that is one step removed from parents. Gifted teens who are mentored many times realize a greater potential in their area of expertise, while the vast majority of "average" teens are helped to understand who they are as emerging adults outside of their family relationships through mentoring relationships.

Adolescents are becoming adults and are starting to look seriously outside their homes for models of what to become.⁴ This searching is not necessarily a rejection of the parental values, but many times an addition to or a refinement of parental values.⁵ Adolescents strengthen their own sense of identity by looking to those outside their families to define themselves as different from their parents.⁶ I have found that adolescents do not reject adults, but rather are drawn to adult figures whom they can respect. A key finding is that adults must treat adolescents with true interest and respect them as equals.⁷ Adolescents do not want to be treated as children! As Larry Richards

³ Stephen Glenn, General Session, taped in Chicago, IL. at the National Youth Worker's Convention (ElCajon CA: Youth Specialties) 1988. Glenn argues that the post war (WWII) migration of rural families to urban centers removed the extended family support systems. According to Glenn the lack of home support systems is one of the contributing factors of placing pressure on students at risk.

⁴ The identity formation of adolescents will be dealt with in detail in chapter two. Peter Blos calls the adolescents' search for their adult identity outside their homes, "second individuation."

⁵ As an exercise in the Masters courses I teach I ask my students to list the top five parental values they have grown up with. Next I ask them to check the ones which are central to their lives. Invariably 90% of the parental values that are listed have become a part of my students' lives.

⁶ R. C. Smart and N Smart, *Children Development and Relationships*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967).

⁷ Certainly adolescents are not equal in experience, but they are equal in human dignity.

states, "Simply put, young people respond to adults who *help* them, and if they are not turned off by a leader's personality or incompetence, will model themselves after him/her."⁸

Often adult mentors become the emotional buffers between parents and the adolescent. For example, one teen I was mentoring had smashed his father's car while his father was out of town. I was the first person he came to, because he realized I was emotionally removed from the car. We talked and came up with a wise way to approach his father with the news. The teen lived to tell the story.

As I will discuss in the body of this thesis, adults can provide adolescents with a perspective that is needed as they travel between childhood and adulthood. Adults can provide a model for adolescents that is not based on physical perfection. Adult mentors are respected because of their care, encouragement and abilities. A live adult mentor can provide a healthier model of life than a picture in *Seventeen* magazine. Input from an adult who has previously navigated youthful waters can help adolescents think through their identities without the motive of media-driven financial gain. Mentors offer another voice without the baggage of exploitation. Adults can provide for adolescents a source of thought and pose questions as these young people open their minds to formal thought.⁹ Often as groups of teens get together to talk about the deeper questions of life, there is more heat and less light. Some of my volunteers call it "combined ignorance." Adults who mentor adolescents may offer time-wisdom to challenge some of the assumptions and idealizations of their protégés. Teens who are mentored have the potential to have a

⁸ Lawrence Richards, *Youth Ministry* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Pub., 1972), p.123.

⁹ Formal thought will be explored in greater depth in chapter two.

thoughtful conversation with an older and wiser person. Several of the adolescents I have mentored come with weekly questions that have been occupying their minds. I ask questions to help them clarify their thoughts. They come away refreshed with new ways of approaching a problem and many times a clearer understanding of their initial ideas. In many ways, adult mentors can give the adolescent protégés a place of adult power - to be treated as serious and respected persons by adults outside their family.

Those who have grown children may ask if their children have suffered without the benefit of a mentor. A person can have an educational experience in which they are better because of the experience, but not necessarily “suffer” without the experience. For example, many late adolescents may travel Europe. This experience can be very educational and enriching. Those without the benefit of traveling Europe may not have been enriched through that experience, but would not be said to be suffering either. In the same way, adolescents may be enriched through a mentoring relationship, but those adolescents who do not have a mentor do not necessarily suffer as a result. A second point is that mentoring may have been taking place in an adolescent’s life without an official program. A music teacher, a guide or scout leader, or a coach may have had the necessary ingredients to have mentoring take place without the official title “mentor.” This is why it is important to understand what is necessary in a relationship to call it an adolescent mentoring relationship.

A question then follows, “What does an adult-to-adolescent mentoring relationship look like?” What does a music teacher do that turns the relationship into a mentoring relationship? What can a child and adolescent worker do to start to mentor the teens at risk in their care? There is a need for a clear definition of mentoring adolescents.

Need for Clarity

Bobb Biehl states in *Mentoring*, “Today, mentoring is a buzz word . . . As people give the word more and more meanings, it becomes less and less clearly understood.”¹⁰ Indeed, there is a need to have a clear definition of mentoring. We have so many definitions where mentoring comes to mean everything that is good in education. The mentoring definitions that we do have in the literature are diffuse. One reason why this is the case is that there are many different target groups to mentor. The protégés include professional teachers, business people, the gifted and the urban poor. The target group of protégés will most likely determine the way in which the mentoring relationship is carried out and determine the goal of the relationship.

Different target groups of mentoring tend to bring different goals to mentoring. For example, a business mentoring relationship has different power sources than an adolescent mentoring relationship. The roles of the business mentor are not only to be a role model and a coach, but also to be a broker of the protégé’s future and an advocate for the protégé within the organization.¹¹ In the business model, the mentor often has power to hire, fire, make changes in pay scale or help the protégé up the corporate ladder of success. A mentoring relationship with adolescents, however, is not burdened with these types of power issues. The “business” mentoring model has outcomes where business skills are modeled and taught whereas in the adolescent mentoring model, skill development may be a secondary goal to deeper growth.¹² Teachers mentor junior

¹⁰ Bobb Biehl, *Mentoring*, (Nashville, TN: Broadman, Holtman, 1996), P. 16.

¹¹ Florence M. Sloan, *Coaching, Counseling and Mentoring* (New York: American Management Association, 1999), p. 160.

¹² Issues in growth will focus on identity formation, which will be covered in more detail in chapter two. Identity formation will be explored as a subjective process of differentiating

teachers in skills of classroom management. Teachers mentor gifted students and help them to enter college. Social workers mentor the disadvantaged and help them gain social skill. Women mentor women emphasizing relationship. Each of these fields claims some type of general definition of what mentoring is.¹³

Even though there is much written about mentoring in general, there is not a clear understanding of mentoring adolescents in particular, taking into account their particular needs. The problem I will address in this thesis will be to refine an extended conceptual analysis of mentoring in terms of the needs of adolescents. I will do so by isolating a central need of adolescence, then gathering and refining the markers of mentoring that meet a central need of adolescents. **The goal of this thesis is to undertake an extended conceptual analysis of an adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship.**

Questions of this Thesis

1. The Problem of Adolescent Homogeneity

The adolescent years can be divided into four periods, from early adolescence (at the onset of puberty) through a middle adolescence to late adolescence (late teens) and in some cases to a culturally extended adolescence (through college until adult responsibilities are taken up). Within this age range there are skinheads, preps, slackers: adolescents are not a homogeneous group of people. There are various borders within this

ourselves from other people in our lives. This process is brought to the forefront of adolescents' lives, but is not completed during adolescence. This process of forming our identities includes such things as forming hopes, dreams, aspirations and choosing a life style. Identity formation shapes an adolescent's life values and goals. This process includes a deeper understanding of the self, yet identity formation is not accomplished in isolation, but is somewhat mediated by the people around the adolescent.

¹³ These topics will all be reviewed in chapter three.

grouping of individuals called adolescents. Phelan, Davidson and Yu define borders as real or perceived lines between worlds, settings or contexts.¹⁴ These borders are not neutral and they separate the adolescent's worlds. There are some psychosocial borders that may stem from past abuse or recent deaths in the family. There are borders comprising sociocultural and socioeconomic factors where the adolescent may have to work outside the home to provide for the family. There are linguistic borders found in ethnic groups where families and peers literally speak a different language. There are gender borders where males and females have been given different roles, aspirations or estimations of worth.

In my thesis, I do not wish to downplay the importance of these different borders, but I want to recognize that there are some overriding characteristics which make the majority of North American adolescents, "Adolescents." Metaphorically, these borders are provincial borders in the same country of "adolescence." If I did not believe in difference I would not have chosen the topic of adolescence, since the subject of adolescence is based on a belief in age differences. It can also be noted that adolescents are often studied as a separate topic in psychology. Adolescents are treated as a separate category in many of our delivery systems. Half-way houses, youth detention facilities, youth groups, drop-in centers are all examples of social service delivery systems that treat adolescents as a distinct group.

In the thick forest named mentoring, I believe there is a grove reserved for adolescents. In that grove there are trees devoted to mentoring adolescent, native,

¹⁴ Patricia Phelan, Ann Locke Davidson, and Hanh Cao Yu, "Students' Multiple Worlds: Navigating the Borders of Family, Peer and School Cultures," in P. Phelan and A.L. Davidson, eds., *Renegotiating Cultural Diversity in American Schools* (New York, NY:

females. In that same grove, there are trees devoted to mentoring adolescent, suburban, Latino males. In this thesis, I will restrict myself to the groundwork of studying a generic model of mentoring adolescents. There are examples of adolescent studies in the literature which treat adolescents as a generic group. For example, one study of adolescents that states “the multiple worlds model” is a generic study. It is not ethnic, achievement, or gender specific, but transcends these categories to consider multiple worlds, boundary crossing and adaptation for all students.”¹⁵ Thus the purpose of this study to transcend the various sub-groupings and provide a beginning in analyzing the concepts behind what is involved in mentoring adolescents. It is my hope that future studies can use this dissertation to examine mentoring adolescents in various subgroupings.

2. North American Adolescents

When I write of adolescents I will be assuming that they are North American. Granted, some of the characteristics of adolescents are universal. For example, the physical changes that accompany puberty are universal, and many of these physical changes are catalysts for some sort of adolescence in all cultures. However, adolescence is not merely a physical event. North American culture has augmented and promoted a particular type of adolescence. Clothes, magazines, movies and music are all aimed at

Teachers College, 1993), pp.52-88.

¹⁵ Patricia Phelan, Ann Locke Davidson, and Hanh Cao Yu, “Students’ Multiple Worlds: Navigating the Borders of Family, Peer and School Cultures,” in P. Phelan and A.L. Davidson, eds., *Renegotiating Cultural Diversity in American Schools* (New York, NY: Teachers College, 1993), pp.56-57.

adolescent markets and all play a significant role in creating a type of person – the North American adolescent.

The impact of the media and consumerism are not universal factors. Adolescents in rural Kenya, where there are few or no television sets, movie theaters, or magazine delivery are quite different from the adolescents in urban Kenya. Nevertheless, some are observing a global youth culture arising. The August, 1999, National Geographic's cover story read "Global Culture." The article highlighted the 800 million teenagers around the world who can be identified with ever-increasing similarities. There are companies which actually hire young people to travel the world in order to report back trends that can be marketed *en masse*. They call these travelers, "cool hunters."¹⁶ However, it is premature to speak of a global youth culture when there are so many untouched pockets of youth without western media coverage. The differences in adolescence from one country to the next are influenced in part by the degree of capitalization, media saturation, and governmental safeguards.

Although this thesis may be used for extrapolation into areas where a global youth culture is arising, the force and focus of this thesis is on the North American adolescent. In focusing on North America, I am assuming a degree of media saturation where since the early 1960's there have been more television sets owned than there are households.¹⁷

3. A Constructive, Pragmatic Thesis

Many times a thesis is a piece of critical work. The body of literature is enhanced,

¹⁶ Joel Swerdlow, "Global Culutre," *National Geographic*, August, 1999.

¹⁷ Lyle E. Schaller, *Discontinuity and Hope*, (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1999), p. 7.

as a specific theorist is refined through critical thought. Because I am still involved in mentoring adolescents and I am at present organizing a mentoring program where we seek to help many Hamilton-area adolescents, our program is ever-evolving. For this reason I have chosen the EdD degree, being interested in the pragmatics of mentoring. For this reason I have decided to choose a tack of a constructive thesis – analyzing the whole concept of an adolescent mentoring relationship.

This produces some problems inherent in such an approach. One such problem is that the subjects of mentoring, adolescents and relationships, cause us to delve into many fields of specific study. The subject of mentoring is broad, the subject of adolescence is broad and the study of human relationships is broad. Throughout the pages of this thesis, developmental psychology, philosophy, sociology, group dynamics and other areas of study will be implicated. At the end of the thesis I will not be looking for pinpoint clarity on what is *the definition* of mentoring. Rather, I will be pulling together several areas of study, looking for what is pragmatically helpful in a general construction of an adolescent mentoring relationship. I will be discussing what is generally helpful to adolescents. I will be discussing what is helpful in mentoring and in building relationships. In this analysis, by drawing several areas of study together, workers in the field may find some practical benefit.

4. Shared Sense of Good

In mentoring relationships there is an assumption of some kind of change in the people taking part. Many times the values, morals, basic assumptions and world-view are changed in the protégé as a result of time spent with the mentor. Therefore, there is a

moral question that is part of mentoring. What values are to be passed on to the protégé? If mentoring adolescents has, in part, to do with becoming adults, what kind of adults should adults produce? The mere volume to analyze both the pedagogy of mentoring and the moral questions involved in the content is prohibitive. For the purposes of this thesis I will limit my analysis to the pedagogy of mentoring and not deal with the curriculum of mentoring. I realize I am leaving myself open to being understood that a mentor could influence a robber to become a better robber. If that is the case, then so be it; Fagan from the musical *Oliver* was a good pedagogical mentor. There is further study that is needed in this area.

In my analysis of mentoring I am striving for clarity and therefore will compare adolescent mentoring relationships with other relationships. I will also give examples of mentoring in action. Conceptual analysis can be foggy and I am striving for clarity. In the examples of mentoring I will be disclosing my own values that were passed on to my protégés. I believe in “the good” that I am passing on to the next generation, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to argue its goodness. I am not attempting to use my examples as universals in the content that is passed on to the next generation. I will leave the study of what is a good adult for my next thesis.

In mentoring there is a shared sense of “the good.” As I will discuss later in the thesis the choices of mentoring pairs are mutual. Both the adult and the adolescent must freely choose each other for this to be adolescent mentoring. Because of this freedom of choice there is a shared sense of goodness that is within the relationship. The protégé chooses the mentor partly because of the values that the mentor espouses. Therefore the moral question may not be answered, but at least it can be seen as not coercive.

Thesis Approach

In order to define an adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship I will first examine the uniqueness of adolescents. In chapter two I will answer the question, “Is adolescence really a unique enough time in life that young people’s special needs should be recognized in mentoring?” I will demonstrate that adolescents share some characteristics that hold them together as a distinct group. I will also observe a general, central need of adolescents which can be aided by adults beyond their family relationships. If mentoring is going to help adolescents in their development, there must be a need in adolescents that can be answered by adult relationships. This need must be broad enough that most adolescents experience it. This identified need must be central enough to be a significant help to adolescents. The isolation of this general, central developmental need will be marked as a goal for mentoring adolescents.

In the third chapter I will examine the concept of mentoring. If it is possible for adults to aid adolescents in their development, then could the specific relationship of mentoring be a part of that help? What would be the markers of such a mentoring relationship? In chapter three I will answer these two questions by examining the nature of mentoring relationship in general. To display that mentoring may be helpful in adolescent’s growth I need to first understand what mentoring is and secondly what part of mentoring may be helpful in the needs of adolescents. A brief review of the western history of mentoring and the literature review will examine what has been studied in the various areas of mentoring and specifically in mentoring adolescents. This review will help to identify markers of what makes a relationship a mentoring relationship. With the mentoring markers in hand, I will filter them through the adolescents’ general, central

developmental need as discussed in chapter two. By the end of chapter three I will have identified several plausible candidates of mentoring markers which will aid adolescent development. Chapter four will examine the power in the relationship. Chapter five will examine dialogue. Chapter six will examine modeling.

The following chapters will examine more closely each of the markers of mentoring that have been identified as helpful in aiding adolescent growth. Each mentoring marker will have a history of thought which will be explored in order to develop a clearer understanding of how it aids in the growth of adolescents. The intersecting lines of mentoring and growth in adolescents will determine what nuances should be taken into account in clarifying the concept of mentoring adolescents. I will refine the understanding of each of marker of mentoring by comparing and contrasting that marker to other areas of adolescent relationships with adults. In this way I will answer the question, "How will mentoring be different from coaching, parenting, and teaching relations?" This thesis will then be adding to the clarity of the concept of mentoring adolescents.

The final chapter of the thesis will take the conceptual analysis of mentoring adolescents and apply it to various practical situations. What are the implications of such a definition to mentoring programs or to individual mentors? By answering these questions, this thesis will bring a greater degree of clarity to mentoring adolescents, while offering several practical applications to youth workers in North America.

Chapter Two

The Uniqueness and Identity Formation of Adolescents

As mentioned in Chapter one, I had met with three young teenagers for over a year in what some would call a mentoring relationship.¹⁸ In our many times of discussion I quickly understood that they heard life in a different key than I did. One week Rob told us that he was going to be a great musician; the next week he changed his mind to that of becoming an engineer. These young men came to our Saturday morning get-togethers sometimes wearing the most outlandish clothes, sticking out like a sore thumbs to all passers-by, yet they didn't want anyone to see their faces, often because of one small pimple growing between the eyes.

Some shared thoughts while walking seemed to explode spontaneously as John wondered aloud whether all of life was an illusion. The others would quietly whisper "whoa" in response to the deep thought. Belief systems they had not questioned two years earlier were crumbling, as most thoughts seemed "up-for-grabs." And then there was the talk of how GORGEOUS various individuals of the opposite sex were. I was beginning to wonder if I had repressed my high school experience as I tried to remember and relate to these three young men. It certainly felt like we were listening to life in a different key.

People in high school are among the few people groups who are defined primarily by their age – "teenagers." The youth program I oversee helps at-risk teenagers in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, providing a safe place, counseling services, retreats and the

¹⁸ As I mentioned in chapter one I will be using anecdotal material to set up the chapters giving them a human context in order to examine the concepts.

possibility for mentoring. During the summers, we run a mentoring program where young adults are matched with high school students. We are always searching for curriculum material and pedagogical methods that meet the needs of the adolescents who are being mentored. Serious literature discussing specific adolescent mentoring is hard to find.¹⁹ Perhaps we are wasting our time and any type of mentoring program would be helpful. Perhaps we should use a business or professional-development mentoring program and definition. Other types of mentoring, which focus on an adult-to-adult mentoring model, may hold just as much helpful information as any special type designed for adolescents.

Do adolescents, then, need a particular type of mentoring? In other words, is adolescence really a unique enough time in life that young people's special needs should be recognized by a distinct kind of mentoring? Many parents of teens I have worked with have lamented that they wished their teens would just grow up. The idea that adolescents just need to snap out of whatever they are going through assumes that their needs are not unique enough to deserve special attention. In this chapter, I will explore the uniqueness of adolescence, and in particular, how any uniqueness is affected by their relationships with adults. I am noting this because if adult mentors wish to help, adolescents would need to be open to adult influence. In the summary I will discuss whether adolescents are unique enough as a group to deserve special attention in the study of mentoring.

As I examine the uniqueness of adolescents, I also want to demonstrate that adolescents possess some characteristics that hold them together as a distinct group. Many of these generalized characteristics are inclusive of gender, race and socioeconomic borders. In this chapter I hope to show that there is a generic group of

¹⁹ This is will be seen as I search the mentoring literature in chapter three.

individuals called adolescents, the majority of whom share similar physical, cultural (North American), psychological and cognitive characteristics during their times of transition to adulthood.

Identity in Adolescence

As we grow older, we not only grow in a linear fashion but we also experience recognizable leaps to a new plateau. Each plateau rests on and presumably represents a qualitative improvement over the last plateau. A ten-year-old does not only know more than a four-year-old, she also thinks differently. People who study these age differences make maps of what they observe. As with any mapmaker, there are some aspects of the terrain that are ignored, and some aspects that are highlighted. No map contains the whole picture. The developmentalists make maps of these plateaus in human development; no single map contains the whole picture of understanding human growth. By studying several of the maps a clearer understanding of the terrain can be gained. A European, American psychoanalyst, Erik Erikson, gave us one of the first and most well-known maps of human development including adolescence.

During World War II, Erik Erikson coined a phrase that describes a key feature of adolescence – identity crisis.²⁰ He used this phrase primarily to describe the shell-shocked soldiers who lost a sense of personal sameness or personality continuity. Erikson also saw the idea of identity crisis as a good description for adolescents. Like soldiers in a state of confusion, adolescents are like people who have been hit with a bomb. This bomb is the bomb of puberty, cognitive growth and cultural voices, all of which pressure

²⁰ Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W. W, Norton, 1968), p. 17.

adolescents to focus on the question of “*Who am I?*” In many ways adolescents become strangers to themselves in their ever-changing bodies, emotions and questions. Many adolescents expend a great deal of time and energy comparing themselves with the ever-changing cultural pictures that surround them. They are looking for a face, a personality, something they can call their own.

1. Erik Erikson

Erik Erikson was the first to use the term “ego identity” as he attempted to describe people becoming comfortable with who they are. To Erikson, the formation of our identity starts in earnest in adolescence. Jane Kroger describes Erikson’s concept of identity formation as, “The central means by which individuals come to experience a sense of being ‘at home’ in themselves – at home in their bodies, with their own unique blends of psychological drives and defenses, and in their own cultural and societal neighborhoods, recognizing and being recognized by others ‘who count.’”²¹ Erikson describes “identity” as having a “quality” of existence, a style of one’s individuality which coincides with one’s meaning for significant others in the immediate community.²² Identity is a general concept that includes such things as self-concept and choice of profession. Therefore, identity formation is more than an internal event; identity formation also interacts with other people and the historical period, society at large. The three aspects of Erikson’s ego identity that interact are 1) a set of biological givens, 2) a

²¹ Jane Kroger, ed., *Discussions on Ego Identity*, (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), p. 1.

²² Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 50.

personal biography, and 3) a societal response within an historical framework.²³ The biological givens include an inner unfolding called by Erikson an epigenesis. Erikson believes that like the unfolding pattern of development of the fetus in the womb, a person's psychological development unfolds in a pattern. "Anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole."²⁴

The second part of Erikson's description of identity formation concerns the personal biography. This biography includes the relationships with parents and significant others. Identity formation is first initiated in life by identifying with the parents. Then during adolescence identity formation begins to separate from the parents. Erikson explains that adolescent rebellion is rooted in the attempt by young people to remove themselves from their personal histories.

Youth, therefore, is sensitive to any suggestion that I may be hopelessly determined by what went before in life histories or in history. Psychosocially speaking, this would mean that irreversible childhood identifications would deprive an individual of an identity of his own For these reasons, youth often rejects parents and authorities and wishes to belittle them as inconsequential, for it is in search of individuals and movements who claim, or seem to claim, that they can predict what is irreversible, thus getting ahead of the future – which means reversing it.²⁵

This looking outward is one reason why extra-parental relationships are of key importance to the adolescent's identity formation. A patchwork of various influences

²³ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 13.

²⁴ Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 92.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 247.

(including parental) is being woven into a unique identity. Psychologist, Les Parrott III, describes the weaving together of influences in this way:

The successful formation of self-identity follows a typical pattern. Teens identify with people they admire. Whether in real life or through magazines and TV, they emulate the characteristics of people they want to be like. By the end of adolescence, if all goes as it should, these identifications merge into a single identity that incorporates and alters previous identifications to make a unique and coherent whole.²⁶

Therefore, the relationships that an adolescent builds are key in forming that individual's identity.

For Erikson the third influence on identity formation is the culture at large. The actual historical epoch significantly influences the identity of the emerging adult. The modern fascination of the Baby Boomers with their historical influences such as Watergate or the Vietnam War on their cohort would be one example of how history can be seen as shaping an identity. In similar ways, Generation X and now Generation Y are being examined to determine what cultural forces are shaping them.

This points to an interesting phenomenon of "adolescence" - that it is biological, and in some sense universal, and in other ways "adolescence" is augmented by the historical and cultural surrounding events. Jane Kroger writes, "Adolescence seems to be a time, at least in many technologically advanced western cultures, when one is confronted with the problem of self-definition. Whether this task is created by social circumstances, internal developmental phenomena, or a combination of both forces have been issues debated in the recent and growing volume of literature on adolescent

²⁶ Les Parrott III, *Helping the Struggling Adolescent*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, Harper Collins, 1993), p. 15.

development.”²⁷ Kroger briefly examines the issue and recognizes that both biology and culture play a role in identity formation. Certainly puberty and cognitive growth create a redefinition of the self world-wide, but the North American culture augments these internal events²⁸ to such a degree that a search for self is drawn out for a significant span of life. This is why in this thesis there is a specific focus not on all adolescents, but on North American adolescents.

The process of identity formation involves the choices which will help determine “the real me.” The task is to preserve one’s sense of personal continuity over one’s life. Adolescents have an ideal self and an actual self, which they change for the various people they are in contact with.²⁹ The ideal self may change and adolescents can be observed “switching hats,” trying on various selves. The personal history of the individual will be written by the various roles and selves that are played. During puberty, the self is marked by many physical changes in which continuity is difficult for the average adolescent to imagine. Erikson quotes a slogan to describe this time of indecision: “I ain’t what I ought to be, I ain’t what I’m going to be, but I ain’t what I was.”³⁰ To gain any continuity of self, adolescents need to integrate their various identities into a coherent whole, including their various senses of self and their society’s

²⁷ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 1.

²⁸ The catalytic role of culture in the phenomenon of adolescence and the formation of identity will be discussed later in this chapter.

²⁹ Harter and Lee observed that adolescents can distinguish between their true and false selves. “They are more likely to display false self behavior in romantic or dating situations and with classmates, and least likely to display it with close friends, while the level with parents falls in between.” Susan Harter, “Self and Identity Development,” in Shirley Feldman and Glen Elliott, ed., *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 361.

³⁰ Erik Erikson, “Identity and the life cycle,” *Psychological Issues*, I, 18-164, p. 19.

role expectations. This integration also needs to be mutual “between the individual’s conception of self and those that significant others hold about him or her.”³¹ In other words, it would not be healthy to see yourself one way, when everyone else sees you in a completely different way.

Before the adolescent years, children are able to see themselves as similar to others in different concrete ways. Adolescents on the other hand are synthesizing a new identity that is greater than the sum of its parts. As Erikson states, “Identity formation, finally, begins where the usefulness of identification ends. It arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new configuration.”³² Identity formation also continues on after adolescence, inasmuch as we are continually discovering various aspects of who we are. However, adolescence is the key time to discover “*Who am I?*” Erikson titled the epigenetic, unfolding task for adolescents as Identity Formation versus Identity Diffusion. Parrott describes identity formation this way, “While achievement of a meaningful answer to this question [*Who am I?*] is a lifelong pursuit, it is the burning challenge of adolescence.”³³ During adolescence, healthy people stop being mainly the children of their parents and become their own persons – this is the task of identity formation.

³¹ Susan Harter, “Self and Identity Development,” in Shirley Feldman and Glen Elliott, ed., *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990, p. 337.

³² Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 159.

³³ Les Parrott III, *Helping the Struggling Adolescent*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, Harper Collins, 1993), p.15.

2. James Marcia

James Marcia has expanded Erikson's process of identity formation into four status groups. Marcia's concept of identity status has been used in over 300 studies of identity formation, with credible support for these original distinctions.³⁴

One group is titled the "identity diffuse;" those who have not yet made any commitments to an identity. Bronson describes a person in this group as someone who, "was found to be less certain about his own personality traits, and he experienced variability over short periods of time as to his own feelings about himself. He does not know who he is and cannot estimate his own personality traits effectively."³⁵

The next group is titled "foreclosed," those who have not gained an identity distinctly different from their parents. Personality and life goals are submerged into the roles other people have given them. For example, there are many university students who are on a career track, not because of any meaningful personal thoughts or internal debates but because their parents wished that career for them.

The third group is titled "moratorium," those who are struggling with their evolving identity. These are the people in active struggle and experimentation with life goals and beliefs. This time or struggle is most often depicted as a difficult one in which a person travels through it, but does not wish to stay in it for long.

³⁴ Jane Kroger, ed., *Discussions on Ego Identity*, (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), p. 8.

³⁵ G. W. Bronson, "Identity Diffusion in Late Adolescence," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, (59, 414-417), 1959. in Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p. 73.

The final group is termed “identity achieved,” those who have arrived at some self-understanding through a moratorium. These people have some sense of confidence and ownership of their choices in life.

3. Criticisms of Concepts Found in Identity Formation

There have been some criticisms of the concept of identity formation. Erikson, himself, recognized the imprecise definition. “‘Identity’ and ‘identity crisis’ have . . . become terms which alternatively circumscribe something so large and so seemingly self-evident that to demand a definition would almost seem petty, while other times they designate something made so narrow for the purposes of measurement that the over-all meaning is lost.”³⁶ Jane Kroger points out that, “At times, identity refers to a structure or a configuration; at other points, it refers to a process. On still other occasions, identity is viewed as both a subjective experience and an unconscious entity.”³⁷ Carol Gilligan has also criticized Erikson and the formation of identity as a process of autonomy and independence that ignores relationship. She writes, “The tendency for psychologists to characterize adolescence as the time of second individuation and to celebrate an identity that is self-wrought encourages a way of speaking in which the interdependence of human life and reliance of people on one another becomes largely unrepresented to tacit.”³⁸ Gilligan describes the identity formation of Erikson as a male model, which does

³⁶ Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 15.

³⁷ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 32.

³⁸ Carol Gilligan, “Adolescent Development Reconsidered,” in C.E. Irwin, ed., *Adolescent Social Behavior and Health: New Directions of Child Development*, vol. 37, pp. 63-92, (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1987) p.68.

not place sufficient emphasis on the female, relational aspects of identity formation. Susan Harter also observes, “Historically, identity formation in males has reflected the cultural expectations of autonomy and differentiation from others, whereas female identity has reflected the cultural expectations of connectedness and the establishment of intimate relationships.”³⁹

4. Response to Criticisms

A full study of the concept of identity is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, it is important to this thesis to make some decisions as to an understanding of identity formation. I will recognize identity formation as a *process* that is highlighted in adolescence. For Marcia and his interpretation of Erikson, identity is a process. “For Erikson, clearly, identity is not the end of development. It may signal the completion of childhood development, but it is only the beginning of adult development.”⁴⁰ A person does not wake up one morning with an adult identity formed where there was none the day before. Some adults may say that they still don’t know who they are. We all are growing in the process of forming an identity of ourselves, but if we reflect sufficiently on our own situations we would find that the majority of our identity work has a base already built in our adolescence.

If we have had a healthy adolescence, we will possess some of the following: We will have an understanding of what we can do well and in what we are not gifted

³⁹ Susan Harter, “Self and Identity Development,” in Shirley Feldman and Glen Elliott, ed., *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.379.

⁴⁰ James Marcia, “The Relational Roots of Identity,” in Jane Kroger ed., *Discussions on Ego Identity*, (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), pp. 101 – 120, p.105.

(children dream of being baseball players and ballerinas). We will have a sense of values that are important to us, some of which are similar to our parents' some which are unique to us (children's values mirror their parents' values much more closely). We will have a sense of self-acceptance which will allow us to make commitments to vocations or to other people (children have a self-acceptance that has not traveled through deep waters of self-doubt to understanding).

This sense of an adult identity would not have been present before we were adolescents but would be evident afterwards. Even though adult identity formation is a continuing process, adolescence is the critical time for adult identity formation to begin and to do its work. This process is significant in the relationships that adolescents have. If identity formation is a process, then not one but many situations over time contribute to the formation of the adolescent's identity.

Identity formation also has a *conscious* component to it. Certainly some of the identity formation that is taking place in an adolescent is unconscious, but it is not an entirely unconscious event. Many students with whom I am in contact are actively experimenting with various identities, recognizing that they are trying to "find out who they are." Do these teenagers know they are imitating Michael Jordan when they are walling down the halls of their schools? Perhaps they do not realize the extent of the influence he has on their lives, but for most it is a very conscious event. For example, the young basketball-playing man makes sure he has all the needed gear to wear and that he has memorized the phrases used by Mr. Jordan. The young woman who is reading *Seventeen* magazine is very aware of how she is being influenced by this production, including her shopping for hours for the correct hair clips. For an average adolescent,

answering the question, “*Who am I?*” is a daily thought. I have heard many students respond to what people think of them as they “hang-out” with good friends in school hallways. Erikson describes this conscious activity of identity; “Ego identity then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-style of one’s individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one’s meaning for significant others in the immediate community.”⁴¹ The conscious aspect of identity formation is significant to those who wish to help adolescents acquire thriving identities. If it were an entirely unconscious event, there could be no reflective dialogue to help the adolescent.

Identity formation also has a *relational* component. In an essay titled “The Relational Roots of Identity,”⁴² James Marcia answers Gilligan’s interpretation of Erikson in which she argues for a more relational component to identity formation. Marcia looks at each of Erikson’s stages and observes that each stage is not a “lone ranger” event but rather each stage is formed through relationships. Marcia argues that we will have to become comfortable with the language of dialectics in identity formation. “Separating oneself from embeddedness in a relational matrix is a necessity for psychological development. Psychological development includes the establishment and maintenance of interdependent relational matrices.”⁴³ These aspects of identity formation - internal separation from others while maintaining interdependent relationships - are key to understanding adolescents. Adolescents need to create a separate identity from their

⁴¹ Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 50.

⁴² James Marcia, “The Relational Roots of Identity,” in Jane Kroger ed., *Discussions on Ego Identity*, (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), p. 101 - 120.

⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 109.

parents, and one way to do this is through another relationship. That is why peer relationships are so important to the adolescent. However, adolescents are also willing to build relationships with certain adults. In the movie *Simon Birch* the early adolescent, Joe, has lost his mother and has just discovered who his biological father is, yet when he needed comfort he turned to his drama teacher. The relational component to identity formation is important because if we are to help adolescents in their journey one point of entrance may be through a significant relationship.

The gender differences in identity formation are real but they serve to expand the definition; they do not negate the idea of identity formation taking place. Recognizing gender differences has taught us that identity formation is not only about autonomy but also about connectedness. Some, noting gender differences, believe that intimacy, in the case of women, comes before identity formation. However, Susan Harter asks whether adult intimacy can be embarked on unless there is some sense of self before being able to be intimate with another. Susan Harter also notes an historical coming together of the gender differences as she comments; “Of particular interest is whether these gender differences will persist in the face of sociological changes urged by the women’s movement.”⁴⁴

Adult identity formation begins and is highlighted in adolescence as a conscious, relational process in which adolescents differentiate themselves from the other people in their lives, discovering and being at ease with who they are. This identity formation is mediated through the interaction of a set of biological givens, personal biography, a

⁴⁴ Susan Harter, “Self and Identity Development,” in Shirley Feldman and Glen Elliott, ed., *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 380.

societal response within its historical framework. Identity formation is a central need in adolescence that is broad enough to enfold a large majority of this age group.

Identity formation is also affected by other events that take place during adolescence. Next I will examine the influence that physical changes, cognitive transition and cultural pressures have on identity formation.

Elements of Identity Formation

1. Physical Changes

Adolescence is a time of change as children undergo the physical steps toward adulthood. Two significant physiological changes mark all adolescents regardless of socioeconomic or gender differences - the growth spurt and puberty.⁴⁵ The growth spurt is a surge in physical size and shape, and puberty is a readying of the body for reproduction. The bodies of adolescents produce growth hormones and gonadotropic hormones controlled by the pituitary gland. The gonadotropic hormones increase the size of the sex glands and stimulate the gonads to increase the amounts of sex hormones: androgens in males and estrogens in females. During this time, the shape of the face and body changes, more closely resembling the adult form. Secondary sex characteristics appear, such as breast development and rounded hips with females, and the broadening of shoulders and the emergence of facial hair with males. Voice tonality changes and the texture of the skin modifies as a temporary malfunctioning of the oil-producing glands, often leads to acne. These physical changes may cover a long period of time as onset, and

⁴⁵ Ripple, Biehler and Jaquish, *Human Development*, (Boston, MS: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982), p. 393. Socioeconomic conditions, race and gender affect the timing of puberty but do not stop it from happening.

rates of maturation vary for each individual. Although the average ability to reproduce is reached in North American girls at age 12.5 years and North American boys at age 14 years, there is a wide degree of variance.⁴⁶ The secondary sex characteristics, the more visible changes, have a much longer and more varied rate of change that lasts throughout adolescence. For example, a fourteen-year-old male with facial hair, sporting pimples and standing over six foot tall may be in the same class as a fourteen-year-old male with a smooth face, who is a foot and a half shorter. The first male is very interested in the opposite sex whereas the later developing male is playing pretend “detective” games in the hallway. David Elkind describes this time of change: “But as young people move into puberty, the relative uniformity of growth in childhood explodes into fireworks of different growth rates.”⁴⁷ Times of change are stressful and questions of identity often follow in the wake of adolescents looking for the ideal physical form, comparing their bodies with the mosaic of change and diversity taking place around them. As de Beauvoir writes; “to lose confidence in one’s body is to lose confidence in oneself.”⁴⁸

The additional increase of hormones in the young bodies also affects the emotions. Mary Pipher in her excellent book on saving the selves of adolescent females writes:

A friend once told me that the best way to understand teenagers was to think of them as constantly on LSD. It was good advice. People on acid are intense,

⁴⁶ Susan Moore and Doreen Rosenthal, *Sexuality in Adolescence*, (London, ENG: Routledge, 1993), p.47.

⁴⁷ David Elkind, *All Grown Up and No Place to Go*, (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1971), p. 47.

⁴⁸ Simone, de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, (New York, NY: Knoff), p. 152. As quoted in Mary Pipher, *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*. (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1994), p. 57.

changeable, internal, often cryptic or uncommunicative and of course, dealing with a different reality. That's all true for adolescent girls.⁴⁹

The emotions of adolescents are extreme and changeable. Small events can trigger enormous reactions. Visit any high school after there has been a car accident involving a teen death. You will observe groups huddled and crying in the hallways. Many of these teens may never have met the victim. At the funeral, if there is opportunity for an open microphone, there will be many teens weeping, standing up, and saying "I never knew this person, but . . ." Emotions are raw and displayed much more visibly. This multiplies whole questioning of their identities. A bad mark on a test creates despair and feelings that they are a "loser." As Mary Pipher observes, "Girls have tried to kill themselves because they were grounded for a week or didn't get asked to the prom."⁵⁰ The identities that are being shaped are magnified by the emotional sensitivity that puberty brings on.

2. Cognitive Transition

There is evidence that adolescence is a unique time of life for cognitive development. Jean Piaget observed that children below the age of eleven or twelve are likely to think on a concrete level.⁵¹ For example, in a grade four "kids' club" class I was teaching, I asked for a definition of "love" from the students. The children answered with accounts of baking cookies for a grandparent, and of not punching someone who they spilled *Sprite* on them. A generalized concept of love was seen mainly in the concrete

⁴⁹ Mary Pipher, *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*. (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1994), p. 57.

⁵⁰ Mary Pipher, *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*. (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1994), p. 57.

⁵¹ Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 62.

events that they had experienced (baking cookies). According to Piaget, at the age of eleven or twelve, that changes when there is the possibility for “formal operational thought,” which includes the ability to “mentally execute possible actions on objects and be able to reflect on these operations in the absence of the objects which are replaced by pure propositions. This reflection power is raised to the second power.”⁵² Reflection, generalization and idealization are awakening mental skills for many eleven to twelve year old children. These mental skills, which begin in early adolescence, are honed in mid to late adolescence. I have seen, in the area of religious education, students who were most interested in earning stars for attendance and “right answers” in grade five beginning to ask questions concerning the origins of evil in grade nine. I have also experienced what Piaget termed “the reflection power raised to the second power.” A young woman in grade nine complained of headaches at one of the retreats I was running. I discovered the cause was less physical and more mental. While I was driving up to the retreat, she looked over and realized that she was just a “player” in another driver’s world. She tried to understand our positions relative to each other in a larger world and got a headache from the enormity of the possibilities in the idea.

Some may wonder if we have the capacity for formal thought in the early years. Whether we do or not is dwarfed by the preoccupation of generalizations, idealizations and reflections that are spontaneous often rule the minds of adolescents. Gender, subculture, and socioeconomic situations may alter the rate of the mind’s unfolding but the expansion of the mind to generalized reflection is a potential for all adolescents.

⁵² Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 63.

Formal thought may account for some of the search for identity during this age. Before the teen years most children do not think in abstract ways. Now as adolescents, young men and women love to think of the ideal and how they may change the future.⁵³ As adolescents grow adept with formal thought, they can imagine an ideal family or an ideal school. They all too often realize that the family or school they are in does not match up to their idealizations. Therefore, the response for many adolescent students is to reject some of the institutions that do not measure up to their ideal. Idealization and abstraction of thought are raised in importance to the adolescent, as they enjoy practicing these new skills. Piaget observes that during adolescence there is a surprising facility to invent elaborate abstract theories. "Some write; they may create a philosophy, a political tract, a theory of aesthetics, or whatever . . . All of them have systems and theories that transform the world in one way or another."⁵⁴

Adolescence is a unique time in cognitive development, a time for reflecting to a greater degree on identity formation. The pre-adolescent does not have the range of ability for self-reflection in order to generalize a "self." With new cognitive abilities awakened, the adolescent not only notices his/her ever-changing physical differences but also reflects on them and asks the question "Who am I?" in greater degrees. Susan Harter recognizes the difficulties this ability creates in forming an idea of "self." "Interestingly, this newfound ability to describe the self more abstractly is a double-edged sword. Although abstractions are developmentally advanced cognitive structures, they are

⁵³ "There are several new conceptual skills that emerge during the stage of formal operations. . . Second, adolescents are able to think about things changing in the future." Newman and Newman, *Development Through the Life: A Psychological Approach*, (Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1979), p. 272.

⁵⁴ Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 61.

removed from concrete, observable behaviours and are therefore more susceptible to distortion.”⁵⁵ What adolescents wish to do in the society at large can be quite far removed from the possibilities in their situation. A teen in Iowa I worked with was convinced that he would be a rock star some day. One problem he had not fully considered was that he did not know how to play any instrument and didn’t want to take the time to learn. His expectations were unrealistic.

Fischer’s cognitive–development theory expanded on Piaget’s stage of formal operations by describing the process of the adolescent thinking about the self, among other things.⁵⁶ At first, young adolescents are able to construct single abstractions about the self. For example, a young teen may think she is outgoing, cheerful, but depressed. In middle adolescence, the skills are present to compare the abstractions. During this period of time, it is cognitively troubling for teens as they try to integrate the various abstractions. For example the middle adolescent may think, “How can I both cheerful and depressed?” In late adolescence, however, there are skills by which the adolescent can integrate the self into an abstract system that makes sense.

A new cognitive ability to reflect aids the level of dialogue that adolescents can have with adults. Classroom discussions in high school can take on a deeper and more reflective tone than can discussions in elementary school. Questions requiring reflection that an adult can ask an adolescent, eager to try on the new skills of thought creation, can be formative in helping the adolescent create a world view. Significant adults who will

⁵⁵ Susan Harter, “Self and Identity Development,” in Shirley Feldman and Glen Elliott, ed., *At the Threshold: The Developing Adolescent*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 355.

⁵⁶ K. W. Fischer, “A Theory of Cognitive Development: The Control and Construction of Hierarchies of Skills,” *Psychological Review*, 87, (1980), pp. 477-531.

listen and take the thoughts of emerging adults seriously will add to the self-confidence of the adolescents and help them form a unique identity.

3. Cultural Pressures

a. Lack of Transitional Rituals

North American culture helps initiate and sustain the time of adolescence. There is a necessary transition from dependant childhood to self-sufficient adulthood.⁵⁷ Various North American subcultures look at this transition in various ways, but the generic theme is that all adolescents travel through this time of transition from childhood to a perceived status as adults. Many pre-modern cultures have had rituals that ushered their emerging adults into the culture of the group. One example of a ritual maintained over time is the Jewish *bar mitzvah*, a religious ritual that initiates the thirteen-year-old male into adult status in the community. The initiation rites of some cultures may take days or moments to initiate children into the world of adults.

What cultural initiation rites does a modern North American child go through in order to become an adult? The Jewish *bar mitzvah* and the Catholic *confirmation* in many ways are intended to be adult initiation rites. Yet in modern North America little is truly gained as far as adult status is concerned because of these rites. In fact, many priests have complained that *confirmation* is more often regarded as a graduation from the religious community than a promotion to places of adult power. If places of religion do not service the culture at large with initiation rites into adulthood, what else does?

⁵⁷ Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p. 4.

Gaining a driver's license or graduation diploma from high school could be regarded as initiation rites into adulthood, but do they really afford the respect and position of becoming an "adult" in our society? Achieving graduation and exercising driving privileges do not customarily constitute "adulthood." There are those who do not drive or do not graduate from high school. Some might argue that marriage or a career commitment is the initiation rite into adulthood for the North American. If so, how could this be a defining ritual when the average age of marriage is being delayed until later in life⁵⁸ – if it takes place at all? Career commitments are also not occurring until much later in life⁵⁹ – if at all?

Exactly, when does a child become an adult in modern North America? Legally, in Canada, an eighteen-year-old becomes responsible, as an adult, in a court of law. The day before an adolescent's eighteenth birthday he/she is considered a dependent child; on the birthday he/she is an adult. Yet, unless the eighteen-year-old is in front of a court of law, the affective reality of adulthood is not necessarily realized. Muuss argues that adolescence grows beyond its physical beginnings and has become even more of a social invention. "Pubescence seems to be the only aspect of the process of maturation that some primitive societies recognize: after puberty the young man and woman obtain adult status with adult privileges. The prolonged period of adolescence in more technically

⁵⁸ The median age at first marriage of women in 1960 was 20 years old, in 1991 it was 24 years old. Source U.S. Bureau of the Census reported in Neil Howe and Bill Strauss, *13th Gen: Abort, Retry, Ignore, Fail?* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1993), p. 156.

⁵⁹ In 1992 MTV survey of 1,000 young adults eighteen to twenty-nine found that they considered a lack of jobs or economic opportunity to be the single greatest obstacle facing their generation. American job growth was 27% over the seventies and a projected 13% over the nineties. Under the title "McJobs and Temps" Holt writes, "While the economy did add 21 million new jobs during the eighties, these were overwhelmingly concentrated in the service industry." Reported in Geoffrey Holt, *Welcome to the Jungle: The Why Behind the Generation X*, (New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin, 1995), p. 143-151.

advanced societies is not a physiological, but a social invention.”⁶⁰ David Elkind expands this thought by observing many “vanishing markers” of adult culture including clothing, and recreation markers.⁶¹ Being neither a child nor offered adult places of power, the adolescent finds herself in this in-between zone with no clear idea of when she is truly an adult. Finding herself in a zone that is transitional with no good idea of when she will be free of childhood begs the question in many an adolescent: “Who am I?” With few cultural markers or rituals to give children the cues that they are now adults, adolescence, as a time in-between, becomes a modern North American cultural reality.

b. Feelings of Powerlessness

Adolescents’ focus on identity formation is further strengthened in North America by their feelings of powerlessness. These feelings may differ from the power that adolescents actually hold. However, the feelings are very real and stem from the feeling that they are not recognized as adults nor are places of adult power open to them. Feelings of powerlessness initially come about while waiting for recognition as adults, and these feelings of powerlessness reinforce the already existent question of “Who am I?”.

In the so-called “primitive societies,” persons in their teen years would be expected to be active in exercising the privileges and responsibilities of an adult life. At present in North America, persons in their teens and early twenties are expected to finish high school, college or university and then enter the work force. As recent as the 1930’s, most of North American families were living in rural areas where significant work responsibilities and privileges were

⁶⁰ Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p. 6.

⁶¹ David Elkind, *All Grown Up and No Place to Go*, (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing) 1971), p. 93 – 114.

given to people in their teen years.⁶² For example, young people would be responsible for driving a tractor long before an official driver's license could be granted. The work adolescents did in a home was needed and was not seen as token work. Urbanization and modernization have moved many meaningful work opportunities for young people from the home to official jobs. Meaningful work opportunities in old rural settings were at the doorsteps of adolescents as business obligations; home duties and food production were all found together on the same farm. In more modern urban settings significant work is hidden. Food production and businesses are moved away from the home setting, with the consequence that adolescents are not truly needed to help keep the house running.

The disappearance of significant work and resulting feelings of powerlessness are seen in other countries, as well, where urbanization and modernization are taking place. In 1997 the General Secretary for the Kenya Students Christian Fellowship, a man named Nowa, traveled to Canada to learn the culture of Canadian teens. Nowa, a Kenyan, had been working with Kenyan teenagers for fifteen years in rural areas, and he observed a distinct teen culture in the urban centres that was very similar to the North American adolescent culture. According to Nowa, the move from the farm to the city produced "North American" adolescents out of Kenyans.⁶³

⁶² Stephen Glenn, General Session, taped in Chicago, IL. At the National Youth Worker's Convention (ElCajon CA: Youth Specialties, 1988). Glenn observed that in North America before the Second World War approximately 70% of people were living in rural areas where large families were empowered with significant work. After the Second World War the percentage shifted to 70% living in urban centers where the farm work and number of chores were not available. Glenn believes this is one of the cultural beginnings of adolescence. As you remember Erikson saw three catalysts to identity formation in adolescents: the natural biological unfolding (i.e. puberty and cognitive changes), personal history (i.e. the family) and the larger historical context. This identification of urbanization can be seen as one of the larger historical contexts which influence identity formation in adolescence.

⁶³ Conversation with Nowa in 1997. (P.O Box 41718, Nairobi Kenya)

Sociologist Samuel Escobar teaches in Peru, Chili, Switzerland and the United States. He observes that there is a “global youth culture” which is emerging. He cites the increasing movement from rural to urban centers, North American media globalization and capitalization, along with the technologies like the Internet, as some of the major moving forces behind the emerging global youth culture. Escobar admits that in every country there are distinctives that characterize each of the urban youth cultures, but he observes more similarities are emerging around the world than differences.⁶⁴ An adolescent’s waiting period to have adult power and significance is prolonging, and in some ways creating, an extended in-between time for our modern teens and twenties. This waiting period helps maintain the feeling of powerlessness.

c. Extended Time in Education

Waiting for school to be completed has “extended” the cultural aspects of adolescence. Muuss observes that “The extended period of education, on the other hand, has increased the duration of social adolescence and created a mass adolescent culture pattern.”⁶⁵ During this school extension, places of power in government, the work place and religion remain closed to the adolescent. In addition to feelings of powerlessness, the adolescent feels the need to focus on the “now.” Richards observes how this modern societal in-between time produces a focus on the present. “The past [*childhood*] grows progressively more different from the present in fact, and seems more remote the future, too, grows more remote and uncertain the present assumes a new significance as the one time in which the environment is relevant,

⁶⁴ Samuel Escobar, conversation on the occasion of receiving his honorary doctorate at McMaster University, (Apartado, 18-0097, Lima Peru), 1997.

⁶⁵ Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p. 109.

immediate and knowable.”⁶⁶ Adolescents do not have adult status in institutions, while at the same time they do not believe themselves to be children. This unique window of in-between adds its own weight to the question of identity formation. The school is the place of the moment and many adolescents do not feel they are taken seriously as adult equals in the now. If I am more than the son or daughter of my parents (child’s identity) but am not given an adult identity by my society – “Who am I?”

d. Declining Respect for Institutions

Adolescents who do not have places of adult power often have less respect than adults do for the positions of adult power. The weighted reporting of institutional failures by the media have in all likelihood helped to push the trend of North American adolescents acquiring lower opinions of institutions. Bibby and Posterski have reported that “Over the past decade, there has been approximately a 10 per cent drop in the confidence that young people say they have in Canada’s leaders.”⁶⁷ The institutions of government and religion have fewer than 40 per cent of adolescents who would have “quite a bit” of confidence in them. Probably the new and expanded cognitive ability of adolescents to idealize also leads many of them to question the value of institutions. Institutions are no longer too large or too powerful to question; the adolescent can dream of a better place now. Adolescents have a new-found ability to imagine an ideal school, an ideal church or an ideal government. As adults, we know that all institutions are far from ideal; our idealism is mixed with a realism brought on by experience. Though there may be many reasons, the majority of adolescents have a more difficult time than adults do in accepting top-down authority. This separates the adolescent world from the adult world. In the section of their book addressed to educators, Bibby and Posterski say: “Like it or not, respect for positional authority, whether personal or institutional, has eroded.

⁶⁶ Larry Richards, *Youth Ministry*, (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan Publishing, 1985), p.30.

⁶⁷ Reginald Bibby and Donald Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p. 173.

Today, regardless of who you are or what you do, respect is not granted automatically. Respect has to be earned.”⁶⁸

Many adolescents celebrate the new grassroots community of the Internet. “On-line,” everyone is an equal, and a teenager from Elliot Lake can have a better home page than the President of the United States. Rushkoff calls this the new “weightless” system where top-down power becomes meaningless. “But by focusing on the experience of real connection to one another – which has nothing to do with defining an up or down, yet everything to do with gaining one’s own bearing in an intrinsically weightless system – we can instill in ourselves the necessary confidence to step out of the womb and into the unknown.”⁶⁹ For the adolescent, power of position is less significant than power granted for reasons of personal respect.

e. The Media

Another societal institution, the media, has helped to create and sustain the modern adolescent. Jane Kroger quotes Gore Vidal in *Rocking the Boat*: “Until the rise of American advertising, it never occurred to anyone anywhere in the world that the teenager was a captive in a hostile world of adults.”⁷⁰ The media seized a new type of person to market - the adolescent - who did not have adult responsibilities but had some spending money from small service jobs. The more the media defined a separate group

⁶⁸ Reginald Bibby and Donald Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p. 239.

⁶⁹ Douglas Rushkoff, *Playing the Future: How Kids’ Culture Can Teach Us to Thrive in an Age of Chaos*, (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1996), p. 219.

⁷⁰ Gore Vidal, quoted in Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 1.

distinct from adults and children, the more a new market emerged that could be sold the media's own brand of music, games, movies, clothing and modes of transportation.

In all of society change is becoming the norm. With media/technology driven mega-change, adolescents appear to have the desire to “surf“ the endless number of cultural choices. On the cover of the January, 1998 edition of *Wired* magazine, big, bold letters declares, “Change is Good.” This magazine, which claims to speak for the younger generation, reports that the “hype about change and transformation . . . is underhyped.”⁷¹ Douglas Rushkoff observes that with immigrants to a new culture, the young are usually the first to pick up the new language and the new culture.⁷² Adolescents quickly pick up the cultural language of each new fad the media feeds them, and as they look at their changing faces in the mirror, they realize that others their age are also looking at them, measuring them against media standards. Advertisements augment these differences between age groups hoping to cash in on adolescent's self-questions. Teen magazines, such as *Seventeen*, flaunt the newest styles with physically perfected models that become the mirrors for defining the self-images of their readers. Erik Erikson observes that there is an internal comparison of adolescents' self with others their age against an adopted ideal. Erikson observes that this comparison is a part of “identity formation.”

Identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him.⁷³

⁷¹ Danny Hillis, “The Big Picture,” *Wired* (January) 1998, p. 38.

⁷² Douglas Rushkoff, *Playing the Future: How Kids' Culture Can Teach U to Thrive in an Age of Chaos*, (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1996), p. 2-3.

⁷³ Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company,

The media exacerbates this tendency by constantly changing the relevant “types” of what an adolescent “should” look like – light jeans, dark jeans, cargo pants, and bellbottoms float in and out of “style.” As such, the media not only reinforces this time of adolescence but also increases the likelihood that identity formation will be significant during this time of life. An adolescent constantly looking for various models to emulate is fed a variety of changing styles by the media which themselves are in constant flux. All this is done in the name of selling more products. The average adolescent faces the question, “Does one let the media images define you or do you look within for the cues to discover who you are?” It is at this point where a relationship with someone outside this age group could be helpful. Adults could help the adolescents to look within to discover their identity without being hooked by the media images and messages.

4. Second Individuation

Peter Blos sees adolescence from a psychodynamic perspective and suggests that adolescents go through a second individuation process. Individuation is the process whereby an individual becomes his/her own person. The first time individuation takes place occurs when children are toddlers. They understand for the first time that they are persons separate from their parents. The “terrible twos” where the word “no” is discovered and used with frequency is evidence that they are discovering some kind of separateness from their parents. Jane Kroger describes Blos’ concept of second individuation which “involves the relinquishing of those very intrapsychic parental representations which were internalized during toddlerhood and have formed the

structure of childhood identity.”⁷⁴ The terrible twos are reborn in the teens as adolescents become their own separate person again.

The different genders and different subculture groups may go about the second individuation process differently, but all still must travel through these waters. This process involves a “shedding” of family dependencies. Before adolescence, our sense of who we are as individuals is tied up with concrete experiences of the past. Our images of our parents and significant people around us are the building blocks of our understanding of relationships and ourselves. As an old proverb says, “A father is a son’s first hero and a daughter’s first love.” During adolescence, other possibilities emerge to help us understand self and others. Blos regards this process as a “disengaging” from past relationships in order to be able to form a new identity. Kroger extrapolates Blos’s thought in this way: “Adolescent disengagement from its internalized parental representation allows the establishment of new extra- familial romantic attachments.”⁷⁵ Blos describes second individuation as an implication that “the growing person takes increasing responsibility for what he does and what he is, rather than depositing this responsibility on to the shoulders of those under whose influence and tutelage he has grown up.”⁷⁶

Some of the ways in which adolescents create physical or ideological space from their families is to form strong peer relationships, to idolize the famous or join groups outside their family sphere. Blos describes this process as a turbulent time for

⁷⁴ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 48.

⁷⁵ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 52.

⁷⁶ Peter Blos, “The Second Individuation Process of Adolescence”, *Psychoanalytic Study of*

adolescents, but some disagree, saying that this second individuation is gradual, and unremarkable.⁷⁷ Whatever the dynamics may be, there does appear to be a process of relational movement in the adolescent away from sole dependency on his or her parents by creating a different “self.”

One way in which adolescents look for their separate self is to look for various models. The casual observer can notice that teens dress and act in distinct clusters. They experiment by changing “hats” of various types of people, in their search for their identity. Adolescents’ observation of others is also influential on their behaviour. Roger Brown notes that “observation of adults” produces much more change in behaviour than “direct reward.”⁷⁸ Modeling behaviour is significant with adolescents as they experiment with various models during their identity formation.

The process of growing up different from parents and past relationships creates a unique time in adolescents’ lives, one that focuses on relationships with those outside their homes. The adolescents increasingly look beyond their home for an answer to the question of “Who am I?” Relationships other than with family have become the modern adolescent’s top value in Canada. Bibby and Posterski surveyed Canadian teenagers in 1984 (*The Emerging Generation*) and again in 1992 (*Teen Trends*) and commented;

The contest isn’t even close. What young people value more than anything else are relationships. They want good interpersonal ties and they want to be loved. As documented by our new survey, some 85 per cent report that friendship is “very important” to them, while 80 per cent place high value on “being loved.” One 15-year-old from Calgary sums up the situation succinctly: ‘I think the greatest value in a teenager’s life is friendship.’⁷⁹

the Child, 22, (1967), pp. 162-186, p 168.

⁷⁷ R. Josselson, “Ego Development in Adolescence”, in Adelson ed., *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, (New York, NY: Willy, 1980), p. 189.

⁷⁸ Roger Brown, *Social Psychology* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1965), p. 387.

⁷⁹ Reginald Bibby and Donald Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p. 9.

In the same survey, 60 per cent of teenagers said that family was “very important” to them as opposed to 84 per cent of adults who were asked the same question.⁸⁰

Adolescents are not rejecting their families, but they are starting to value outside socialization forces in their attempts to discover who they are.

Summary

At the beginning of this chapter I began with the problem - "Do adolescents need a distinctive type of mentoring?" I asked, "Is adolescence really a unique enough time in life that their special needs should be recognized in mentoring?" The special needs that we have discovered have focused around the notion of identity formation. As adolescents physically change almost daily, they notice themselves as compared to others and naturally work on the task of answering the question "Who am I? – particularly in comparison with others?" Questions of identity are brought to the front of adolescent minds in technicolour through the charged emotions brought on by the physical changes within. Abstract thinking has given the young adolescent for the first time the mental disposition to ask the larger identity questions in life. They are concerned with the reflection, generalization and idealization abilities that now flourish. Many of their questions center on their own identity. The culture surrounding the adolescent world also exacerbates the questions of identity formation. Much of the teen media, the products being marketed to them emphasize the beauty, the athletic and material standards that they will use to compare themselves with others, add pressure again to the question of identity. The scarcity of clearly accepted rites of passage, the extending of the time

⁸⁰ Reginald Bibby and Donald Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p. 15.

required for completing education and the feelings of powerlessness add to a sense of being in-between but not quite knowing when one is a child or an adult. Adolescents know they are not yet adults, but when do they become one? Who knows? Blos's work in second individuation recognizes the push to understand self as separate from parents. Having good relationships is an important value for adolescent as they attempt to find their identities outside their families. Not only is adolescence a unique time in life but the task of identity formation is a significant aspect of adolescent growth.

At the beginning of this chapter I noted I would demonstrate that there are some characteristics that transcend the boundaries within adolescents. Certainly the physical, emotional, and cognitive changes are universal for adolescents. I cannot think of a subcultural group in North America that practices a clearly defined rite of passage into adulthood that is broadly recognized. The cultural pressures of the media may vary from rural to urban settings, but it would be relatively difficult to be free from the influence of all media pressures in modern North America. These factors taken together lead me to believe that adolescence can be taken as a category which has common elements across many other boundaries.

At the beginning of this chapter I noted that I would demonstrate that adolescence deserves a unique analysis of mentoring. I have not examined mentoring yet, so I will take one step back and discuss whether the uniqueness of adolescents can be influenced by relationships with adults. Relationships are important during this time of life. As stated above, relationships are among the chief values of adolescents. Relationships are not only important to the adolescent but are also important for the adolescent specifically in the aiding in the formation of identity.

From previous discussions concerning Erikson's work, we know that identity formation has a conscious component and is a process. Another person can aid identity formation as dialogue over identity issues takes place. Identity formation cannot be thought through in one class or one project. Long-term help like a relationship that carries over even past a semester class would be even more helpful in forming identity.

From previous discussion we know that identity formation is relational. Relationships are needed to form an identity. This is particularly true in respect to relationships with adults. Relationships with adults are outside of the physical comparative group the adolescent. With such relationships adolescents can talk to adults they are not being compared with. A relationship with an adult who has also navigated the many physical changes associated with adolescence can provide a grounded relationship with "time-wisdom." A relationship with an adult can provide a more stable reflection point during the emotionally charged adolescence. An adult can provide the perspective of time to feelings of loss and despair. There have been countless times when I have shared my failed dating attempts or my outbreak of acne during my grade nine photographs with adolescents. Realizing that there is life after a major embarrassment defuses some of the power of one event on a self-image. A relationship with an adult helps to provide some of the passage into adulthood. After twenty years of work with adolescents my most frequent positive feedback from them has been that they were treated like adults. Adolescents whom I had worked with as teens have told me I had treated them with respect, listened to their dreams, and taken seriously their problems and these things added up to them feeling like adults – a relational passage from the side of childhood. This then gave them confidence in who they were as they went off to work or

university. A relationship with an adult also provides some perspective from the media voices that are attempting to define the adolescent. For example, I have found that the discussion of a “teen movie” is often deepened with the addition of an adult in the discussion mixture. Many times the discussion is moved from the surface “awesome effects” of the movie to the underlying questions and assumptions the movie makes on the teen culture. A relationship with an adult is key in the second individuation process. The adult provides another model of what an adult can be to the adolescent. Bits and pieces of various influences are patch-worked into the adolescent’s unique identity and a close relationship with an adult outside of the family structure provides an up-close model. Adolescents realize that they do not have to be a slave to their own personal history. They can borrow how another adult treats the opposite sex, handles anger, or handles rejection. Adolescents who have positive relationships with adults can have tremendous help in a healthy identity formation.

One way in which to help the identity formation is through a relationship with an adult outside the family. This sounds very close to our intuitions of what mentoring is. Adolescent issues are too complex to assume any other model of mentoring would be helpful. Models of mentoring teachers or the business subordinates do not take advantage or look to the needs of this unique time in life. An adult to adolescent mentoring relationship needs its own definition - one in which identity formation is a goal.

In chapter three I will be examining the mentoring literature. As I complete an extended analysis of mentoring I will be looking for aspects of mentoring which will help adolescents in their identity formation. In particular I will be looking for how an adult mentor could help adolescents work through their questions of identity formation brought

on by their changing bodies and emotions, formal operational thought, second individuation, no clear cultural marker of adulthood, feelings of powerlessness and media definitions of personhood.

Chapter Three

Literature Search: Naming the Markers of Mentoring

The bombs of puberty, formal operational thought, second individuation and cultural pressures are falling on North American adolescents. They are wandering about shell-shocked, attempting to find their adult identities. If identity formation were only an inner task or an unconscious journey, adults would feel helpless in helping adolescents. However, as discussed in chapter two, identity formation is both a relational and a conscious task. Adults can help. If it is possible for adults to aid in identity formation then could the specific relationship of mentoring be a part of that help? If so, what would be the markers of such a mentoring relationship? These are the questions I will discuss during this chapter.

To answer these two questions, the nature of a mentoring relationship needs to be understood. To show that mentoring may be helpful in identity formation we need first to understand what mentoring is in general, and secondly, what specific part of mentoring may be helpful in identity formation. In order to analyze the concept of mentoring I will first examine a short history of western mentoring, and then some of the seminal literature within the area of mentoring. In both the history and the literature review, I will attempt to draw out the significant markers of characterizing mentoring relationships. Some of these markers may include concepts such as didactic instruction, modeling, dialogue and a passing on of wisdom. The significance of the markers will then be judged against the needs of identity formation in adolescence. I will discuss whether a mentoring relationship can help adolescents in their identity formation and what would be the likely markers of such a relationship.

A specific adult-to-adolescent mentoring relationship, which helps in the formation of identity, may have similar markers to other types of mentoring relationships. The mentoring markers taken from non-adolescent literature may differ slightly in how they are administered. Some of these markers may have never been recognized before as specifically helpful to adolescents. That a marker may be found in the lexicon of general mentoring or other subgroups of mentoring does not rule it out as a marker for use with adolescents. In examining the use of the concept of mentoring throughout its history and in examining the various uses of mentoring in modern literature I am locating the forest of mentoring before I locate the grove that is concerned with identity formation in adolescents. At the end of this chapter I will separate and describe the markers of mentoring that will be helpful in identity formation in adolescents. The markers of an adolescent mentoring relationship will be seen at the end of the chapter to include a power-with relationship, dialogue and modeling. In this way I will not provide a specific definition of what an adolescent mentoring relationship is but rather I will choose a broader road by setting limits of the specific concepts needed to be a part of such a relationship.

During this discussion of the mentoring literature I will demonstrate that the substance of this thesis will add to the knowledge base of mentoring literature. I will demonstrate that the literature on mentoring is diffuse and treats the concept of mentoring from varying viewpoints. I will show that researchers approach an analysis of mentoring adolescents but do not specifically deal with the situation of an adult mentoring an adolescent with the goal of identity formation. Because I am dealing with two goals in this chapter, locating adolescent mentoring markers and searching the literature for

similar studies, this chapter will be long. I will take the risk of length in order not to separate the process of locating the mentoring markers from the literature review.

Western Historical Snapshots of Mentoring Relationships

The idea of a master passing on to someone in the next generation the accumulated wisdom has most likely been practiced ever since the dawn of civilization. There are many mentoring examples in the ancient Far East. The idea of a "master" or "guru" is much more developed in the ancient East through such institutions as the Buddhist monastery or the succession of Kings. These early mentoring relationships are seen in the succession of the three Chinese sage Kings Yao, Shun and Yu, between 2333 and 2177 B.C. Their methods of ensuring a virtuous and competent successor were known as *Shan Jang*, which literally means "the enlightened stepping aside to create room in the center for the next deserving person to step in and take charge."⁸¹

However, there is a distinct history of mentoring relationships that has come to us through the West. There is a discernible historic thread of mentoring that comes through Western history. Haensly and Parsons note that mentoring in North America is "more closely related to the Greek origin of the mentor."⁸² Because my focus is on the North American adolescent, I will take some relevant snapshots of mentoring relationships from the West, beginning with the first use of the word, "mentor."

⁸¹ Chungliang Al Huang and Jerry Lynch, *Mentoring: The TAO of Giving and Receiving Wisdom*, (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1995), p. xi.

⁸² Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, "Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages," *Youth and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (December 1993), pp. 202 – 221.

1. Mentor in Odysseus

The first time the word "mentor" is found in Western literature occurs when Odysseus appointed the sage guardian, Mentor, to care for and raise Telemachus, Odysseus' son. The story of Odysseus is important not only because it provides the first use of the word, "mentor" in western literature but also because the story itself offers us a significant myth. Although we may not look to myth for historical accuracy, we do find in myth patterns found in life. In the poem *The Odyssey*, Homer creates only one character who grows, develops and is educated as a person. That person is Telemachus, educated by the hand of Mentor.⁸³ One of the first assumptions from *The Odyssey* that we can make concerning mentoring is that it is an educational activity.

Telemachus and Mentor's relationship is not a part of an official group education, but rather an informal, unpaid, one-on-one relationship. Mentor gives support, love, guidance, protection and blessing to the child. Mentor urges the boy on to join the quest of his father and accompanies him on the first leg of his journey. Later Mentor returns and helps the son, the father and the grandfather recapture their heritage and their former lives. Mentor's guidance to Telemachus occurs interestingly enough at a time when Telemachus is "coming of age." Although Telemachus could not be termed a modern North American adolescent, Telemachus was in the transition of child to adult – what we have discovered as the time of adolescence.⁸⁴

⁸³ Frederick Beck, *Greek Education 450-350 B.C.*, (London, Eng.: Methuen and Co., 1964), p.63.

⁸⁴ I have not found a reference to the significance of Mentor helping the adolescent, Telemachus, to become an adult. I believe that this is so because little if anything has been written on mentoring adolescence toward identity formation.

Daloz examines the Odysseus myth in terms of how it informs our modern notions of mentoring. He observes that Mentor came to help Telemachus at the first sign of his student's need. This mirrors mentoring in terms of the working world, "Mentors are especially important at the beginning of people's careers or at crucial turning points in their professional lives."⁸⁵ Perhaps mentoring is particularly important at turning points such as the time of adolescence. Mentor's return at the end of the myth aids Telemachus as an equal with his father, having completed Telemachus' journey from childhood to adulthood.

The wisdom Mentor gives is seen as divine since Mentor is in truth the warrior goddess Athena in disguise. This relationship provides the opportunity for passing on divine wisdom. "It is in Mentor's form that Athena, Goddess of Wisdom, speaks at critical times throughout the epic. Thus, Mentor is both male and female, mortal and immortal – an androgynous demigod, half here, and half there. Wisdom personified."⁸⁶ From its inception, mentors are seen to have a wisdom drawn from experience, of going before, in a world not yet traveled by the protégé. Later in this chapter we will explore the implications to mentoring adolescents. For now it is sufficient to notice that when an adult mentors an adolescent there is a passing on of things that are in a way "other worldly" from the adult world. The adolescent has not yet experienced living with an adult identity in an adult world. The adult has a knowledge of things not yet experienced by the youth.

⁸⁵ Laurent A. Daloz, *Mentor: Guiding the Journey of Adult Learners*, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1999), p. 21.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 20.

From the first use of the word mentor, we find a possible foundation of meaning for the concept of mentoring. From the story, we find that a mentor is an older, wiser adult who establishes an educational relationship with a younger person who is in transition. This transition is one in which the parent is no longer the dominant influence in the young person's life. The wisdom that is offered is other-worldly, coming from the adult world. The mentor is not in a paid role, but has this relationship from other motives. The mentoring is a relationship where there is support, love, guidance and protection. It is not a cold Spartan relationship, nor does this relationship ever hint of brutality which was an available model of child rearing. These foundational images of the myth of Mentor are played out in the lives of ancient Greece.

The ancient Greeks had a system for schools, yet Homer decided to create a role for Mentor outside of the school system.⁸⁷ Myth meets history; as we know in ancient Greece there were mentors outside the school systems of the day.⁸⁸ The role of a mentor was seen as an informal⁸⁹ type of education that ran independent of the schools. This independent education was initiated by a new level of rationalism introduced by the

⁸⁷ Plato described traditional Greek education as offering the nobility music, dance, and wrestling, among other things. Plato, *Laws book vii*, 793-823, in Paul Monroe, *A Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*. (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1906), p. 233.

⁸⁸ The word mentor is not commonly used in ancient relationships. In fact the flood of mentoring literature is much more recent. "Although mentors have always been around, in the years since Gail Sheely popularized the term (in *Passages*, 1976) mentors have become increasingly visible." Laurent A. Daloz, *Mentor: Guiding the Journey of Adult Learners*, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1999), p. 18. The ancient use of this type of relationship is usually called a master/disciple relationship. Many writers on mentoring equate the relationships of a master/disciple and a mentor/protégé. (Torrance, 1984, p. 1; Holly Carter, 1982, p.3; Lenvinson et al. 1978;)

⁸⁹ I am using the word "informal" to mean a relationship that is not paid for or formalized in a title of power over another person.

Sophists.⁹⁰ The Sophists would teach boys fifteen years of age until they were ready for full citizenship.⁹¹ The Sophists broke with the old system of the gymnastic exercise, routine military service, and training in political duties. Instead, the Sophists taught through discussion and theoretical instruction. Athens was a free city and people could come in and question the stories of the gods and old traditions through their discussions. To the older Greek population all this discussion was seen as training in idleness producing a nation of talkers, not doers.⁹²

We know most concerning the Sophists through the voice of Socrates, one of their most noted opponents. Socrates, like them however, also wanted to break from the old and practice a new way of education, but in some ways Socrates did not believe that the Sophists went far enough in breaking away. “It is because they do not go far enough in rejecting the old and do not attempt to set up a radically new society instead of preparing for a successful career in the present, that he [Socrates] condemns them as corrupt and incompletely formed philosophers.”⁹³ The Sophists claim great wisdom and would take on disciples for a cost. Both of these activities Socrates attacks. Though Socrates attacks the Sophists in many ways, he was considered a Sophist. Socrates taught outside the formal gymnasium, he had young disciples, he was rationalistic to even a greater extent than other Sophists. “The masses did not discriminate between the teachings of Socrates and that of the others, for in essentials Socrates was a Sophist, and so considered

⁹⁰ Robin Barrow, *Greek and Roman Education*, (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1977), p.52.

⁹¹ Paul Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*, (New York, NY: MacMillan Company, 1906), p. 62.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 62.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p. 63.

himself.”⁹⁴ The rest of the Sophists moved education from the gymnasium to individual paid attention keeping a teacher-pupil relationship. Socrates was the first to live a non-paid master/disciple relationship.

Rengstorf examines the concept of early Greek disciples in detail in an article on the word, *Mathatas*, the common Greek word for “disciple.”⁹⁵ There, Rengstorf explains that the word “disciple” literally means a person who directs his or her mind to something. However, in the word’s usage a disciple is more than a mere student. Being a disciple of a master involves a “personal relationship,”⁹⁶ an “inner fellowship,”⁹⁷ and “*mimesis*”⁹⁸ or imitation. “The basis of the relationship is Socrates himself rather than the knowledge at his disposal. He is the master around whom disciples gather.”⁹⁹ In this next section I will explore the changes that Socrates brought to Greek education, the master-disciple relationship, and in so doing shed some light on the beginnings of western mentoring relationships.

2. Socrates

“The first time master and disciple meet on the soil of Greek culture is when Socrates associates with his circle.”¹⁰⁰ Although the main aim of Socrates may not have

⁹⁴ Paul Monroe, *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*, (New York, NY: MacMillan Company, 1906), p. 61.

⁹⁵ R.A. Rengstorf, "Mathatas" *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by G Kittel vol 4 (Ann Arbor, MI: Eerdmans, 1967), p. 438. I am equating the terms, “master” and “disciple” with “mentor” and “protégé” respectively.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 416.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 417.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 418.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 420.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 419.

been to teach disciples, he did so nonetheless, and became the first master with disciples, according to Rengstorf. Within this new master/disciple relationship Socrates brought several innovations to ancient Greek education. Socrates moved the power structure of education from a formal classroom situation (in the case of the gymnasiums) and from a paid situation (in the case of the Sophists) to where students follow him of their own free will, giving Socrates influence in their lives because of who he is, and not because of any official position he held or any money given.

We have one example where Socrates does not accept money for his efforts and would not enter into an official teaching relationship. A father, Theages, desires his son to be trained for political life. Socrates is asked to instruct him, but Socrates tells them that he had not the skill nor knowledge required and would not accept an official student. The disciples of Socrates freely give the power of influence to their master without payment. The nature of this power relationship is described in the *Apology* 23c¹⁰¹; "Furthermore, the young men who follow me around of their own free will, those who have most leisure, the sons of the very rich, take pleasure in hearing people

¹⁰¹ I am aware of the "Socrates Problem" which asks the question, "which source portrays the historical Socrates?" Some say that the dialogues of Plato are corrupt because Plato was using Socrates as a mouthpiece for his own philosophy. Others say that Xenophon's apologetic purpose calls for some doubt in its historicity. This problem is beyond the scope of this thesis. I will take the view of Luis Navia who writes:

First, there is a conviction that a person is something that can be described and analyzed from one singular perspective, as if it were a simple entity, and second there is the belief that the portraits of Socrates which emerge from the primary sources are disparate representations that have little in common and that they stand in irremediable contradiction with one another. But thoughtful reflection reveals that neither one of these assumptions has much value.

Luis E. Navia, *Socratic Testimonies* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), p. 5. For the purposes of this thesis I will use both the writings of Plato and Xenophon who give us a cross section response to Socrates as a mentor as opposed to Aristophanes' caricature of Socrates while he was in his early forties.

questioned.”¹⁰² Socrates' relationship with his disciples is one in which he was definitely the leader, yet his power was not a power of title but a power given him by the disciples. Both the master and the disciples are searching; the master directs but is also in the act of discovery. Rengstorf described this power relationship of a master and a disciple as, “a materially grounded fellowship which arises under a goal which is certainly directed by an individual, but towards which all who participate are equally striving.”¹⁰³ The understanding of greater equality in power was continued in Socrates' disciple, Plato. Plato began an academy of philosophy of greater equality where “the director is the first among equals.”¹⁰⁴

Socrates became a model for the people who followed him, not merely an instructor at the gymnasium. The imitation (*mimesis*) of the master by the disciple was taking place. This fact is seen in the Apology 23c; “Furthermore, the young men who follow me. . . they themselves often imitate me and try to question others.”¹⁰⁵ In this way, Socrates modeled to his disciples his lifestyle of asking questions. Socrates lived a simple and moral lifestyle – living out the convictions which he spoke about. For example, Socrates fought bravely during the Peloponnesian War, yet when the Oligarchy of Thirty ordered Socrates to arrest one of their victims, he refused to take part in what he saw as injustice. Xenophon referred to the benefits of Socrates' modeling: “In my opinion he (Socrates) actually benefited his associates partly by practical example and partly by

¹⁰² Plato, *Apology* (23c). Trans G.M.A Grube, in Steven M. Cahn ed. *Classics of Western Philosophy*, (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. 1977), p. 45.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 420.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 420.

¹⁰⁵ Plato, *Apology* (23c). Trans G.M.A Grube, in Steven M. Cahn ed. *Classics of Western Philosophy*, (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Pub. 1977), p. 45.

his conversation."¹⁰⁶ Socrates opened himself up to be a model in various circumstances by allowing his disciples to spend whole days together. As Xenophon reported: "He (Socrates) used to spend the whole day in conversation with the members of his circle."¹⁰⁷ It was reported that during Socrates' final days, his disciples came early even when he was still asleep, in order to spend time with him.

Socrates moves education out of the physical activity of the gymnasium to one centering on the mind, as did the Sophists. Socrates moves rationalistically one more step forward by using questions as his teaching tools rather than the lecture. Therefore, Socrates shifts the pedagogy from monologue to dialogue. Dialogue prompted by questions was the meat of Socrates' "lessons." This happened to such a degree that even today we write of the "Socratic method" as one way of asking questions. Xenophon described the informality of Socrates' teaching style in this way: "He (Socrates) talked most of the time and anyone who liked could listen."¹⁰⁸ This first glimpse into an ancient Greek master-disciple relationship gives us an example of a relationship that was informal, with large sections of time spent where modeling took place filled with questions and dialogue.

The protégés¹⁰⁹ of the philosophers obviously learned much from their mentors as they dialogued together. However, the outcomes in the lives of the protégés were not

¹⁰⁶ Xenophon, *Memoirs of Socrates* (I, 3:1-3) trans. Hugh Tredennick (Bungay, G.B.: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. (I, 4:1-3) p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Xenophon, *The Memoirs of Socrates* (I, 1:1-3) Trans. Hugh Tredennick (Bungay, G.B.: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ Not only is the definition of mentoring fuzzy, but the student of a mentor is also given many names. The word protégé seems to be most often used, yet the words "disciple," "apprentice," "mentee" or "prodigy" are also used in the mentoring literature. I will attempt to use the word protégé; yet I recognize all the terms as similar for the purposes of this thesis.

predictable. Plato came under the influence of Socrates; yet Plato's early dialogues, which were pictures of Socrates' philosophy, were quite different from Plato's later dialogues, which contained more of his own thought.¹¹⁰ Aristotle came under the influence of Plato for two years, yet Aristotle's observations of the "real" differed from Plato's search for the "ideals." The protégés of the Greek philosophers did not turn into carbon copies of their mentors; each protégé had his own identity.

At his trial, Socrates was charged with influencing the young men of the city. It would be impossible to know if these were actually adolescents. A case might be built to demonstrate that these young men were of the age of modern adolescents.¹¹¹ Even though Socrates' example of mentoring was not with modern North American adolescents, could what he did be helpful in adolescent identity formation? I will be coming back to Socrates' example of the master/disciple relationship at the end of this chapter as I look for markers of mentoring that would be helpful in adolescent identity formation.

As either myth inventing reality or reality inventing myth, Homer produced "Mentor." This thread of an educational model came through Socrates in a fuller version of a master working with disciples. Among the many things that Socrates did in the ancient world was to give the next generations the picture of a master with disciples who willingly and freely followed, imitated and engaged in dialogue. Homer pictures Mentor in an educational relationship, with a person in transition, giving hidden wisdom, in a less formal relationship, giving less formalized curriculum which includes support, love,

¹¹⁰ Dion Scott-Kakures, Susan Castagnetto, Hugh Benson, William Tasshek and Paul Hurley, *History of Philosophy*, (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1993), p. 16.

¹¹¹ The Sophists took young men from the age of fifteen to citizenship on as students. Aristotle categorized "young men" as the time between childhood and adulthood sixteen to twenty-five. Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p. 78.

guidance and protection. Socrates as the master with disciples also had an educational relationship with young men in transition, giving wisdom in a less formal relationship than those in his environment. Socrates' curriculum was not formal but we do not see the support, love and guidance that we saw with Mentor. However, Socrates added two new pedagogical tools of imitation and dialogue to the master/disciple relationship.

3. Rabbis

The thread of mentoring travels east before it turns again to the west. The Jewish rabbis are a part of that thread of history as they brought a master/disciple role to the Middle-East.¹¹² The Jewish rabbis were teachers who were modeled after Greek philosophers and their disciples; "the Jewish form of this work (master/disciple) was strongly affected by Hellenism."¹¹³ Citizens of Jerusalem were starting to wear the hats of the Greek world and enjoying the gymnasium games. To fight this increased Hellenization of the ancient Jewish world, the Hebrews created schools, synagogues, and, borrowing the methods from the very system they were acting against, they built a mentoring system of rabbis and disciples to mirror the Greek master and disciple.

The schools were connected to the synagogues and employed rote memory, repetition with mnemonic devices (Ps. 62:12; Job 5:19; 33:14; Prov. 6:16; 30:15, 18,21,29) and acrostic alphabetic poems (Ps. 9-10; 34; 37;111; 112; 119; 145).¹¹⁴ The

¹¹² Kanter describes mentors as rabbis. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1977).

¹¹³ R.A. Rengstorf, "Mathathas" *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by G Kittel vol 4 (Ann Arbor, MI: Eerdmans, 1967), p. 438.

¹¹⁴ "The first mention of a school is found in Jerusalem in 180 B.C. (Sirach 51:23) and by A.D. 63-65 the schools were ordered in every province, by Joshua ben Gamla, high priest of the time." David Noel Freedman, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, (New York, NY Doubleday,

synagogues numbered 400 by 70 BC; they embodied the cultural life of the Jews of the diaspora and aided in their education.¹¹⁵ Most of these synagogues may have been in normal homes, yet they were very official in the eyes of the people of the time as the place to have the Torah read and interpreted.

In addition to these two official educational institutions and the official priests of the Jerusalem temple, there was an informal yet well recognized role for the rabbis to mentor disciples. Rabbis had an unbroken tradition of naming their mentors, stretching back several hundred years. The Greeks also named their master's lineage and so the Rabbis took their lead from the Greek master/disciple relationship. Although these men¹¹⁶ did not hold an official religious position (i.e., duties which only they could perform in the temple or the synagogue), they were held in high esteem by the people for their self-sacrifice and for their knowledge of the Torah. To become a disciple of a rabbi, a young person would travel to find a rabbi whom he respected. The rabbis did not usually pick their protégés. In the Babylonian Talmud, there is a story told about Hillel. When he was a young man, Hillel wanted to study the Torah under a specific rabbi. He traveled to the rabbi's city and sat by his window to listen to him teach. Hillel sat there all night listening and three cubits of snow accumulated on him. In the morning, the rabbi took him in and

1992), vol. 2, p.308. *The Talmud of Babylonia; An American Translation, XXIIA: Tractate Bab Bathra* Trans. by Jacob Neusner (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), section I,2:3,L.

¹¹⁵ Only three pre-70 synagogues in Judea have been found and Galilee, namely Masada, the Herodium and Gamla; however, the Palestinian Talmud reports 480 synagogues in this area and at this time. The answer to this discrepancy is that the synagogues may have been meeting places in normal homes.

James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism: New Light from Exciting Archaeological Discoveries* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1988), p. 109.

The Talmud of the Land of Israel: Megillah, trans, Jacob Neusner (Chicago, University Press, 1987), III,3:3D.

¹¹⁶ In the first century only men were allowed to be rabbis and so only men were allowed to be

considered him worthy to be cleaned on the Sabbath and to be one of his students.¹¹⁷ To study under a mentor was the only way to be recognized as a rabbi. The Talmud says, "Even if one has studied Scripture and repeated Mishnah-tradition, if he has not served as attendant upon a disciple of a sage, such a one is an ignoramus."¹¹⁸ The rabbis would spend whole days with their protégés modeling to them correct behaviour. In fact, if you wanted to ask about the behaviour of a certain rabbi, the proper action was to ask his protégés why the rabbi acted in a certain way. The protégé needed to experience the behaviour of his mentor in various settings for this to be a true rabbinical relationship.

The most frequent method of teaching was to listen and to question. The rabbi would sit and teach his students as they sat at his feet. He would then have a time of questioning.¹¹⁹ The teaching started as a lecture but ended as a dialogue. The questions would revolve around the text of the Torah and its interpretation. The rabbis did not take authority to themselves; only the Torah held the authority. All they could do would be to make comment on the text. The rabbis modeled appropriate behaviour, traveled, spoke to and questioned their disciples in this informal teaching relationship.

A significant marker in the mentoring relationships of the Jewish rabbis was the expectation to continue the relationship. The disciple was expected to become a mentor some day. However, the tradition was always growing, so each generation of rabbis

their protégés.

¹¹⁷ *Babylonian Talmud, Yoma* in *The Talmud: Selected Writings* Trans. by Ben Zion Bokser (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1989), section 35B.

¹¹⁸ *The Talmud of Babylonia an American Translation I: Tractate Berakhot* trans. by Jacob Neusner (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), section 47B.

¹¹⁹ There were eight recognized methods for rabbis to question their protégés. Vernon Robbins, *Jesus the Teacher: A Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation of Mark*, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984).

would add to the tradition's unique interpretations of the Torah. Lecture and dialogue were both parts of the educational tools of the rabbis.

One young rabbi continues the thread of mentoring coming west. In the first century there was a young rabbi whose practice of master/disciple would provide one of the major influences that his followers would spread throughout western culture. This rabbi's name was Jesus.

4. Jesus

Jesus' contemporaries saw him as a rabbi.¹²⁰ Jesus, who taught through the methods of teaching that the rabbis used, had a group of disciples who sat at his feet to learn. Jesus' followers were called his disciples and were often questioned to defend their mentor's actions.¹²¹ The differences between Jesus and the rabbis of his day were that Jesus accepted women as disciples; he chose his closest disciples; any who followed did not have to prove their worth; Jesus traveled without requiring payment from his disciples.

Jesus taught his protégés by spending time with them, modeling his behaviour in a whole-life manner. There were times when he engaged in lecturing, as most likely several lectures were put together to form what we now know as the "Sermon on the Mount."¹²² Yet most of the instruction, as recorded in the Gospels, was taught within a small group format of Jesus' disciples in a non-lecture style. Jesus often questioned his disciples, such

¹²⁰ Matthew 26:25, 49; Mark 9:5; 10:51; 11:21; John 1:38, 39; 3:2; 4:31; 6:25; 9:2; 11:8

¹²¹ For example Matthew 17:24-25

¹²² Matthew chapters 5, 6 and 7.

as the famous question to Peter; "Who do people say I am?"¹²³ Dialogue seemed to be the norm over and against what we would call an official classroom atmosphere. He used parables, most of which were pointed at the religious establishment who were listening in with his disciples. Jesus used object lessons. Instead of sitting his disciples down for a lecture, Jesus brought a child by the hand and stood him or her in the middle of his disciples. Then he talked about who should be greatest in the Kingdom using the example of the child in front of them.¹²⁴ Jesus exposed his disciples to learning situations like the woman caught in adultery.¹²⁵ He taught his disciples about judging others, allowing his disciples to see how he treated a condemned person.

Larry Richards summarizes what needs to happen for modeling to be optimized. Richards lists the following characteristics: spending time with the mentor; having an emotional attachment to the mentor; seeing the mentor in a variety of learning situations; having the mentor display a consistency of behaviour, and having values which the mentor shares allowing his/her inner states to be revealed (vulnerability).¹²⁶ These qualities can all be seen in the writings surrounding Jesus' life. Jesus lived with his disciples for three years (spending time), speaking of the love that was needed among the disciples and demonstrating his love for them (emotional attachment). Most of Jesus' disciples had a close relationship with him, enjoying a high degree of emotional attachment. It was recorded that Jesus demonstrated his vulnerability by sharing his inner dreams and bringing his disciples with him as he cried in the garden of Gesthsemane. If

¹²³ Matt. 16:13

¹²⁴ Matthew 18:1-9

¹²⁵ John 8:1-10

¹²⁶ Larry Richards, *A Theology of Christian Education*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1975), pp. 84-85.

the traditions are considered to be accurate, it seems as if most of Jesus' disciples went to their death defending their master. Jesus traveled with his disciples and exposed them to arguments with the religious establishment; they ate meals with the outcasts and engaged in problem solving by feeding the onlookers (varied situations). Modeled behaviour was a part of the educational plan of Jesus. The call to “follow me” had the double meaning of walking with him and also of taking on some of his behaviours. John recorded Jesus overtly claiming that his lifestyle was “the way.”¹²⁷ Jesus’ demonstrable behaviour was just as much a part of his instruction as any cognitive input he gave. After Jesus' death, his followers were known as people of “The Way” some time before the word “Christian” came into use at Antioch.¹²⁸

The markers which characterized the mentoring relationship that Jesus had with his disciples can be seen in a strong relationship in which modeling, dialogue, lecture and the expectation for building other mentoring relationships after he was gone took place. His power as a leader was not through an official synagogue or temple position; some could argue he had expert power; yet, he most certainly held a power given to him by his followers, a power of influence because of who he was.

Mentor and Socrates show us mentoring as an educational relationship, with people in transition, giving hidden wisdom, in a less formal relationship, offering a less formalized curriculum which included support, love, guidance and protection with a pedagogy of imitation and dialogue within the master/disciple relationship. Jesus also had an educational relationship with his disciples, men and women who could possibly be

¹²⁷ John 14:16

¹²⁸ Acts 9:2; 19:9; 19:23; 24:14; 24:22

thought of as people in transition (traveling without a home).¹²⁹ Jesus certainly claimed hidden wisdom (from the Father) and had a relationship that carried no official titles. Jesus used dialogue, and he excelled in the area of imitation (actually asking for it, as shown in the command, “follow me”). He offered less formalized curriculum of support, love, and guidance. Some of Socrates’ disciples continued in his tradition of being a master with a group of disciples, but it was not an expected part of the master/disciple relationship. Perhaps in the school of thought of the rabbis, Jesus added this aspect to his master disciple/relationship – the expectation to take on disciples of their own.¹³⁰

It would be interesting to know the age of Jesus’ disciples. My guess would be that some were adolescents, people who were able to travel before the beginnings of family commitments. However, the writings surrounding the life of Jesus do not claim a focus on adolescents. Even though there is not a stated emphasis as such, some aspects of Jesus’ mentoring could be seen as helpful in forming identities in adolescents. The most prominent marker would be the modeling that was taking place. This will be examined in more detail at the end of this chapter as I gather the markers of a mentoring relationship that helps in the identity formation of adolescents.

5. The Followers of Jesus

In the tradition of their master, the Christian community continued to produce disciples of their leaders. The thread of a master/disciple relationship continued west.

¹²⁹ It is fascinating to follow the similarities between Jesus and Socrates from their disciples and belief in ideals, to their both willingly going to their public executions for things they were falsely accused of.

¹³⁰ Matt. 28:19ff.

Paul had Timothy, Titus, and Silas, just to mention a few, who were seen as Paul's disciples. Some of the early church fathers were known as disciples of Jesus' disciples. Ignatius of Antioch was said to have been a disciple of Jesus' disciple, Peter. Polycarp of Smyrna was said to have been a disciple of the disciple John.¹³¹

Mentoring relationships continued beyond the life of Jesus into the Middle Ages throughout Europe. Having a group of disciples in an informal mentoring relationship, as Jesus did, became a model of mentoring for some medieval Christians. For example, Francis of Assisi used Jesus' example to gather protégés around himself. As Francis wrote, "The Lord gave me brothers . . . the Most High Himself revealed to me that I should live according to the form of the Holy Gospel."¹³² A relationship of a master and disciple was given legitimacy in Francis' mind by the example of Jesus and his disciples. Francis and others like him influenced the whole monastic movement where senior monks would mentor junior monks. The monastic movement influenced the university movement, where advanced teachers were "mentors" to a number of students. The example of a master or mentor who gathered followers was carried through the Middle Ages.

6. Darwin

The thread of a mentoring relationship carries down from the monasteries through the university tradition. The Enlightenment produced mentoring relationships and as great minds discovered the known world, they looked back to those who mentored them.

¹³¹ Maxwell Staniford, *Early Christian Writings*, (Harmondsworth, EN: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 63 and p. 136.

¹³² Francis of Assisi, *The Testament*, 14, in *Francis and Clare: The Complete Works*, trans. by

The markers of mentoring were different in every case; nevertheless, there are some similarities in pattern. As Torrance sums it all up, "For centuries it has been said that almost always, wherever independence and creativity flourish and persist and important creative achievements occur, [sic] there is some other person who plays the role of mentor, sponsor, patron or guru."¹³³ There is a body of research that looks at the importance of mentors in the lives of notable and creative people.¹³⁴ Darwin was one such person who had his mentorship followed as expressed in a paper by Ann McGreevy.¹³⁵

During his adolescence Darwin had a teacher, Henslow, who encouraged and strengthened him and became his mentor. By Darwin's own estimation, he considered being mentored by Henslow "of inestimable benefit" and felt it had influenced his career more than any other circumstance.¹³⁶ Although it is not recognized in McGreevy's paper, Darwin's life provides an example of a mentoring relationship that started during Darwin's adolescence. When Darwin was sixteen he had begun the study of medicine, but the performance of watching any surgery made him ill. Darwin then switched to Cambridge and the Divinity College. While Darwin was eighteen and in the throes of understanding who he was, pastor or doctor, he met Henslow. The overt goal of the

Regis J. Armstrong and Ignatius Brady, (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 1982), p.17.

¹³³ E. P. Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How They Aid Creative Achievement, Endure, Change, and Die*. (Buffalo, NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p. 1.

¹³⁴ V. Goertzel & M. Goertzel, *Cradles of Eminence*, (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1962).
M. Goertzel, V. Goertzel & T. Goertzel 300 Eminent Personalities, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1978).

A. Roe, *Making of a Scientist* New York, NY: Dodd, Mead, 1953.

¹³⁵ Ann McGreevy, "Darwin and Teacher: An Analysis of the Mentorship Between Charles Darwin and Professor John Henslow," *Gifted Child Quarterly*, vol 34, no. 1, (winter 1990).

¹³⁶ Darwin, F. *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin and Selected Letters*, (New York, NY: Dover), p22.

relationship may have been the study of ecology, but, according to biographer Barlow, Henslow helped Darwin “to attain that faith in his aims and in himself which his boyhood at Shrewsbury had failed to provide.”¹³⁷ Darwin’s new faith in himself and new faith in his aims helped form his adolescent identity.

The relationship, which started as a student/teacher relationship, deepened through informal contact. When Henslow spent time with Darwin outside of class after school was finished, he opened himself to be a mentor who operates with informal power. Darwin attended all Henslow’s impromptu discussions after class and would spend long hours walking and talking with him. Two-way dialogue was encouraged in these settings. Darwin became known as the “man who walks with Henslow.”¹³⁸ Henslow recommended Darwin to be the naturalist on board the *Beagle*. After school had been completed, Henslow encouraged their relationship by sending letters while Darwin was on the *Beagle*.

The emotional connection can be seen in one of Darwin’s letters to his mentor, Henslow: “When I am seasick and miserable, it is one of my highest consolations to picture the future, when we shall again be pacing the roads around Cambridge.”¹³⁹ Henslow sent Darwin shipments of books as further stimulus to his thoughts. He gave Darwin practical suggestions for a choice of a career; for example, he encouraged Darwin to join the Geological Society. The two shared common interests and spent a good deal of

¹³⁷ Barlow, N. *Darwin and Henslow: the growth of an idea - letters 1831 - 1961*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), as quoted in McGreevy, 1990, p. 7.

¹³⁸ Irvine, *Apes, Angles, and Victorians: Darwin, Huxley and Evolution*, (New York, NY:McGraw-Hill), p. 45.

¹³⁹ C. Darwin, in Barlow, N. *Darwin and Henslow: the growth of an idea - letters 1831 - 1961*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967). as quoted in McGreevy, 1990, p. 7.

time together in "unhurried interaction." Whole-life modeling was taking place, as Henslow loved to observe nature and to take field excursions with Darwin. Darwin noted that this behaviour was unique among the professors at that time. There was a relationship in which the protégé, Darwin, was the genius, yet he still learned from Henslow. The values of observation of nature and the accompanying patterns of thought had much of their origin in Henslow, but Darwin took the observation and the thought-patterns a step further. Even though Darwin outgrew his mentor, Darwin always saw Henslow as one who was his guide, as one who had gone on before him. Although the relationship was formal at first, as a teacher to a student, it developed into something different as the informal mentoring relationship continued throughout a lifetime. As McGreevy wrote, "In the case of Darwin it was his informal contact with Henslow and some fellow students that was the most important part of his education."¹⁴⁰

The previous historic examples of mentoring, found in Mentor, Socrates and Jesus bore some similar traits within their relationships. They demonstrated that mentoring can be regarded as an educational relationship, with people in transition, giving hidden wisdom, in a less formal setting, while adopting a less formalized curriculum of support, love, guidance and protection. A pedagogy of imitation and dialogue was key to the master disciple relationship. Darwin likewise was certainly a person in transition, experiencing an educational relationship with Henslow, one in which he imitated Henslow. Henslow gave love, support, guidance and protection and used dialogue in his

¹⁴⁰ Ann McGreevy, "Darwin and Teacher: An Analysis of the Mentorship Between Charles Darwin and Professor John Henslow," *Gifted Child Quarterly*, vol 34, no. 1, (winter 1990), p. 8.

teaching of Darwin. These markers will be discussed at the end of the chapter as I gather the markers of a mentoring relationship that is helpful in adolescent identity formation.

Modern Mentoring Literature

There are thousands of modern books and articles on mentoring. “The topic of mentoring is one of the fastest growing aspects of literature today.”¹⁴¹ It would be impossible to review every article ever written on the subject. To narrow down the field, I am using articles, books and authors which have been often quoted in other mentoring works. I have decided to group types of the mentoring literature together, realizing that assumptions of the various types of mentoring will affect their definitions. For example, the field of literature of women mentoring women has a world-view attached to it that separates it from business mentoring literature. I will observe if there is a body of literature concerning mentoring adolescents, particularly with the goal of identity formation. Once I have identified the forest of mentoring I will start to look for the grove concerning the mentoring of adolescents. I will begin the review of literature with a quantitative study and then move to the qualitative studies. The examination of the qualitative studies will begin with those areas of mentoring in which the aims are most removed from the needs of adolescents and move increasingly closer to the studies which include adolescents, and psychological change.

¹⁴¹ Pegine Echevarria, “For All Our Daughters: How Mentoring Helps Young Women and Girls Master the Art of Growing Up,” 1998, ED 426 799, p.5.

1. Torrance's Quantitative Mentoring Research

In the mid-eighties, Torrance compiled an often-quoted book of quantitative research on mentoring which was a part of a larger longitudinal study on creativity. Over a period of 22 years, Torrance gave a battery of creativity tests beginning with grades one through six in two Minnesota elementary schools. Longitudinal data was gathered from children 220 (118 girls and 102 boys). Some of the questions posed in the study when these children had attained adulthood concerned mentoring. The first question was, "Have you ever had a mentor, an older person in your occupational field or educational experience who 'took you under his/her wing?'"¹⁴² Torrance gives mentoring an implicit definition that includes wisdom given by the mentor and a nurturing relationship. Torrance's definition of a mentor is broad and it is based more on self-perceptions of mentoring relationships rather than on a fixed definition. The data may include some people who were friends, counselors or coaches, who partially fulfil the role of mentor but not in the fullest sense of the word. Even though Torrance's work presents this problem concerning breadth of definition, the study is useful because it points to some generally broad perceptions of what people think mentoring is.

Torrance found that a presence of the mentor correlated to high creativity. As a part of the longitudinal study, Torrance gave his creativity test. The most creative children, according to the test, had a mentor relationship at some time in their lives. "Thus, the presence or absence of a mentor makes a difference that cannot be explained by chance."¹⁴³ Whether creative people agree to work with mentors or mentors stimulate

¹⁴² E. Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they aid creative achievement, endure, change and die*, (Buffalo NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p.4.

¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 5. (the r criterion of creative achievement was .34 – p<.001)

creativity is still an unknown. Torrance interprets the data by quoting several respondents who seemed lost for direction who did not have a mentor. He believes that mentors would have helped these students have more self-confidence and direction earlier in life. He puts it strongly by saying, “many highly creative study participants suffered a great deal and were retarded in their development by delays in getting a mentor.”¹⁴⁴

Torrance finds that people with mentors complete more education than people without mentors. Torrance’s explanation for the differences in education stems from some of the written responses. He writes: “mentors seem to be able to help such disillusioned students either find alternative programs or to develop a satisfactory program within the existing framework.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, mentors help guide students.

Torrance observes the relational aspects of mentoring by asking the participants: “What are the most important functions that mentors performed?” The most frequent activities they describe “as important” are, “encouraging, praising, and prodding.”¹⁴⁶ The mentor as role-model is also a frequently recognized phenomenon.¹⁴⁷ Torrance also comments on the depth of emotional bonds between mentor and protégé; “the relationship is generally seen as a deeper and more caring one than coach and sponsor relationships.”¹⁴⁸ The study also focuses on whether the protégés thought they had adopted some of their mentor’s characteristics. Eighty-four percent report that they felt that they had picked up one or more characteristics from their mentors. This study

¹⁴⁴ E. Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they aid creative achievement, endure, change and die*, (Buffalo NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 21.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 8.

confirms that mentors function as role-models.

Next, Torrance asks whether or not mentoring relationships are temporary. The study reports that eighty-seven percent of the protégés still had “positive” or “very positive” feelings toward their mentors. This fact dispels the myth that after being mentored the protégés feel badly toward their mentors. Many of the relationships had continued over many years, despite factors of mobility rates. Fifty-two percent of the relationships were still continuing although the relationships had changed.¹⁴⁹ As one respondent wrote: “I no longer feel any need for her approval – though her approval still feels good.”¹⁵⁰ Torrance found that if either the mentor or the protégé fail to grow, the relationship is likely to turn sour and ultimately die. The relationships which grew and changed turned into either “colleague” or “friend” relationships. Some mentoring relationships had changed into a relationship of competition, and this was particularly true when the protégé became more successful than the mentor in career moves.

As a follow-up, Torrance observed how some of the mentoring relationships died. The most frequently offered reason for terminating the relationship was geographical distance.¹⁵¹ People simply moved away and the relationship was not continued. Another reason why mentoring relationships died concerned the abuse of power. If the mentor held power over the protégé, as does an employer, supervisor or professor, the mentoring relationship was at risk of dying. This was particularly true if the mentors used their power over their protégé.¹⁵² Still another reason for the death of some mentoring

¹⁴⁹ E. Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they aid creative achievement, endure, change and die*, (Buffalo NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p. 14.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 23.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 35.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 29.

relationships, concerned the pace of the mentoring – it was either too slow or too fast, or the protégé was asked to make sacrifices to his/her personal integrity. Racial and gender barriers were also mentioned.

In his final chapter, Torrance gives some practical advice to mentors. He notes that neither party knows exactly where the process of mentoring might go, and so there needs to be a willingness to let "one thing lead to another." Trust and deep levels of caring need to be found in all mentoring relationships and a hope that it could last a lifetime or change into some other kind of meaningful relationship.¹⁵³ Mentoring program organizers should be aware of some of the common obstacles to growth. These obstacles might include: the intimidating nature of the relationship; setting too fast or too slow a pace; gender and racial barriers; and feelings of hurt, mistreatment or rejection by either party.¹⁵⁴ Torrance suggests to mentors to be unafraid of falling in love with some idea, skill, belief, cause or activity passionately so that they can pass it on with motivation and intensity; know, understand, take pride in and enjoy the protégé's abilities; grant freedom to their protégés, freely encouraging their greatest strengths.¹⁵⁵

Torrance's findings bear some similarities to the historical pictures of mentoring. The outlined historic picture of mentoring describes mentoring as an educational relationship, with people in transition, giving hidden wisdom, in an informal setting. The curriculum would not be formalized, but it would include support, love, guidance and protection along with a pedagogy of imitation and exchanged dialogue within the

¹⁵³ E. Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they aid creative achievement, endure, change and die*, (Buffalo NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p. 54.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 55.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 56-57.

master/disciple relationship. Torrance limited his definition to an informal education relationship in which the protégés were “being taken under their [the mentors’] wing.”¹⁵⁶ He discovers that the curriculum of mentoring does not consist of formalized lessons, but of encouraging, praising, and prodding. His work brings out the affective aspects of the mentoring relationship. The close relationship between mentor and protégé embodied positive relational feelings that continued even after the relationship changed. Torrance’s work also points to the imitation or modeling that was taking place, as seen by the fact that most protégés had imitated some aspect of their mentor’s life. Torrance also provided some additional aspects to the discussion of mentoring. He pointed out the dynamic aspects of the relationship. He understood that mentoring relationships grow, change and die or change into some other kind of relationship.

2. Qualitative Studies on Mentoring

Now I will discuss the various types of mentoring literature to gain an overview of mentoring definitions and to observe the markers various writers use to describe the process. Embedded in many of these research papers is an assumption that the definition of mentoring is monolithic. For example, much of the literature on mentoring the gifted child offers a definition as if it applied to all kinds of mentoring. This generalizing approach is part of the problem for creating a concept of mentoring adolescents. I will treat the various types of mentoring literature as bringing their own unique flavor to the concept of mentoring. I will start with the mentoring literature that is conceptually farthest away from mentoring adolescents toward the purpose of aiding identity

¹⁵⁶ E. Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they aid creative achievement, endure,*

formation. I will move from the literature that envisages mentoring as external, skill-based nurturing toward the literature that regards mentoring as more internal-development nurturing. The review will move from literature that places adults as the protégés toward that literature which regards adolescents as the protégés.

As I examine the mentoring literature, I will be sifting out the markers of a mentoring relationship within each type of mentoring. Also with each type examined I will begin to note the applicability of the various markers to adolescent mentoring. At the end of this chapter I will gather the markers of general mentoring and discuss the use of each marker to mentoring adolescents in greater detail.

f. Mentoring in Business

The business world has taken mentoring as its own concept when it looks to train junior executives in skills and help them move up the corporate ladder. As one article in the *Harvard Business Review* is titled, "Everyone Who Makes It Has a Mentor."¹⁵⁷ It would be beyond the scope of this chapter to attempt a full review of the business literature concerning mentoring. Business mentoring is not only different in the people it targets - adults versus adolescents - but the focus on mentoring in business literature is quite far removed from an internal wellness goal such as is found in identity formation. The aim of business mentoring relationships is to make skilled business people. Zey

change and die, (Buffalo NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p.4.

¹⁵⁷ Eliza G. C. Collins ed. "Everyone Who Makes It Has a Mentor: Interviews with F. J. Lunding, G.L. Clements, and D.S. Perkins," *Harvard Business Review*, (July - August 1978), pp. 89 -101.

describes a mentor as "a person who oversees the career and development of another person, usually a junior."¹⁵⁸ Older businesspersons take younger executives under their wing and help their careers along. Usually in the business world, lines of position and power are clearly outlined. The higher employee takes care of the lower. Mentors show their protégés the ropes, help them in their career moves and absorb some of the negative comments that may come their way. Anderson and Shannon describes traditional business mentors as "An older authority figure who, . . . permit their protégés to move up the organizational ladder on their coattails."¹⁵⁹ This activity may produce emotional wellness in the protégé. It may even promote developmental health, particularly if the businessperson is growing in Erikson's stage of generativity. However, these internal benefits are only ancillary to the central goal of a measurable climb up the business ladder. Such goals could be stated as "earning more money at a younger age," and "following career plans."¹⁶⁰

The goals of establishing business contacts and gaining places of power are also seen as defining goals for business mentoring relationships.¹⁶¹ These goals of earning more, following career paths and of establishing business contacts could be achieved apart from psychological wellness. One can be learning the techniques of selling or skills of working the crowd without being changed in the inner person. Schemas of thought are

¹⁵⁸ M. C. Zey, *The Mentor Connection*, (Homewood, IL: Dow Jones-Irving, 1984), p. 7.

¹⁵⁹ Eugene M. Anderson and Anne Lucasse Shannon, "Toward a Conceptualization of Mentoring," *Journal of Teacher Education*, (January- February, 1988), pp. 38-42, p. 39.

¹⁶⁰ Roche was in charge of a firm, which studied business-mentoring relationships and reported the above two outcomes were important in business mentoring. Gerald Roche, "Probing Opinions," *Harvard Business Review*, (January February 1979), pp. 14-28.

¹⁶¹ A. Sheele, "Second-Stage Mentoring" *Working Women*, Vol. 17 (Oct. 1992), pp. 32 - 35.

not necessarily changed by the addition of new skills. The goal of identity formation in adolescents has much more to do with psychological wellness.

Because the goal of the business mentoring relationship is the farthest removed from the purposes of this thesis, I will only briefly outline some of the mentoring markers belonging to this type of mentoring. In the article, "Everyone Who Makes It Has a Mentor," two top executives were interviewed as to what they did with their protégés.¹⁶² They both spoke of letting their protégés fail, calling them in later and reviewing their failures. The dialogue seemed heavy with positional authority, yet there was a chance for the protégé to reflect on his experience and hopefully "not make the same mistake twice." There was also mention of the passing on of the corporate philosophy. Mission statements and vision statements were better understood and accepted by the protégés as they heard the heartbeat of the ones ahead of them – those immersed in the corporate culture. The passing on of a philosophy and dialogue will be developed in other types of mentoring.

g. Mentoring teachers

The profession of teaching has also taken advantage of the mentoring process for use in the training of teachers. Geneva Gay observed that, "For the most part, we know that teachers teach as they have been taught."¹⁶³ Any type of mentoring that includes modeling from older teachers who have experienced past success has been regarded as a

¹⁶² Eliza G. C. Collins ed. "Everyone Who Makes It Has a Mentor: Interviews with F. J. Lunding, G.L. Clements, and D.S. Perkins," *Harvard Business Review*, (July - August 1978), pp. 89 -101

¹⁶³ Geneva Gay, "Modeling and Mentoring in Urban Teacher Preparation," *Education and Urban Society*, vol. 28, no. 1, (November 1995), pp. 103 – 118, p. 103.

plausible way to improve teachers' skills in teaching. An experienced teacher can be the embodiment of the theoretical principles young teachers have learned at school.

Geneva Gay writes concerning urban teacher preparation through mentoring which goes beyond skills training.¹⁶⁴ Gay suggests that mentoring could be broken down into two large ideas: "mentors are" and "mentors do." Mentors "who are" suggest that they are emotionally/mentally healthy and self-confident people. Mentoring flows out of a healthy person, someone who is perceived as worth imitating. A healthy person has enough emotional strength to care about others' needs. A healthy person includes, for the author, qualities of cultural consciousness and positive ethnic identity; personal responsibility and integrity; the facility to take considered action; the ability to manage others' racial and ethnic perceptions¹⁶⁵; the ability to pioneer and trail blaze; self-reliance and self-acceptance; spirituality; and the ability to give back. A mentoring teacher is also one who can "do" the job of teaching in a cross-cultural setting. Any teaching situation can be considered to be cross-cultural, as there are greater and lesser degrees of sameness of culture between teacher and student. The teacher in an urban disadvantaged setting usually has even more cultural barriers. Gay notes that the more the teacher understands her own cultural identity, the more she can model the processes of self-acceptance and cultural consciousness to the students. Gay emphasizes that the older teacher who is mentoring the younger must model this type of maturity in order to pass on the sensitivity toward cultural differences to the students.

¹⁶⁴ Geneva Gay, "Modeling and Mentoring in Urban Teacher Preparation," *Education and Urban Society*, vol. 28, no. 1, (November 1995), pp. 103-118.

¹⁶⁵ The ability to manage other's ethnic perceptions sounds heavy-handed. Gay describes it as not allowing your students to believe the racial stereo-types that are in the inner city environment, partially through dialogue, realizing it is a part of their world, and partly through

Gay notes “that good teaching involves two distinct yet complementary clusters of skills. One is technical and the other is personal.”¹⁶⁶ These skills bring teachers mentoring teachers closer to adolescent mentoring than does the business model. Skills in classroom management can be picked up in a relationship but that is only half the teaching story. The other half is the personal/caring skills. The power relationship in teaching is more complicated than is the business model. The power leverages of pay and promotions are added to by the need to model relational power with the students. Teachers need to learn how to motivate learning from external to internal loci of control within students. To facilitate this learning, Gay argues that the teacher/mentor needs to have wisdom and psychological health to model to the learning teacher.

Brent Kilbourn and Geoffrey Roberts wrote a case study report, *May's First Year: Conversations with a Mentor*, concerning the mentoring of a first year teacher with the aim of contributing meaningful conversations about teaching.¹⁶⁷ Although the aim is broad, the title of the paper notes it is also an example of a teacher mentoring a teacher. May's first year of teaching was not a positive experience on the surface, yet after a time away in a new setting, both the mentor and the protégé saw their experience as helpful. Steve, May's mentor, team-taught some of her classes with her. Together, they then reflected on how he taught and how he faced some of the same pedagogical hurdles she faced. Mimicking was not the goal of the mentoring relationship, but Steve's example provided a catalyst for discussing some larger issues that arise in the course of teaching.

modeling treating people different than the racial myths allow.

¹⁶⁶ Geneva Gay, "Modeling and Mentoring in Urban Teacher Preparation," *Education and Urban Society*, vol. 28, no. 1, (November 1995), pp. 103-118, p. 104.

¹⁶⁷ Brent Kilbourn and Geoffrey Roberts, "May's First Year: Conversations with a Mentor," *Teacher College Record*, vol. 93, no. 2, (winter 1991), pp. 252 - 264.

May saw Steve's confidence and classroom management style and that brought to the surface her own need to establish confidence and to come to grips with the difference between an authority figure and being authoritarian. The case study portrays a wonderful mix of modeling and dialogue. The modeling was not mere imitation, but it did bring to light the need to change, and for May to find her own way (i.e. the problems were not just the students' fault). The modeling was the stimulus for the follow-up dialogue, where the two discussed the different teaching styles they each possess. The modeling/dialogue that took place in this relationship was powerful; it is reported that May "could almost recite some of their conversations"¹⁶⁸ after several months away from her first year's teaching experience. What also marked this mentoring relationship was the wisdom of the mentor who was "becoming skillful with knowing when to listen, when to accept, when to observe, when to praise, when to intervene, when to analyze, and, yes, when to confront."¹⁶⁹ Steve, May's mentor, had suggested that May transcribe her classes and examine how she interacted with the students. The times they had together were filled with "questions," "observations," and times for "listening." The use of dialogue, modeling and wisdom shared are all key aspects of their mentoring relationship.

Holly Carter examines how women are faring at receiving mentors in academia. She notes that the number of full professors who are women is in decline at the time of writing her paper. Carter observes: "a mentor relationship is not merely desirable, it is absolutely necessary (to become a full professor)."¹⁷⁰ In her description of a healthy

¹⁶⁸ Brent Kilbourn and Geoffrey Roberts, "May's First Year: Conversations with a Mentor," *Teacher College Record*, vol. 93, no. 2, (winter 1991), pp. 252 – 264, p. 256.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 257.

¹⁷⁰ Holly Carter, "Making It in Academia: Gurus Can Get You There?" ERIC ED235 758, 1982, p. 2.

mentoring relationship, Carter uses words like “mutual,” and “symbiotic” to describe a healthy power relationship. She notes the power relationship in mentoring is crucial to understand, as the structures of the academic environment often set up barriers to groups of people.

Mentoring teachers in some ways starts to move mentoring away from the mere acquisition of skills and toward some type of internal change. Part of the mentoring process is for teachers to grow in their identity as teachers, yet the acquisition of teaching skills still seems to be a central aspect within these relationships. This type of mentoring largely consists of dialogue and modeling. The modeling is not so much based on the emotional closeness of the individuals as it is on the degree of emotional health, self-confidence and skills of the mentor. The dialogue is shaped around the observation of teaching and interaction habits. The relationship is not based on the distinction of pay, but there was some position and expert power exercised within the relationship as the mentor has some official power of evaluation over the protégé. This type of mentoring differs from mentoring adolescents because the exercise of power of position and power of evaluation could stand in the way of adolescents opening themselves up to adults. However, teachers mentoring teachers is a form that contains markers of mentoring similar to the historic mentoring examples, that is, dialogue, modeling, and the imparting of wisdom.

h. Mentoring Women

Women mentoring women comes closer to the goals of adults mentoring adolescents. Although age and developmental plateaus may not be mentioned, women’s

literature is concerned with inner transformation rather than with the goals of occupational advancement or skill training. The women's literature also emphasizes the importance of relationships, which is also a key factor with adolescent culture.

The unique place that women mentoring women holds has been studied by Natalie Eldridge, who gave a paper summarizing the key aspects of Stone Center theory.¹⁷¹ The Stone Center focuses on women's studies and tries to understand "self-in-relation" rather than the idea of a "separate self." With that backdrop, mentoring takes on an important place for the development of women. Eldridge discovered three markers from "self-in-relation" theory for building mentoring relationships. The first marker is that of "mutuality." Two people enter a mentoring relationship for the development of something greater than the individual self, that is, the relationship itself. Mutual connection is necessary for this type of mentoring to take place and succeed. The relationship is not just a means to an end, for it becomes important in and of itself. The second marker of mentoring which Eldridge lists is "empowerment." Many relationships have a "power-over" other people, but a mentoring relationship must have a "power-with" model. The power mutually given to each other is a gift of influence where one person does not have the "control" but shares in an equality of relationship. The third marker of a mentoring relationship is "authenticity." This quality is described as "being whole, or wholly oneself, in relation to another person."¹⁷² There is a vulnerability, and a being real with each other, not having to look beyond a mask which constitutes authenticity in mentoring.

¹⁷¹ Natalie S. Eldridge, "Mentoring From a Self-In-Relation Perspective," *Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association*, 1990, pp. 1 - 12.

¹⁷² Natalie S. Eldridge, "Mentoring From a Self-In-Relation Perspective," *Annual Convention*

Janet Schaller discusses women mentoring women within a religious setting that includes a central mentoring marker of transformation: "Although the mentor is not immune to change, the transformation of the protégé is the most significant outcome of this relationship."¹⁷³ Schaller makes the point that if change, in terms of increased understanding of self, does not occur within a relationship, it is not a mentoring relationship. Some of the women's literature thus has an internal transformation focus to it. This aim is also central in an adolescent mentoring relationship – internal transformation that leads toward identity formation. Schaller's article demonstrates the possibility of deeper transformation when it is aided by a mentoring relationship. Schaller lists several key ingredients that belong to successful mentoring - encouragement, support, affirmation and friendship. These adjectives demonstrate a "power-with" relationship. She notes that these actions aid protégés in "finding their true identity." Identity formation, therefore, is a possible goal of a mentoring relationship according to Schaller.

The subject of women mentoring women with its relational, authentic, "power-with" and identity emphases sounds surprisingly similar to what one would look for in a mentoring relationship with adolescents. As mentioned previously, identity is a life pursuit that has its best time of focus during adolescence. Therefore, women mentoring women can lead to a clarification of identity, but identity formation is particularly crucial during adolescence. The literature indicates that relationships are central in both women's and adolescents' development.

of the American Psychological Association, 1990, pp. 1 - 12, p. 4.

¹⁷³ Schaller, Janet Schaller. "Mentoring of Woman: Transformation in Adult Religious Education" *Religious Education*. vol. 91, no. 2, (Spring 1996), p. 170.

It is refreshing to see mentoring described primarily as a relationship and not just as a means to a skill-set end. The idea of mutuality, in which the relationship is more than the sum of two people, is also embraced by adolescents. A “power-with” model in mentoring relationship also fits well with adolescents. As they move away from dependence and childhood, many North American adolescents reject any sense of “power-over” model of relationship. This fact partially explains why some adolescents break away from people with positional authority, for they do not want to be treated as children. A “power-with” model versus a “power-over” model is one good way to describe the relationship with adolescent mentoring. This issue will be revisited later in the thesis, as power is a central aspect of all relationships between two or more people.

Eldridge’s use of the word “authentic” is significant for effective dialogue to take place. For dialogue to be significant to adolescents, both parties need to be “wholly oneself” with each other. “Being real” is a major watch-word characteristic of the North American adolescent cultural scene. It seems that adolescents can intuitively “smell” a slick or “fake” person from a great distance. Many teens have opened up to me in conversation because they commented that I was “real.” I have found that conversations become reciprocal when I first model an openness of being wholly myself to the adolescent. This opening of their inner lives, being wholly themselves, is important if adults are going to help adolescents with the inner work of identity formation. The subject of authenticity will be revisited later in the thesis.

The inner worlds of adolescents need to be open to adult mentors in order to counteract some of the voices within our culture telling adolescents they are of worth only if they possess a certain body or personality type. The youth culture daily pictures

what is “pretty” or “with-it” on T.V. in magazines and on billboards. Specific adult to adolescent mentoring relationships, which help in shaping identity, may include markers similar to other mentoring relationships. For example, authenticity is important in both women mentoring women and adolescent mentoring. This marker may be slightly different in the ways it is applied, it may be that those markers have never been recognized before as specifically helpful to adolescents. Because a particular marker is found in one area of mentoring does not rule it out as a marker suitable for use with adolescents. The markers of a “power-with” approach and the practice of dialogue in which both people can be wholly themselves are two powerful markers deserving inclusion in an adolescent mentoring relationship where identity formation is the goal.

i. Mentoring the Disadvantaged

Mentoring the disadvantaged closely aligns itself with the mentoring adolescents, since the latter usually targets disadvantaged children and youth. Often the two age groups are not separated. In many ways, mentoring can be seen as the last hope for stopping recurring cycles of unhealthy socialization.

An American government report that reviewed urban mentoring programs describes mentoring as offering even more benefit to the disadvantaged than it does to the middle-class. "At times, mentoring of those from disadvantaged backgrounds appear to have a greater effect than for those from advantaged backgrounds, simply because there are greater possibilities for [societal] mobility."¹⁷⁴ In some disadvantaged communities there is a strong history of mentoring. It is common knowledge that Martin Luther King

¹⁷⁴ Erwin Flaxman, Carol Ascher and Charles Harrington, "Youth Mentoring Programs and

Jr. acted as a mentor to some of the strongest black leaders of today: Jesse Jackson, Julian Bond and Andrew Young. The key ingredient for a mentoring relationship in this study was that of interpersonal attachment. The authors think that many of the mentoring programs in the inner cities are merely that, just "programs," and the actual pairings lacked the relational intensity and magnitude to be considered mentoring relationships. Those mentors that form an interpersonal attachment with the students validate their messages to the protégés through modeling. The authors found that the mentor needs to have an interpersonal attractiveness and an interpersonal fit with the protégé. The study notes, "The salience of a mentoring relationship is less dependent on the individual characteristics of the two parties than on the fit between the mentor's resources and the needs of the mentee."¹⁷⁵ In trying to define a program of mentoring that fits urban needs, the authors write, "At its simplest, mentors support, guide and shape young adults as they go through difficult periods, enter new arenas, or undertake important tasks."¹⁷⁶

Mentoring with the disadvantaged is examined more in the area of planned mentoring programs rather than in the development of natural relationships.¹⁷⁷ Even in these settings, the interpersonal relationship is key. If there is no strong relationship, there is no modeling effect and no true dialogue as the protégé does not "open up" to the mentor. Many times a mentoring program can be only that - a program that does not produce close relationships.

Practices," *Urban Diversity Series no. 97*, ERIC, 1988.

¹⁷⁵ Erwin Flaxman, Carol Ascher and Charles Harrington, "Youth Mentoring Programs and Practices," *Urban Diversity Series no. 97*, ERIC, 1988, p. 40.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Erwin Flaxman, 1988, p. 1. Also Thomas Evens examines over sixty initiatives to mentor the disadvantaged in the school systems — most of these programs are geared to increase school grades or to develop the possibility of jobs in the future. Thomas Evans, *Mentors:*

Placements of protégés and titles of mentors govern mentoring programs. In placements it is not the protégé who makes the choice of the mentor – they most likely do not even know the mentor before the program. The only recommendation for the mentor is the title given by the institution that is arranging the mentoring program. Adolescents are not naturally drawn to programs, titles or institutions. A primary requirement is that adolescents get to know the mentor as a person. Respect needs to be earned by the mentor over time, and, if that respect is not earned, the mentor will never gain the necessary interpersonal attachment. The results of the study are what we would expect if adolescents were a part of the study – if there was no interpersonal attachment, little or no mentoring took place. The subject of modeling and attachment will be visited later in the thesis.

j. Mentoring the Gifted

The last of the specific schools of mentoring literature I will discuss is that of mentoring the gifted. This kind of mentoring is also closely related to the subject of mentoring adolescents, because many of the gifted being mentored are considered children, and adolescents. The literature concerning gifted children also examines the early formation of a sense of self – examining people of health and growth, going beyond the norm to better employment and better opportunities.

There have been modern studies of people of notoriety or genius asking the question, “What environmental elements had helped aid them in their respective fields?” Rena Subotnik interviewed ten people who were highly respected in the performing arts,

journalism, and academe.¹⁷⁸ All but one of the people who were studied cited at least one mentor who aided them as persons. In conclusion Subotnik writes, "Mentors provide apprentices with role modeling, intellectual stimulation, emotional support, or tacit knowledge in different proportions at different levels of the career process."¹⁷⁹

Kaufman, Harrel, Milam, Woolverton, and Miller¹⁸⁰ questioned a representative sample of 139 of the 1964 - 1968 President Scholars who were chosen as part of a national program to encourage and reward academic excellence in high school seniors. These same people were later surveyed in 1980 at the time when 88% of the group held advanced degrees. They were asked which of the seventeen perceived functions of their mentor were of value to them. Only three functions were reported as being valuable to the protégés: role modeling, support and encouragement. "The gifted participants perceived that role modeling and support and encouragement were the most important functions their mentor served. As one participant reported: . . . 'He has always pushed me to do more than I thought I could, encouraged thinking for myself and performing on my own and has never failed to give me credit for my work.'"¹⁸¹

Ambrose, Allen and Huntley¹⁸² take a different twist on studying gifted people by studying one gifted young artist, Jon, and his mentoring relationships with two different people during the same time period. In the process of having two very different people

¹⁷⁸ Rena Subotnik, "Talent Developed: Conversations with Masters in the Arts and Sciences," *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 1995, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 440 - 466.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 453.

¹⁸⁰ Felice A. Kaufmann, Gayle Harrel, Cheryl P. Milam, Nina Woolverton and James Miller, "The Nature, Role and Influence of Mentors in the Lives of Gifted Adults," *Journal of Counseling and Development*, May 1986, vol. 64, pp. 576 - 578.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. p. 577.

¹⁸² Don Ambrose, Jon Allen, and SaraBeth Huntley, "Mentorship of the Highly Creative," *Roeper Review*, 1994, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 131 - 134.

interact with Jon, common elements helpful in the mentoring relationship came to the surface. One of the helpful markers of the relationships is that Jon was given a cognitive confidence, "a growing awareness and appreciation of his cognitive strengths."¹⁸³ A second marker arising from the mentoring relationship for Jon is that of emotional protection. An artist might back away from experimentation because of criticism from an unappreciative society. The mentors' function for Jon was to absorb some of the unhelpful negative criticism so that Jon could continue to experiment. A third marker arising from the mentoring relationship with Jon is a clarification of how Jon understood his own interests and self. In some way, Jon understood more clearly who he was, as an artist, as a result of the mentoring relationship. In a final statement, Jon notes that his mentors stayed away from didacticism and strove for dialogue where both mentor and protégé were learners. Clearly the mentors brought more time-wisdom to the relationship, but the mentors did not approach the relationship as teachers to student only. There was a mutuality to the relationship. Both mentors provided resources, advice, input and perspective from life experience. There was constant dialogue with lots of time to "hang out," in an informal setting.¹⁸⁴

The markers for mentoring the gifted are role-modeling, intellectual stimulation, emotional support, knowledge, encouragement, cognitive confidence and emotional protection. The mentoring literature surrounding mentoring the gifted is concerned with outcomes such as future involvement with school (advanced degrees) or excellence in jobs such as in the performing arts, journalism and academia. It was significant that the

¹⁸³ Don Ambrose, Jon Allen, and SaraBeth Huntley, "Mentorship of the Highly Creative," *Roeper Review*, 1994, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 131 – 134, p. 131.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 133.

artist Jon grew into a deeper appreciation of who he was. His skills and confidence seemed to grow out of the clearer sense of identity. Jon's age isn't mentioned; nonetheless he provides another example of mentoring in which some type of identity formation takes place.

With the right kind of power relationship, role-modeling can be a powerful aid in second individuation. If the adolescent has given the power of influence to his/her mentor, then role-modeling becomes a meaningful way to borrow from other adult models for identity formation. Unfortunately, the power relationship between the mentor and protégé was not discussed in these papers. Adolescents would enjoy the mentoring markers of intellectual stimulation and cognitive confidence as they are enjoying the new thoughts of formal operational thinking. The question I am faced with is how the protégés gained the intellectual stimulation and cognitive confidence. Did they receive cognitive stimulation through questions, dialogue, lecture, workbooks or discussed writings? The articles were not helpful in this regard. The markers of knowledge and emotional protection (against negative feedback on work produced) would be helpful to a mentoring relationship that is concerned with a knowledge-based outcome like further schooling or a professional outcome. The markers of encouragement and emotional support are probably needed in most types of mentoring and are not specific to adolescent mentoring. Adolescents need encouragement and emotional support while they are in difficult changing emotional waters. However, it would be difficult to ascertain how encouragement and emotional support by themselves could assist the process of identity formation.

k. General Definitions of Mentoring

There are some authors who do not focus on a particular group, but attempt to define a mentoring relationship in general terms. One such often-quoted author is Kaoru Yamamoto.¹⁸⁵ Yamamoto is one who believes that mentoring is an art that cannot flow out of a “science” type of mentality.¹⁸⁶ The first marker Yamamoto identifies is for the protégé “to be seen” which he describes as “meeting the need of recognition and appreciation by a significant other so as to affirm oneself as a human being.”¹⁸⁷ The second marker for the protégé is “to see.” Yamamoto notes that the activity of “seeing” makes sure the process is not simply passive. The protégés must be able to see themselves and the world around them in a constructive way. The last two markers he identifies are “to care and to live” and “to see beyond.” Both these latter markers are related, as the first suggests “that mentoring at its root involves the matter of accepting, carrying and giving of the torch of Life itself,” and the second suggests that “the torch, in other words, is entrusted to different hands, but the flame continues to burn.”¹⁸⁸ For Yamamoto, these two last markers are “the good” or “the wise life” that is continued. In other words, mentoring cannot be mentoring unless there is some transfer of qualities of worth. A thief modeling how to steal to another thief is not mentoring.

¹⁸⁵ Kaoru Yamamoto, “To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188.

¹⁸⁶ Kaoru Yamamoto dichotomizes science and art. He would term “science” as reductionistic and primarily cognitively produced. He sees “art” as primarily holistic and intuitively produced.

¹⁸⁷ Kaoru Yamamoto, “To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188, p. 184.

¹⁸⁸ Kaoru Yamamoto, “To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188, p. 185, 187.

Mentoring for Yamamoto contains the markers of an affirmative relationship: the passing on of a way of seeing, and the passing on wisdom from past experience. For adolescent-oriented mentoring relationships, the affirmative relationship is necessary, and I believe, a key in a “power-with” model of relating. “A way of seeing” is an interesting and important way of describing the education that mentoring provides. Mentoring that leads to identity formation must have different specific outcomes in every life because every adolescent's identity will be different. If mentoring is to have unique outcomes in the life of the protégé, then it is not information that is passed on as much as it is a way of seeing life - and for identity formation to take place particularly, the protégés must have “a way of seeing” their own life. The relationship between Henslow and Darwin demonstrated this fact; as Darwin moved beyond his mentor to become his own person, he nevertheless was taught to see life “in a different key,” as Yamamoto terms it. The giving of wisdom could also be applied to mentoring adolescents as they are certainly looking for direction. There is one warning, though; if this “wisdom” is given in a authoritarian way, the adolescents would more likely not accept it.

Eugene Anderson and Anne Lucasse Shannon describe mentoring historically and in light of its etymology.¹⁸⁹ They glean from the account of Mentor in *The Odyssey* that Mentor was intentional, nurturing, insightful, supportive and protective. The essential markers of mentoring for these authors are that a mentoring relationship involves “the process of nurturing, the act of serving as a role model, the five mentoring functions (teaching, sponsoring, encouraging, counseling, and befriending), the focus on

¹⁸⁹ Eugene M. Anderson and Anne Lucasse Shannon, “Toward a Conceptualization of Mentoring,” *Journal of Teacher Education*, (January, February 1988), pp. 38 - 42.

professional and/or personal development, and the ongoing caring relationship."¹⁹⁰ The authors form a model for mentoring that breaks the above markers into groups that include relationships (modeling, nurturing, caring), functions (teaching, sponsoring, encouraging, counseling and befriending) and activities (demonstration lessons, observations, feedback and support meetings).

Again the emphasis on a nurturing relationship and modeling is compatible with an adolescent mentoring relationship - aiding in second individuation. In some ways these two markers colour each other; if there is a nurturing relationship, then modeling will be much more likely to occur and if modeling is occurring separate from rewards or coercion, then nurturing is likely taking place. The "functions" of 1) teaching 2) demonstration lessons and 3) observations seem to be more related to teaching skills or information-sharing with the protégé. The functions and activities of sponsoring, encouraging, counseling, befriending and support meetings seem to be more developmental and compatible with a "power-with" model of relationship. Particularly, if a mentor is to "befriend" a protégé, the power of coercion, reward or position does not seem to be an issue.

An often-quoted article by Nathalie Gehrke defines mentoring in terms of exchanging gifts.¹⁹¹ Instead of using a business or a market economy metaphor, Nathalie writes of the more primitive culture's gift exchange as the informing metaphor. There are steps in a gift exchange. First is the creation of the gift itself by the one who will ultimately be the giver. "The greatest gift the mentor offers is a new and whole way of

¹⁹⁰ Eugene M. Anderson and Anne Lucasse Shannon, "Toward a Conceptualization of Mentoring," *Journal of Teacher Education*, (January, February 1988), p. 40.

¹⁹¹ Nathalie Gehrke, "Toward a Definition of Mentoring," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3,

seeing things. The gift of wisdom is not a gift the mentor could create overnight - it is not embodied in a single lecture."¹⁹² This is similar to the idea of experiential wisdom that was noted in the history of mentoring. The second phase of gift-giving is that of awakening. This awakening is seen as both a recognition by the protégé that he/she would like to receive a gift from the mentor and a recognition by the mentor that the person he/she is considering has needs of their gifts. The third phase that Gehrke identifies is a commitment to labour to deserve the gift. She writes that this activity flows from gratitude, "as protégés we find the overwhelming desire to live up to the level of the mentor's expectation - to be worthy of the gift." The last phase that is identified is the passing of the gift. The protégé now has the mentor's gift that has increased in worth and now the protégé needs to labour by passing it on to a new recipient – in turn becoming a mentor. As in the history of mentoring, Gehrke highlights the expectation that the mentoring process does not stop after one generation.

The markers of a mentoring relationship for Gehrke start with the ability and readiness of the mentor – with a passionate desire to pass on the wisdom that has gathered over time. This process echoes Geneva Gay's article in that the emotional well-being of the mentor is the first key to evaluating a good relationship. This prerequisite is important in the area of modeling; as values and attitudes are transmitted, we must look to healthy mentors.¹⁹³ The concept "gratitude" assumes a recognition of certain types of

1988, pp. 191 - 194.

¹⁹² Nathalie Gehrke, "Toward a Definition of Mentoring," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 191 – 194, p. 192.

¹⁹³ Bandura writes, "Through the years, modeling has always been acknowledged to be one of the most powerful means of transmission values, attitudes, and patterns of thought and behaviour."

Albert Bandura, *Social Foundations and Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory*,

power in the relationship. If the motivation to work in the mentoring relationship is gratitude, the use of a relational type of power makes sense. I am grateful to my mentors because of who they are or what they have given me, not for their position or title. The expectation of continuing the mentoring gift is central to Nathalie Gehrke. The mentoring is not a moment in time relationship, but rather a lifestyle that emanates to other people.

Patricia Haensly has written several papers on mentoring and is often quoted by other authors. Patricia Haensly and James Parsons examined mentoring through the lenses of Erikson's psychosocial needs.¹⁹⁴ The authors first identify two general types of mentoring relationships: 1) the adult-oriented career development and 2) the youth-oriented general development mentoring relationship. Haensly and Parsons approach the focus of my thesis by recognizing both the separate type of mentoring required for adolescents and the need to look for developmental issues in mentoring. Haensly and Parsons notice that “adults will experience generativity and their protégés will experience identity transformation.”¹⁹⁵ Generativity is Erikson’s description of a psychosocial need that is sought in midlife adulthood. Generativity focuses around the need to generate and produce meaningful things or relationships. When Haensly and Parsons write of identity transformation in adolescents they are talking of Erikson’s identity formation. They recognize that the psychosocial needs of adolescents are key to successful mentoring.

They write:

By adolescence, construction of one’s personal identity begun within a family setting becomes especially enhanced through the additional counsel of

Englewood (Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1986), p. 47.

¹⁹⁴ Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, “Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development Through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages,” *Youth and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, pp. 202 - 221.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 206.

appreciative community mentors; life satisfaction and wholeness of personality becomes reflected to the individual through the wisdom of a trusted advocate, uniquely and personally interested in that particular youth.¹⁹⁶

Heansly and Parsons recognize the need for identity formation in adolescence but the focus of their paper centers on an overview of the entire developmental spectrum. They do not attempt to draw a particular definition of mentoring for adolescents – a definition that flows from the identity formation needs of adolescents. Heansly and Parsons write that one definition can cover both adult and adolescent mentoring;

Mentorship is an intensified personal relationship in which a) both mentor and protégé share enthusiasm for a particular domain or endeavor, b) the mentor's expertise and protégés' zest and thirst for the expertise combine to foster outstandingly creative accomplishments by the protégé, and c) the mentor's wisdom and experience shape the guidance and counsel given to a protégé for whom the mentor has particularly high expectations that become uniquely well-defined as the protégé develops, not necessarily as a match or replication of the mentor.¹⁹⁷

The authors identify many more markers of a mentoring relationship. They found that being a role model is essential to mentoring and very powerful. “In practice, serving as a role model appears to be an important function of the mentor. The modeling effect is especially powerful due to the mentor’s status and personal warmth. Mentorship often leads the protégé to assimilate many of the mentor’s characteristics.”¹⁹⁸ The authors also found that both the mentor and the protégé gain benefits from the relationship. These mutual benefits may include mutual and long-lasting friendship, enhanced creative

¹⁹⁶ Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, “Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development Through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages,” *Youth and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, pp. 202 - 221. p. 217.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 203.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 205.

ideation for both, and redefinition of personal ethics. Heansly and Parsons used the image of an ecological system where there is symbiosis. This concept is similar to that of mutuality that the women mentoring women described. The author also identified the potential for creative or novel outcomes in the protégé's life. Innovation takes place usually because the mentor urges the protégé to have the courage to pursue valued interests and express creative ideas. Not only this, but the mentor is pictured as placing a protective shield around the protégé to ward off inhibiting factors so that the protégé could reach his/her creative potential.

The mentoring markers for Patricia Haensly and James Parsons include being a role model, which they term as "essential" to mentoring. Their observation that both mentor and protégé gain from the relationship is a sign of the presence of dialogue. In one-way communication, the teacher prepares and the student takes in. It is not until there is the possibility of real dialogue that both parties may be changed by the relationship. Haensly and Parsons' explanation of the emotional shield for the protégé explains why a protégé can be under the influence of a mentor and yet take independent growth steps. It is also important to provide a place of emotional safety in adolescent mentoring as they are struggling to form their identity. Adolescents need the space to explore creative change within themselves without the automatic put-downs motivated by fear that many authority figures tend to use.

3. No Available Definitions of Mentoring with the Goal of Adolescent Identity Formation

Flaxman, Ascher and Harrington describe a type of mentoring which they term psychosocial mentoring: “in psychosocial mentoring there is a dynamic change in the mentees’ sense of self.”¹⁹⁹ These authors make a beginning in describing developmental, adolescent-oriented mentoring relationships, and they even recognize in a limited sense the goal of identity formation. The purpose of their paper is to outline what is being done in the field of mentoring adolescents. However, they do not attempt to give a definition of what this type of mentoring is like.

Patricia Haensly goes one step farther in recognizing that the unique goal of identity formation in adolescents should be recognized in mentoring. However, Haensly falls short by only offering one definition of mentoring which covers all ages. She sees that various issues (relating to the various developmental stages) could be brought up as subjects during a mentoring relationship. Instead of starting with the needs of adolescents and building the mentoring from their developmental needs, Haensly begins with a general definition of mentoring and paints on the top various applications.

Many articles and books have been written on adolescents' developmental need of identity formation. Many articles and books have been written on mentoring, even a few specifically on mentoring adolescents. However, there is a void in the literature that builds a unique definition of mentoring on the identity formation of adolescents. In an ERIC search of all articles in North America, the United Kingdom, and Australia from both the 1963 - 1983 and up to the present data bases, there are thousands of articles on

¹⁹⁹ Erwin Flaxman, Carol Ascher and Charles Harrington, "Youth Mentoring Programs and

mentoring and hundreds of articles on adolescent identity formation, but there is not one listed that offers both mentoring and adolescent identity formation as descriptors.

Gathering the Markers of Mentoring

In the first paragraph of this chapter I asked "If an adult to adolescent mentoring relationship could help in identity formation and, if so, what would be the markers of such a relationship would be?" To answer these questions I will outline the markers of mentoring relationship. After each marker I will discuss whether the marker of mentoring can help in the task of identity formation in adolescents. If some of the markers are helpful in identity formation, they will form the basis for my definition of a developmental, adolescent-oriented, mentoring relationship. Each marker that aids adolescents in their identity formation will be examined in full in the following chapters.

1. Didactic Instruction

Some of the mentoring relationships were described as instructional. Words such as shaping, teaching, lecturing, instructing, demonstrating or observing and interacting were applied to mentoring. Mentors provided resources, and laboured to transfer the gift they had built into their lives. The Rabbis and Jesus had specific lessons they taught in a didactic fashion. Mentoring was not seen as merely observational learning.²⁰⁰ It is true that any mentoring relationship has a goal of some type of educational development within the protégé. Many of the subjects that were taught through mentoring focused on

Practices," *Urban Diversity Series no. 97*, ERIC, 1988, p. 3.

²⁰⁰ Bandura terms modeling and socialization as observational learning. Albert Bandura, *Social Foundations of Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986), p. 47.

developing skills, academic grades or job opportunities rather than psychosocial development which is my chosen goal for mentoring adolescents.

Although adolescent mentoring may have moments of instruction, I will not use “didactic instruction” as a central marker of an adolescent mentoring relationship. Didactic instruction may well be a secondary part of many adolescent mentoring relationships. I will describe the providing of information concerning questions that students may have as a part of dialogue. Unfortunately, in popular use, the word “instruction” has a sense of bringing information from the top down. In schools we instruct to do rather than to be. Young people sit in classes for a long span and many of them have strong desires to escape instruction - particularly formal lessons. Some mentoring relationships seem to have fewer overtly instructional moments. As one of the young protégés in the literature, Jon the artist, suggests, there was little didactic, top-down teaching. An adolescent mentoring relationship can be envisioned that requires no didactic instruction. The goal in mentoring adolescents I am focusing on involves an internal transformation as adolescents grow in understanding themselves and their place in the world as forthcoming adults. The concept of adolescent mentoring may be more skewed to the teaching of skills rather than to aiding identity formation if the word “instructional” is seen as a central part of the definition. Therefore, this marker will not be considered integral to a developmental, adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship.

2. Wisdom

Mentors are generally seen as people who have matured and gained insights from life experience. From the first use in Homer’s *Odyssey*, Mentor was essentially the keeper

of wisdom gained from experience. Modern mentors' experience and background differ from that of their protégés, but there are similarities in the questions that are asked and in the situations that are face. If there are not kernels of similarity in life then most education would be useless. For example, Geneva Gay wrote that the best teachers were those who possessed a strong sense of place in their cultural identity. The destinations of cultural awareness may be different for each student, but the process of orienteering one self may have similarities.

Every type of mentoring desires to pass on a certain kind of wisdom. The senior business person passes on the wisdom of how to get ahead in the company. The senior teacher, in the example of Steve and May, passes on the wisdom which differentiates between authority and being authoritarian. The disadvantaged, the gifted, and the women all had some type of experience-based wisdom passed on to the protégé. It would be difficult to comprehend a mentoring relationship in which some kind of wisdom from the experienced mentor is not passed on. Because the presence of wisdom is so pervasive and so varied in every kind of mentoring, we will not examine it as a distinctive marker of what makes an adult to adolescent mentoring relationship. One of the goals of this thesis is to clarify what a distinctively adolescent mentoring relationship is. Examining the content of wisdom would take us down the path specifically building a curriculum, not analyzing pedagogy. That is beyond the scope of this thesis. My goal is to locate where the mentoring relationship is, separating it from other types of mentoring relationships and other relationships that adolescents experience.

3. Expectation to Continue

Like the rabbis and philosophers of old, there is an expectation to pass on the gifts of wisdom from generation to generation. As one writer put it, every protégé could become a mentor and pass on the torch. Gehrke writes that every protégé must labour to become a mentor for another so that gifts given to a protégé increase in value for the next generation. Mentoring then embraces a lifestyle and not just a moment in time – I had a mentor; therefore, I will become a mentor.

I believe that the expectation to continue is a part of many mentoring relationships. In our mentoring programs in Hamilton, young people who have been mentored as teens are now becoming mentors in their young adult lives. In a way, there is a mini-culture of mentoring that is surfacing in our area. Yet, if the protégé does not become the mentor for another it does not nullify the value of the mentoring relationship that he/she experienced. The mentoring relationship must stand alone. The continuation of another mentoring relationship can be a hope, but that consideration is separate from the relationship at hand. Therefore, I will not use this marker as a marker for the developmental, adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship.

4. Power

The power relationship between the mentor and the protégé is a significant marker of mentoring relationships. Some mentors possess that power by right of title within the organization, by the accumulation of experience, or by simply being willing - signing up for the program. Other mentoring relationships are defined by a lack of hierarchy, or “power-over” relationship. Women mentoring women is a notable example because the

authors of the papers see the relationship as a mutual one where the learning flowed both ways. In many examples, the power of the mentors in the lives of the protégés were given to them by the protégés out of respect. The mentors earned the right to influence. This was my experience that I mentioned with my first mentoring group. It took me several months to build a relationship with three young men before they had enough trust and respect to want to spend time with me and allow them to be "real" with me.

Socrates was given the power of influence not through title but through his actions. Henslow was Darwin's teacher but the relationship went beyond the classroom and the limitations of the school year. Henslow influenced Darwin because of who he was and not because of his title and his power to grade papers. Gehrke writes how the protégé must show gratitude in receiving this gift. Gratitude shows the worth of the gift. Mentoring takes place when the worth of the mentor's life is recognized. Heansly describes the power in a relationship as a symbiosis, in which there is mutuality of respect and learning.

Adolescents will only open themselves up to influence when they see something worthy to emulate in the person. As quoted in chapter two, Bibby and Posterski remind us: "Like it or not, respect for positional authority, whether personal or institutional, has eroded. Today, regardless of who you are or what you do, respect is not granted automatically. Respect has to be earned."²⁰¹ Adolescents give the gift of power to the one who they decide will influence them. Such power is similar to the "power-with" concept found in the women mentoring women literature, and it is this type of power in a relationship with an adolescent that is significant. Although learning flows both ways, the

²⁰¹ Reginald Bibby and Donald Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p. 239.

mentor is nonetheless regarded as the leader. The power of influence given to the mentor by the protégé's perceived personhood is the power relationship that will be accepted by adolescents since it is freely given – a power “with” the person. This marker of mentoring will be explored in chapter four as significant for an adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship.

5. Modeling

In many ways, we all model behaviour to one another, yet in mentoring, the modeling becomes one of the most significant experiences. From early in the history of mentoring, we have a mental picture of people able to spend whole days together - Jesus modeled to his disciples, Henslow modeled to Darwin. The modeling was often described as people in unhurried interaction establishing a strong emotional bond between mentor and protégé. The emotional bond was described many times in the word "encourager." Mentors were encouraging people. Behaviour was modeled in a variety of settings, not just in a straight-back chair school setting. Early mentors such as Socrates and Jesus exposed their disciples to many situations that involved people from prostitutes to priests. They spent great amounts of time with their protégés, and as such, developed a linking, an emotional bond. Time spent together in a variety of settings where there is a close relationship and vulnerability are important keys for modeling. The urban papers spoke of the lack of time for real modeling to take place and, in the authors' minds, this lack made effective mentoring impossible. One author spoke of the importance of tacit knowledge being transferred to the protégé through modeling.

While modeling seems to be a key to many kinds of mentoring, modeling adult behaviour is crucial for mentoring with adolescents, whose adult heroes help them to travel through the second individuation process. Adolescents often look beyond their parents for models of what it means to be an adult. Models of other adults outside of immediate families aid in identity formation. Adolescents will look to adults as models if a close relationship can be built. The type of modeling goes beyond the modeling of skills as seen in professional development mentoring or business mentoring. The type of modeling that is helpful to adolescents provides a way of seeing, whole life modeling where the mentor can be seen in various settings, over a long term, with some consistency of behaviour and values, embraced by a caring relationship between protégé and mentor. As mentioned in chapter one, in my experience with mentoring John, whole-life modeling was taking place, so that even five years later, the values shaping my marriage that were not present in his parental models were available for him to help shape his identity. As religious educator Larry Richard observes, “Simply put, young people respond to adults who minister with them, and if they are not turned off by a leader’s personality or incompetence, will model themselves after him.”²⁰² The mentoring marker of significant modeling is an important marker of a developmental adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship and will be examined in greater detail in chapter six.

6. Dialogue

Dialogue involves more than two people talking at each other. Both need to be actively involved in the conversation and willing to be influenced by the interaction.

²⁰² Larry Richards, *Youth Ministry*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1979), p. 123.

Thomas Groome describes dialogue in this way, “Dialogue is a subject-to-subject encounter (I/You), in which two or more people share and hear their reflective stories and visions.”²⁰³ The mentoring literature speaks of a relationship in which there is mutual learning. Question posing and deep conversation seem more the norm than do more didactic forms of teaching. Such was the case with Socrates, since much of his educational influence was found in his art of questioning.

Adolescents want to be heard and understood. Too often they are seen as people to be feared or avoided. In the wasteland between childhood and adulthood, adolescents are drawn to those who will treat them with the respect usually reserved for adults. If the culture around them does not provide them with a marker of what it means to be an adult, they will open themselves up to anyone who gives that marker of adulthood -respect. As adolescents are forming their identities, their internal worlds need to be touched by a subject-to-subject (I / Thou) encounter. All too often, they are treated as objects or numbers in the adult world, particularly as class sizes increase in local schools.

Dialogue also takes advantage of the formal operational thought process that is unfolding in adolescents. Adolescents enjoy thought experiments, talking about ideals. In some ways, that is why some adolescents are seen as so idealistic - they are enjoying the formal operational thought processes. Dialogue that is helpful for identity formation can turn formal operational thought inward as adolescents think about themselves and their place in the world. An adult who has successfully navigated these waters could be a help through asking questions and listening/learning about the adolescent, while guiding them toward a greater understanding of self. The mentoring marker of dialogue is an important

²⁰³ Thomas Groome, *Christian Religious Education*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row,

marker of a developmental adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship. This marker of an adolescent mentoring relationship will be further explored in chapter five.

7. Unique Outcomes

One of the marks of mentoring that demonstrates that a relationship has gone well occurs when the protégé becomes his/her own unique person. Protégés do not turn out as carbon copies of their mentors. Good mentors ask questions, helping their protégés to clarify their identities and roles in life, and encourage their protégés to become significant human beings. One protégé talked about gaining a confidence through a better understanding of who he was. Good mentors shield their protégés from too much criticism so that they can develop into who they are becoming.

The goal of adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship is identity formation. The more the adolescent grows in self- knowledge, the more he/she becomes his/her own person, the more the mentoring has been a success. A central task of adolescence is to gain a clearer picture of personal gifts, strengths and weaknesses. The unfolding and realization of the unique life of the protégé is the final goal of the adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship. Therefore, I will not include it as a significant marker of mentoring as it is already the stated final goal. Observing unique outcomes in young adults with strong identities in five to ten years after a mentoring relationship will perhaps draw us to answer the question, "Was this relationship helpful in the adolescent's life?"

Summary:

The answer to this chapter's question provides us with the fact that some aspects of mentoring can aid in adolescent identity formation. Some aspects of general mentoring will generally be present in adolescent mentoring relationships. However, there are a few from the lexicon of mentoring which are also uniquely helpful in aiding adolescent identity formation. The collected markers that are both significant for a mentoring relationship and for the identity formation include: 1) a type of power that is freely given by the adolescent; 2) a type of dialogue which treats the adolescent as an equal, taking advantage of formal operational thinking, and 3) significant modeling in which whole-life modeling is taking place. The next three chapters of this thesis will examine each of these concepts in greater detail and how they relate to an adolescent-oriented mentoring relationship.

Chapter Four

Power In Adolescent-Oriented Mentoring Relationships

Nietzsche commented that "psychologists should bethink themselves before putting down the instinct of self-preservation as the cardinal instinct of an organic being. A living thing seeks above all to discharge its strength - life itself is Will to Power."²⁰⁴ Various forms of power can be observed within our everyday relationships. The very make-up of a relationship displays differences in power. Our history with other people, the way in which we speak with one another, our dress, our gender and our personal histories are but a few of the ingredients that go into the mix affecting the power differences of two persons. As Nyberg writes, "Power is understood to be a complex, omnipresent aspect of social life itself."²⁰⁵ Mentoring, as a social relationship, has power as an integral part of its makeup.

Power issues become even more important to adults working with adolescents, particularly because of the adolescent's feelings of powerlessness. Adolescents are in a power transition, moving from being perceived as children who cannot yet claim positions of power that are reserved for adults. Adolescents find themselves on middle ground where often they are seen as problematic or worthy of ignoring. As part of our youth programs in Hamilton, groups of adults and adolescents meet regularly to interact at fast food establishments. On more than one occasion it is the adolescents who are blamed for the excessive noise or spilt drinks - no matter who had the accident or created

²⁰⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, #13 in *The Age of Ideology*, ed. Henry Aiken, (New York, NY: Houghton, Mifflin, 1956).

²⁰⁵ David Nyberg, *Power Over Power*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).

the noise. On one occasion I had walked into a school gym to retrieve some material left behind from a youth event. The custodian mistook me for a teenager and yelled at me for being in the gym. When he discovered I was an adult who was renting their facilities, he apologized. His response reminded me of the "yell first / ask questions later" kind of experience that some adolescents suffer.

Being ignored as a person also points out power differences. When I speak to groups of adolescents, many times adult sponsors or parents are a part of the meeting. It is interesting to observe these adults walking into a room filled with teenagers and moving past them all to introduce themselves to the unknown adults on the other side of the room. Now I know there are cultural differences that set up these barriers, but I also wonder if there is some degree of fear among adults concerning adolescents, maybe just blunt feelings that these people called adolescents don't count yet. It's fun for me to enter rooms filled with students and adults and stop and talk with several groups of adolescents before I talk to the adults. There is usually surprise, genuine openness and smiles on the faces of the youth when they realize that they are being treated as equals.

Another power issue stems from the idealism of adolescents, stemming from their new abilities to exercise formal operational thought. This idealism tends to lead them to be less receptive toward those in positions of power. Many adolescents think they know just as much as anyone else and they expect that they should not be treated like children. This fact explains why many take a negative stance against the legitimate power structures around them, in the form of teachers, principals and parents. In mentoring, the adolescents are relating to people "who have arrived" in adulthood. Because of these issues, power becomes central in defining an adult to adolescent mentoring relationship.

In this chapter I will outline some of the issues concerning the exercising of power. Then, I will outline the model of power best suited to shaping identity formation through adolescent mentoring. Lastly, I will describe a source of power that clearly defines adolescent-oriented mentoring as distinct from those other adolescent relationships of parenting, teaching and coaching.

Issues in Power

Amelie Rorty overviews various issues in power through two fictitious people, Buff and Rebuff. The two debate by shifting back and forth over the many facets of this complex subject of power. One alter ego comments that "Power is the ability to define and control circumstances and events so that one can influence things to go in the direction of one's interests."²⁰⁶ Rorty's other alter ego points up the problems of attempting to link power with causation. Can anyone really control events? Through this fanciful debate several fascinating aspects of power are brought to the surface. First is that social power is relational - social power needs at least two people. It would be difficult to imagine someone saying he/she has social power when he/she is on a deserted island alone, until he/she dies. Can a person have power over another person, or power with another person to work in union, or does a person have a position of power to do something with groups of people?

Sometimes the differences in social positions of persons confer power to people. This power involves structures or groupings of people. For example, the grading of

²⁰⁶ Amelie Oksenberg Rorty, "Power and Powers: A Dialogue Between Buff and Rebuff," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p2.

papers gives the teacher power over the students - the power is given to the teacher by the structure of the system.²⁰⁷ The teacher may not be a powerful person outside that structure. Systems are not agents of power, but give power to agents.²⁰⁸ Systems give power to people, but it is rare that a system can take all sources of power away. As people in relationship, we all have some type or amount of power, "But we all are empowered: we all have capacities, traits, skills. And we are all unempowered: we all are unable to assure the satisfaction of our desires and are limited in the expression of our natures."²⁰⁹ In many ways we can see power as a potential influence. Even in oppressive situations the subordinate person has some power: "At rock bottom worst, we all have the power of stubborn, non-cooperative ridicule, and destruction. The subordinate have the power of exit: either nihilistic, inventive destruction or Stoicism."²¹⁰

Because we all have some type of power, wherever people gather we live among fields of various powers. One source of social power cannot be isolated as a final cause of action with certainty; there are specific contributory and opposition forces. But it must be recognized that when we talk of power it is usually in the context of asymmetry. An employer has power of position; the employees do not have that position. The employee may have the power to strike or to slack off from work, but the power equation does not

²⁰⁷ Thomas Wartenberg suggests that in the grading of papers is a good example of power that goes beyond the dyadic and demonstrates a structural power. "The point I am making is that the power a teacher has as a result of grading her students is not simply interventional, i.e., something that occurs as a result of actions that a teacher performs; a teacher's power over her students is structural." Thomas Wartenberg, "Situated Social Power," *Social Theory and Practice*, vol. 14, no. 3 (Fall 1988).

²⁰⁸ Amelie Oksenberg Rorty, "Power and Powers: A Dialogue Between Buff and Rebuff," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 12.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 5.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 9.

equal out in the final analysis. Usually the employer is able to get the employee to do what he/she wants – and so, most often power operates asymmetrically.

A related issue is that those who feel they lack social power are much more aware of the lack. Sometimes people who have positional power do not even realize they are using their position, personality, or history as power-over another person's life. Because of this, the study of power needs to rest on more than the phenomenon of its reporting. As Rorty writes; "Because powerlessness is more vividly experienced than empowerment, because power tends to be more visible to those who believe themselves to lack it, the sense of power - the phenomenology of the subject - is not adequate guide to its analysis."²¹¹

Another problem concerning power can be captured in the form of a question "Does all power need to be negative or in self-interest?" The famous quotation that "all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" sets the tone for many people's view of power. Couldn't power be exercised in neutral forms - the power-to do something? The power found in some structures may not be for self-interest but for community interest, for example, the power of doctors and nurses to examine people. Couldn't power also be exercised in altruistic or collaborative forms - the power-with someone? The example of people in love shows that people can have great power in each other's lives, but often this power is exercised with another in mutual decision-making and dialogue.

²¹¹ Amelie Oksenberg Rorty, "Power and Powers: A Dialogue Between Buff and Rebuff," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 13.

Modern Power Debate

1. Behaviorists

The exercising of power occurs as a relational event, and so the social sciences have desired to study the concept. Early social science attempts to study power were initiated by the Behaviorists.²¹² In the Anglo-American political science world, the power debate has been shaped by what is sometimes called the three faces of power.²¹³ Behaviorists equate the study of power with the concept of causation. Herbert Simon observes the asymmetrical aspects of power relationships and comments, "it became clear that it was identical with the general problem of defining a causal relation between two variables. That is to say, for the assertion, 'A has power over B,' we can substitute the assertion, 'A's behaviour causes B's behaviour.'²¹⁴ Robert Dahl understands power in terms of physics, the "way of thinking about power or influence is analogous to the concept to force in mechanics."²¹⁵ Dahl's view of power is strictly empirical. There is nothing else concerning power other than what can be observed as cause-and-effect. The Behavioral writings carry a Newtonian analogy that we are all naturally at rest or at a constant velocity, until our movement is altered by an external force. As Dahl puts it, "the purpose of power is to get others to do what they would not otherwise do."²¹⁶ To Dahl,

²¹² Terence Ball, "New Faces of Power", in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p 16.

²¹³ Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 32.

²¹⁴ Herbert Simon, *Models of Man*, (New York, NY: Wiley, 1957), p 5.

²¹⁵ Robert Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis*, (Englewood Cliffs, NY: Prentice Hall, 1963), p. 41.

²¹⁶ Robert Dahl, "The Concept of Power," *Behavioral Science* vol. 2, no. 3 (July, 1957), pp. 203-4.

power involves conflict and compliance because A's behaviour regularly goes against what B would otherwise do, generating conflict. This face of power is not only a conflict and compliance model but also a "decisionist" model in that it is limited to instances of actual decision-making or choice in action. This is called the first face of power.²¹⁷

Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz challenge Dahl and add that there is, in fact, a second face to power.²¹⁸ They concede that power is a causal relation between individual actors who exercise their power in overt ways. However, Bachrach and Baratz also point out a hidden way to exercise power. Sometimes power can be exercised in ways that are not observable, but inferable. For example, a chair of a board may arrange the agenda so that discussions are kept to safe items and in that way exercises an organizational power, without conflict. Power can likewise be exercised by placing limitations on action, not just plans. This second face of power still belongs to the behaviorist model where power is not possessed, only exercised. An act that limits power can still be observed. "Although absence of conflict may be a non-event, a decision which results in prevention of conflict is very much an event - and an observable one to boot."²¹⁹

Steven Lukes writes concerning a third face of power. Lukes also agrees with the first two faces of power that A has power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests. However, Lukes argues that the first two faces of power do not give sufficient weight to personal interest. The first two faces of power define interest to mean

²¹⁷ Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 36.

²¹⁸ Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review*, 56 (1962), pp 451-60.

²¹⁹ Bachrach and Baratz, *Power and Poverty*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970), p.46.

what a person prefers - one's interests are reducible to one's preferences. Perhaps we do not even fully understand what would be fully in our own best interests; it may be that we can be deceived into believing we prefer something when it is not in our own best interest. Luke understands our best interests as an "objective interest" referring to what an agent would want under ideal democratic circumstances.²²⁰ Lukes maintains that the most powerful person is the one who can shape B's beliefs concerning what is in B's best interest. Luke asks, is not "the supreme exercise of power to avert conflict and grievance by influencing, shaping and determining the perceptions and preferences of others?"²²¹ Lukes comes close to recognizing the power that resides in structures and systems when he writes, "The bias of the system can be mobilized, recreated, and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of particular individual choices."²²² However, the frame of Lukes' concept of power is still in the behavioral model. "Power, he says, is an 'agency' concept, not a 'structural' one; yet he writes that it is held and exercised by agents (individual or collective) within systems and structural determinants."²²³

2. Communication Challenge

The three faces of power have been challenged, particularly in terms of their shared Behaviorist assumptions. Terence Ball identifies one of the major challenges to

²²⁰ Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p 40.

²²¹ Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London and New York: MacMillan, 1874), p. 26.

²²² Ibid. p. 22-23.

²²³ Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press,

the Behavioral model as the "Communicative Model."²²⁴ In this model A can have power over B in respect to communication. There are two assumptions in communication that are outside the Behaviorist camp; the first is that the power wielder must be capable of communicating certain things. The second assumption is that the recipient of the communication must be able to understand what the persuader is communicating. The motorist must understand that the police officer telling him to stop carries not only the meaning of stop but also the weight of a command rather than a suggestion. An additional important part of the communication model, as Terence Ball notes, is separating the concept of power from the words of force, violence, coercion, authority along with other synonyms that Behaviorists use. The Behaviorists lump the various words together because they all have the same function in determining who rules whom. As a part of the communication challenge Hannah Arendt writes, "It is, I think, a rather sad reflection on the present state of political science that our terminology does not distinguish among such key words as 'power,' 'strength,' 'force,' 'authority,' and, finally, 'violence' - all of which refer to distinct, different phenomena and would hardly exist unless they did."²²⁵ Arendt believes the study of power should cease to reduce public affairs to the business of dominion (i.e., of "power over"). Arendt recognizes the potential aspect of power. "According to Arendt, political power is a potentiality or capacity for acting that arises when equals come together. This mode of mutual empowerment is the medium of

1992), p. 40.

²²⁴ Terence Ball, "New Faces of Power", in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 20.

²²⁵ Hannah Arendt, "On Violence," in *Crisis of the Republic* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanoich, 1972), pp. 142-43.

political action."²²⁶ Dialogue, meaningful debate and engaging in mutually meaningful conversations become the meat of power. People communicating views and coordinating activities make power possible. Arendt writes, "Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert."²²⁷ To Arendt, power is communicatively constituted. In this way, both people who are communicating have potential power as they come together for mutual solutions. The power-over-others model of the getting someone to do something they would not have otherwise done lies more in the realm of force or coercion. Legitimate power arises from those who have common convictions and who are able to communicate free from coercion.

3. Realist Challenge

Another challenge to the behaviorist assumptions is to be found in the realist challenge. The realists relate power to the natural sciences. Realists do not see causal laws in nature as much as they remark on the properties of the particulars which operate in unpredictable but not undetermined manners. As Roy Bhasker writes, "The world consists of things, not events."²²⁸ For example, copper conducts electricity because of its atomic structure. The reality of being is more basic to science than the reality of events. The realists like to quote Einstein, who wrote: "I tell you straight out: Physics is the attempt at the conceptual construction of a model of the real world and its lawful

²²⁶ Terence Ball, "New Faces of Power", in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 22.

²²⁷ Hannah Arendt, "On Violence," in *Crisis of the Republic* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanoich, 1972), p. 153.

²²⁸ Roy Bhasker, *A Realist Theory of Science*, quoted in Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 43.

structure. . . . In short, I suffer under the (unsharp) separation of Reality of Experience and Reality of Being."²²⁹ The realists relate their stance to the social sciences. The power of a person does not reside primarily in what they do, but by what structure they relate to another.

The realist maintains that human beings have 'powers' in the social world in much the same sense that copper, glass, and other substances do in the natural world. People possess these powers not as individuals but by virtue of occupying certain socially structured roles and being in a certain socially defined and relatively enduring relationships.²³⁰

For example, a police officer has power to arrest a person because the officer has a socially structured role. Realists are ontological relationalists, not individualists like the behaviorists. Realists see an enduring quality of a relationship that has potential for power. They criticize the behaviorists who see power only in terms of action. "The Behavioralist foundations of the debate constrained its participants from conceiving power as anything more than a behavioral regularity and prevented them from seeing it as an enduring capacity."²³¹ The enduring capacity of persons is found not in their individual characteristics, but in their socially structured relationships. In this way realists recognize that social power is relational. In this way the realists recognize not so much "power-over" another person, but "power-to act" in a unique way. Since social roles distribute power to those acting in those roles, the realists recognize the potential aspects of power as resident in those roles.

²²⁹ Einstein, Quoted in Gerald Holton, "Mach, Einstein, and the Search for Reality," *Daedalus* 07 (Spring, 1968), 636-73.

²³⁰ Terence Ball, "New Faces of Power", in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 26.

²³¹ Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press,

Jeffery Isaac, in answering some questions concerning the realist stance, argues that the successful exercise of a role is contingent. If a teacher is not successful at teaching, writing a syllabus and marking papers, his/her power may be nullified. This nullification does not take away the power of the role of the teacher. We would say that he/she is a bad teacher, "unsuited to the role of a teacher and personally unable to exercise the social powers associated with the role."²³² Another question of the realist position concerns the degree of the endurance of the social roles. Isaac's answer is that the roles are changing with history. "The contingency of the exercise of power is, ultimately, connected to another important reality - the openness of history, and the fact that social structures are only relatively enduring, not immutable."²³³ Realists have moved the debate from an individual-centered debate to a society-centered debate.

4. Feminist Challenge

The feminist challenge to the behaviorists not only moved the debate away from the individual but also away from the social roles of the realists. When young girls are growing up they are exposed to far different gender role models than young boys are. Women are responsible for the majority of child-rearing, and young girls learn their gender roles by the time they are three.²³⁴ Nancy Chodorow recognizes that this early

1992), p. 45.

²³² Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 47.

²³³ Jeffrey C. Isaac, "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 48.

²³⁴ Robert Stoller, "A Contribution to the Study of Gender Identity," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 45 (1964): 220-226 quoted in Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*:

modeling produces a greater sense of relationship and intimacy in girls than it does in boys. "Girls emerge from this period with a bias for 'empathy' built into their primary definition of self in a way boys do not."²³⁵ Looking at power through the eyes of relationship, empathy, and mutuality, feminists question the basic behavioral definition of power as getting others to do what they would not otherwise do. The first challenge is to recognize that power can be positive; "They (women) have used their powers to foster the growth of others - certainly children, but also many other people. This might be called using one's power to empower another - increasing the other's resources, capabilities, effectiveness, and ability to act."²³⁶ This positive power is accomplished through a sense of relationship, "We observe that women tend to find satisfaction, pleasure, effectiveness and a sense of worth if they experience their life activities as arising from, and leading back into, a sense of connection with others."²³⁷ Power is located not in individuals or even essentially in the roles they play, but power is situated as a "self-in-relation."

Some feminists also realize the field aspects of power. One person cannot have full and total influence on another person. There is a whole field of influences coming in contact with individuals including other people, roles played and personal histories. Therefore, if we are to use the influence of our power in the life of another person, interaction of some significance needs to take place. As Jean Baker Miller writes: "The one who exerts such power recognizes that she or he cannot possibly have total influence

Psychological Theory and Women's Development, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 7.

²³⁵ Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering*, (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1978), p. 167.

²³⁶ Jean Baker Miller, "Women in Power," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 242.

²³⁷ Jean Baker Miller, "What do we mean by relationships?" *Work in Progress*, no. 22.

or control but has to find ways to interact with the other person's constantly changing forces or powers. And all must be done with appropriate timing, phrasing, and shifting of skills so that one helps to advance the movement of the less powerful person in a positive, stronger direction."²³⁸ Relationships between people, not just the roles they fill, must be taken into account if one is to bring about his/her power for good. However, that good for the person cannot be determined paternalistically. That is why words such as "dialogue" and "mutuality" are used in this literature - the good is not determined from a power-over, authoritarian structure. Natalie Eldridge writes that relationships should be "those in which everyone interacts in ways that foster the psychological development of all the people involved."²³⁹ This is a "power- with" model. "Power-over" is seen in the Behaviorists' eyes as the powerful controlling the action of the people under them, against their wishes. The realists write of "power-to", in that power is given by position to do or be certain things. These feminists write of "power-with" others, as groups of people collaborate, coming to mutually beneficial solutions.²⁴⁰ To these feminists power is to work with another person to make a positive change.

(Wesley, MA: Stone Center Working Paper Series, 1986).

²³⁸ Jean Bake Miller, "Women in Power," in *Rethinking Power*, ed. by Thomas E. Wartenburg, (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 242.

²³⁹ Natalie Eldridge, *Mentoring for a Self-in-Relation Perspective*, ERIC document ED350494, 1990, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ These themes are not exclusive to feminism and are being picked up by some even in the business world. For example Steven Covey writes about "win-win" in life and business - where you sincerely care about the other person's position and dialogue with the other person to negotiate a situation where both people "win." Steven Covey, *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*, (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1989), pp. 204-234.

5. French and Raven

During the time of the “three faces of power” philosophical debate, French and Raven wrote a paper concerning power within the field of small group theory.²⁴¹ Their conclusions are significant to this thesis, as mentoring often occurs in small groups. The authors did not attempt to make a general theory of power, but their use of the concept of power can be seen as inclusive of the various viewpoints of power brought out during and after the behavioral debate. In this way, their use of the word “power” was not limited to a dichotomy of bad and good use of power. The various nuances of power are observed without attaching values to them. This is valuable to my discussion of power since I hope to locate mentoring in the midst of various other adolescent relationships, which are not black or white, good or bad.

French and Raven simply want to describe the various sources from which power originates. In so doing, they describe the behavioural aspects of power - positive and negative reinforcements. French and Raven call these sources of power “reward power” and “coercive power.” They were ahead of their time, vis-a-vis the philosophical debate on power, by including a source that stems from the power that structures give. French and Raven describe this type of power as “legitimate power.” Without the sophistication of the realists, French and Raven simply observe that structures give people a source of legitimate power. They also include a source of power that is similar to the feminists' “power-with model” by describing a type of power based on trust and respect called “referent power.” French and Raven come close to describing a communication source of

²⁴¹ John French and Bertram Raven, “The Bases of Social Power,” in Cartwright and Zander, *Group Dynamics*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1968).

power by describing "expert power," one that is held by people who have and wield expert information.

The first type of power French and Raven describe is called "reward power."²⁴² One person has power over another when he/she is able to give rewards, thus providing positive reinforcement. The magnitude of the rewards perceived by the recipient magnifies the amount of power. In many job situations this is certainly the case. The boss influences by giving raises and bonuses to his/her employees. Reward power is even seen in love relationships. Perhaps one person in a couple has a need for physical attention. As the perceived need increases, the other person in the relationship may reward him/her with that attention or withhold it. The person with the lesser need has the power of reward over the other. The power of reward is contingent upon the recipient's hunger for it and upon the other's capability to fulfil it.

The second source of power outlined by Raven and French is "coercive power."²⁴³ This can be seen as influence through negative reinforcement. Coercive power is power over another by threat and action of punishment. The punishment may come in the form of being fired, of receiving a negative review, of not being paid attention to, of not spending time with. The strength of the coercive power is contingent upon the perceived possibility of escaping the punishment. For example, if people know they are going to get punished anyway, those people might say to themselves, "Why make a good job of whatever I am being punished for anyway?" Coercive punishment is also contingent upon the perception of harm. For example, during the time of photoradar speeding traps in

²⁴² John French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in Cartwright and Zander, *Group Dynamics*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 263.

²⁴³ John French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in Cartwright and Zander,

Ontario, it was reported that some wealthy people drove faster than ever. They could easily afford the tickets and the threat of losing points from their licenses was taken away.

The third source of power is termed "legitimate power."²⁴⁴ Legitimate power has been identified by other names such as "positional power" or "legal power" by those who followed French and Raven.²⁴⁵ This type of power arises from the structures of society - and is similar to that of the realists. Legitimate power is housed in the position of the employer, the policewoman, the teacher, the doctor, and so on. The term "legitimate" is used to include those positions that are legitimized by society at large and by individuals. This type of power is contingent upon the ability of the person holding the position to perform the socially expected duties and upon the individual to accept the norms of society. Legitimate power can be seen as a type of "power-to," the power to perform certain roles.

The fourth source of power is "expert power." Expert power occurs when a person is seen to possess special knowledge or skill. To French and Raven, the people who have needed information have a source of power. Often people will rely on others who have greater knowledge than they do and will often change their actions and opinions in keeping with the experts. "Accepting an attorney's advice in legal matters is a common example of expert influence; but there are many instances based on much less knowledge,

Group Dynamics, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 263.

²⁴⁴ John French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in Cartwright and Zander, *Group Dynamics*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1968)p. 264.

²⁴⁵ David Johnston and Frank Johnston, *Joining Together*, (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), p.406-407. Through out this thesis I will equate positional power with legitimate power.

such as the acceptance by a stranger of directions given by a native villager."²⁴⁶ The acceptance of expert power is contingent upon the recipient's believing that the expert knows more about a certain subject and trusting the expert to tell the truth.

The fifth source of power outlined is "referent power." Referent power is based on identification with the power holder. The recipient wants to be like the person admired, thereby giving that person the power of influence in his/her life. "By identification, we mean a feeling of oneness of P (recipient of power) with O (power holder), or a desire for such an identity. If O is a person toward whom P is highly attracted, P will have a desire to become closely associated with O."²⁴⁷ In modern small group literature the term "referent power" is still being used. For example, Johnston and Johnston define referent power in the milieu of small groups in which a group leader gives evidence of referent power with his/her group. "When a person has referent power, group members identify with or want to be like him and therefore does what he wants out of respect, liking, and wanting to be liked."²⁴⁸ This source of power is contingent upon such relational aspects as trust, attractiveness and respect. If a person holding referent power abuses it by acting untrustworthy, the referent power is diminished.

These five categories of power have endured and are used in a variety of disciplines today. For example, school counselors are urged to build "referent" and "expert" power relationships with students in guidance situations.²⁴⁹ Feminist

²⁴⁶ John French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in Cartwright and Zander, *Group Dynamics*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 267.

²⁴⁷ John French and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," in Cartwright and Zander, *Group Dynamics*, (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 266.

²⁴⁸ David Johnston and Frank Johnston, *Joining Together*, (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), p. 407.

²⁴⁹ Shaby, Peterson, Tennyson, and Temminen, "Power is Not a Four-Letter Word," *The*

philosopher Kathryn Pauly Morgan asks the question of how to build gender-equitable educational settings. She uses the French and Raven's model of power to describe the sources of power that she has observed as an educator.²⁵⁰ The French and Raven forms of power are used in business literature.²⁵¹ A centre for leadership studies has taken the French and Raven forms of power and has produced a test identifying business leaders' forms of power.²⁵² This self-descriptive test reveals to the participants which forms of power they use in their business dealings. French and Raven are not only used in small group texts, but also in other lexicons of study today.

Perhaps the adaptability of French and Raven's defined sources of power grows out of the fact that they have not attempted to make a comprehensive or exclusive theory of power. Rather, they have chosen to be inclusive of many sources of power. Raven and French's categories can be related to "power-over," "power-to," and "power-with" situations. An expert with positional power may wield power over his/her people. A teacher has power-to act in certain ways because of his/her legitimate position. A big brother may exercise power-with a person in helping him to make a decision concerning his future, because of his referent power. In this way power can be seen as negative or positive.

School Counselor (November, 1988) Vol. 36, pp. 138.

²⁵⁰ Kathryn Pauly Morgan, "The Perils and Paradoxes of the Bearded Mothers," in *The Gender Question in Education: Theory, Pedagogy and Politics*, A Diker, B Houston, K.P. Morgan and Mary Ann Agim, eds., (Bolder, CO: Westview Press, 1966), p 126.

²⁵¹ Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard, *Management of Organizational Behavior*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988.) and Larry Boone, Betty Velthouse and Kenneth Thomas, "Superior-Subordinate Perceptions of Power in Use," *Journal of Management Systems*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1990.

²⁵² Paul Hersey and Walter E. Natemyer, *Power Perception Profile*. (Center for Leadership Studies, 1979).

Raven and French's sources of power recognize types of power that can "flow to and from" on various levels. A person may be hiring for a firm (reward power and legitimate power), but if that person has a respected friend apply (referent power), the power sources may flow in both directions. In this way, most people have some type of potential power. French and Raven also recognize both the individual and societal aspects of power. Individuals have power such as reward or referent situations while the structures of society give legitimate power.

If this early writing concerning forms of power is so insightful and helpful, has anyone written about sources of power more recently? This question is particularly significant because French and Raven wrote about sources of power before the communicative, realists and feminists had written much on the subject of power. David Nyberg writes about forms of power more than thirteen years later and attempts a fuller definition of power.

6. Nyberg

Educational philosopher David Nyberg formulates a more complete theory of power than did French and Raven in a book that includes various views central to the power debate.²⁵³ However, Nyberg still writes about various forms of power as did French and Raven. Nyberg writes from an historical position which includes some of the realist, communicative and feminist challenges to the behaviorist debate on power. By exploring his work we can examine what has been missed by French and Raven in their description of multiple sources of power.

²⁵³ David Nyberg, *Power Over Power*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).

Nyberg begins by stating that all members of social groups, starting with the family, have power. “No social being can escape experience with power and powerlessness, and for this reason power should be recognized as a fundamental category of human experience.”²⁵⁴ Nyberg is also broad in the language of power. Nyberg thinks it is ridiculous to exclude love from the language of power. Power can be seen as both positive and negative and as a fundamental category of human experience. For example, Nyberg challenges R. S. Peters for removing positive aspects of power and renaming them “authority.” R. S. Peters separates “power” and “authority.” Peters argues, “Authority, on the other hand, involves the appeal to an impersonal normative order or value system which regulates behaviour basically because of acceptance of it on the part of those who comply.”²⁵⁵ In rebutting Peters, Nyberg writes; “Authority is simply power that is respectable, or acceptable, to those who delegate it in the first place and who then consent to it. Authority remains just as vulnerable to the withdrawal of consent as other kinds of power.”²⁵⁶ To Nyberg, people with power are not just people like Hitler and Stalin, but also those who hold power to the benefit of others, like Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Not only does Nyberg believe that power is inclusive of various sources, also he views the basis of power as arising from delegation and consent. “All power is delegated and because of this it is accountable to those whose consent and delegation support the power-holder’s position.”²⁵⁷ To Nyberg power comes from “two people with a plan for

²⁵⁴ David Nyberg, *Power Over Power*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), p 29.

²⁵⁵ R. S. Peters, *Ethics and Education*, (London, ENG: Allen and Unwin, 1976), p. 239.

²⁵⁶ David Nyberg, *Power Over Power*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 89.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 38.

action.” Because power involves a plan for *action*, delegation is needed. “Delegation works both from a group to the leader, as in electing a president who is thus delegated power to lead the electors, and from the leader to a group, as in a boss giving orders to employees who must then perform their delegated labors.” This plan for action requires agreement of some kind in a social arrangement. Because there is a social arrangement, consent needs to be given both ways - consent to the leader and consent of the leader to the people. Consent gives power its strength. “The withdrawal of consent is the final power act. Consent is a form of control over power.”²⁵⁸ To Nyberg power is seen in a plan for action where there is delegation and consent.

Nyberg, like French and Raven, produces a list of forms of power. The first form of power is that of “Force.” Nyberg describes force to be the most primitive and least stable form of power. The power of force is seen in the neighborhood bully to the military government. Nyberg describes force as the easiest for us to understand, yet it is also the most costly and most inefficient because “unwilling and hostile consent must be maintained.”²⁵⁹

The second form of power that Nyberg describes is “Fiction.” By fiction he means storytelling and information. “A person who is good at using words to turn ideas into images in the minds of listeners and readers – a story teller – is a person of great potential power.”²⁶⁰ To Nyberg, fiction is the broad power of communication. This communication may be accurate or deceptive, describing history, or fantasy or containing lies. The power holder is the storyteller who uses words to create a sense of meaning or a structure.

²⁵⁸ David Nyberg, *Power Over Power*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), p. 70.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 71. To me this is a stretch of the word “consent.” I would have liked him to deal with rape.

Nyberg uses examples of teachers using stories to motivate their students, to cult leaders using their persuasive words to lead people into harm. Fiction is the underlying power of story-telling.

The third form of power that Nyberg describes is that of “Finance.” To Nyberg, finance is “recognized as an offer of reward for services made within the rules of some theory of economic exchange. The reward need not be money, but it must always be something valued by the one who performs the service.”²⁶¹ One example of a non-financial reward would be that of a teacher recognizing good behaviour or discussion in class. Much of the hidden curriculum would fall into this category of power. “In the reward system of the hidden curriculum, the student bears the cost of conforming to classroom custom in return for the prized benefit of teacher’s praise.”²⁶² Finance is the power of reward.

The fourth form of power Nyberg observes is that of “Fealty.” Fealty is taken to mean faithfulness or loyalty that is based on trust and mutuality. To Nyberg, this type of power is close to love. Fealty is considered the most productive type of power. “As power takes on forms that more and more closely approximate balanced trust, shared understanding, and a mutual plan for action, more and more of one’s available resources are freed for application to the plan itself.”²⁶³ In this model, both parties have the same plan and share all information relevant to the plan. There is a need for trust in fealty power. Fealty is the power of that which is found in a caring friendship.

²⁶⁰ David Nyberg, *Power Over Power*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.) p. 71.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 75.

²⁶² *Ibid.* p. 78.

²⁶³ *Ibid.* p 81.

Forms of Power Employed in this Thesis

How can we distinguish various forms of power in social interaction that would help set mentoring adolescents apart from other adolescent relationships and thus aid in its definition?²⁶⁴ Dualists are of limited help in this regard. For example, to say one person possesses power and another person is powerless does not help distinguish adolescent mentoring from coaching or parental relationships. There needs to be a recognition of the several sides of power in order to find the distinctions necessary to carve out a specific enough definition for mentoring adolescents. There are subtleties of power in every human relationship and mentoring is no exception. The type of power that I will use to describe a mentoring relationship will be more beneficial if it can point out these subtleties in relationships.

Many of the theories of power single out one aspect of power that others have missed. The behaviorists make the point in that power is often exercised in ways that are not in people's best interest. Often power is exercised by using positive and negative reinforcements. This type of power is exercised by individuals and produces arenas of conflict and compliance – the schoolyard bully provides an example of this kind of power. The realists also have a point in that power often resides in structure, where power is not so much exercised as held. A boss still has the power to make some decisions that will affect the employees outside the consideration of any positive or negative influences. The executives at the *Toyota* plant can shift from making *Camreys* to minivans – there is

²⁶⁴ Raven and French write about “sources” of power, as coming from a person in a small group situation. This is the phenomenon of power in relationships. Nyberg writes about “forms” of power as they manifested in people, institutions etc. Again Nyberg is writing about the phenomenon of power. For the purpose of this thesis the “sources” of power and “forms” of power will be treated similarly.

power to change inside a system. The communicators make the point that power can be wielded both positively and negatively through use of communication. Communicative power can be positive as people communicate toward a common goal. Native Canadians' use of consensus decision-making shows us that there is power in such dialogue. The Feminists make the point that power can be used to the benefit of others. The power that is housed in a relationship for mutual benefit is seen in many loving relationships and specifically is seen in some special big brother, big-sister relationships.

Each of the schools of thought do not necessarily rule the other out. Power can be recognized as resident in structures without having to deny that power can be exercised by individuals. The schoolyard bully in the depressed inner city belongs to a structure of little power, but he can still wield individual coercive power in the schoolyard. Self-in-relation power may be an ideal for some to strive for, but it does not negate the coercive or structural aspects of power. The individual power-over another, the structural power-to do certain things and the power-with another in relationship can all be exercised around us, and many times in concert with each other.

Nyberg tied many of these schools of thought together in his book. Nyberg's concept of "Force" is closely tied to the power of coercion as found in the behavioural definitions of power. A form of power can be negative, forcing people to do what they would not have done otherwise. Nyberg's concept of "Fiction" is closely tied to the power of communication as found within the communication model. Sources of power can be found in the use of language as people come together to work together in dialogue. Nyberg's concept of "Finance" is closely tied to the power of reward which was also found to be a positive reinforcement in behavioural models. Nyberg's concept of "Fealty"

is closely tied to the power of relationship written about by some feminists. Genuine concern and trust builds a form of power-with people. Nyberg, however, did not include a form of power that is found essentially in structures of power.

The writings of French and Raven likewise include various sources of power and also include a source for the power found in structures. French and Raven defined concepts of “reward” and “coercive” power that are similar to the concept of power found in the behavioural model of power. “Reward” and coercive forms of power in French and Raven are quite similar to Nyberg’s “finance” and “force.” Other similarities include French and Raven’s use of “legitimate” power, which is similar to the power found in societal structures. However, French and Raven did not tackle one type of power that is evident in societal structures - the power found in social location. I will deal this latter in this chapter. It is the realists’ who identify the enduring capacity of title or position itself as a power held. French and Raven also write of “Expert” power, which is the power resident in the skills, knowledge and information. Expert power is likewise comparable to the possession and finessing of information, the fiction power of Nyberg. Finally, French and Raven’s “referent” power is similar to Nyberg’s power of “fealty” and the power described by the feminists as power-with another person.

To describe the power found in adolescent mentoring relationships I will choose French and Raven’s taxonomy together with a few layers of more modern understanding. First, French and Raven do not simply dichotomize power. Therefore, they add more subtleties to understanding various relationships. Second, French and Raven include the major schools of thought on power in their definitions, previously discussed. Third, French and Raven are referred to and used widely, having entered the lexicon of small

group theory and other disciplines. Fourth, French and Raven initially addressed the area of small group dynamics. Mentoring is at times a small group activity. One could think of the small groups of Socrates or Jesus in order to picture mentoring as a small group activity. Nyberg is similar to French and Raven, but I feel his attempt at alliteration (starting each of his categories with the letter F) detracts from understanding instead of illuminating the sources of power. For example, the use of “finance” for reward is confusing. Even though he explains that “finance” means any kind of reward, why doesn’t he use the word “reward?” The form of power Nyberg calls “force” is also confusing. Force belongs to a subset of coercion, and not the other way around. One can conceive of coercive events which may not be “forced.” For example, the setting of agendas may coercively lead people but not force them. As well, Nyberg has not sufficiently included structural power as one of his sources of power. French and Raven, however, have included structural power by reference to legitimate power.

French and Raven wrote their paper in the sixties. Even though I am using their lexicon, I will expand on their conception of the various forms of power to include more modern notions. First, French and Raven’s use of coercion and reward was written at the time when the behavioural debates on power were in fashion. Coercion and reward find their basis in positive and negative reinforcements of behaviorism. Second, I would like to expand French and Raven’s use of “legitimate” power to include the concept of structural power of the realists. Legitimate power is a power of position, independent of one’s personality and ability. An incompetent police officer still carries the power of the position. Next, I would like to expand French and Raven’s use of “expert” power to include Nyberg’s concept of “fiction” – that an expert not only holds information, but

understands how to finesse the information to be persuasive. Next, I would like to expand the French and Raven's use of "referent" power to include the feminists' understanding of power-with another person. In this way, referent power not only is given by one who wants to identify with another, but also encourages this person to reciprocate in a mutual relationship, while both share some degree of power with each other. Whenever the word "referent" is used it will include the idea of mutuality in it, a mutuality not excluded by French and Raven, but a mutuality that was not emphasized. With the addition of these new colours of understanding enlivening the older canvas of French and Raven, I will now examine the kind of power needed for an effective adolescent mentoring relationship.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ In my analysis of power I did not include Michel Foucault. Although Foucault would say that the central theme in his work is how human beings are made subjects (Foucault, in Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, (University of Chicago Press, 1983) p. 208) he has written much on the subject of power. One reason I did not include Foucault is that he primarily sees power as power-over; "power of men over women, of parents over children, of psychiatry over the mentally ill" (1983, Foucault, p. 211). As will become evident in this chapter, power-over will not be a helpful part of a mentoring relationship. Also for Foucault, "power is not a function of consent" (1983, Foucault, p. 220). The consensual aspects of a mentoring relationship remove it from his analysis. Foucault dealt with the power of coercion, communication and structure but did not study a power of giving the gift of power-with to another person. Another reason for not using Foucault is that in mentoring I am looking at the interaction of two people or of a small group of people. The power of the individual is important to the understanding of pairing the mentor with the protégé. There is no official status for the mentor, just two people, in a power-with relationship. To Foucault, the individual is not one of the "prime effects of power" (Foucault, "Two Lectures," in *Power / Knowledge*, pp. 78-108, p. 98). "Foucault wants to do without; he proposes a mode of inquiry that makes no explanatory reference to individual beliefs, intentions, or actions. Genealogy, he advises us, 'should not concern itself with power at the level of conscious intention of decision'; it should refrain from posing questions of the sort: 'Who has power and what has he in mind?'" Thomas McCarthy, "The Critique of Impure Reason: Foucault and the Frankfurt School," ed. by Thomas Wartenberg, *Rethinking Power*, (New York, NY: State University Press, 1992), p.133.

A Review of Power Found in Mentoring:

Now that a conceptual grid of power has been selected, I will further examine the mentoring literature outlined in chapter three that included the concept of power in mentoring. I will note what kind of power is used both in mentoring relationships and in general. At the end of this section, I will note the types of power most aligned with effective mentoring.

Throughout the history of mentoring, the power found in the relationships was rarely formalized with a title. Even if there was a title given to the mentor, such as teacher, the relationship grew beyond that title. For example, Socrates had no title for his position, other than “corrupter of the youth,” a title given to him by his detractors. However, the youth of Athens awarded him a place of honour and power in their lives - something Socrates had earned. Socrates exercised forms of expert power - his special knowledge and also referent power - the respect awarded him by the young men of the city. To some of the populace, Jesus was considered a Rabbi, yet he never studied under the rabbinical system. To the Rabbis themselves, Jesus was an outsider.²⁶⁶ Jesus' disciples followed him not for potential official advancement in the Rabbinical order, but rather because of who he was. Jesus exercised expert power through his teaching and referent power through the relationships that he built. Henslow was Darwin's teacher, holding legitimate power, yet the relationship moved much deeper and continued on after classes were finished. Darwin dreamed of the day when he would return from his journey at sea and he could pace the roads around Cambridge. Henslow influenced Darwin beyond any classroom walls by sowing ideas and spending time with him. Henslow's influence

²⁶⁶ The Gospel according to Matthew records a Rabbi questioning Jesus concerning his

affected Darwin for a lifetime. At first, Henslow practiced legitimate power as a teacher, adding probably some power of reward as one who could propel Darwin's career forward. Referent power could also be seen by the respect and admiration for Henslow that Darwin expressed in his writings. The power relationships found in these historical examples were based more on respect for the mentor than on hope for job advancement, or because of the mentor's position or title. The protégés respected their teachers and their expertise to such a degree that they were willing to spend extra time with them and to open up their inner selves to the mentor they admired.

In modern mentoring examples, there is likewise a mixture of power relationships. In business mentoring models, the power of reward (job title, raises, and promotion) is mixed with the power of information (superiors hold the important information to complete the next task) and the power of position (titles and chains of command). Certainly in many cases, the power of earned respect occurs in the business model of mentoring, but that respect is definitely mixed with other types of power over a person. Teachers mentoring teachers may have the power of earned respect involved. However, here too these relationships are still coloured by other types of power relationships, such as the power of position or of reward in possible advancement (or survival) in an employment situation.

Holly Carter describes how and with what degree of success women enter academic mentoring. Carter describes how mentors and protégés choose each other, depicting it as a “cyclical process where mutual selection occurs.”²⁶⁷ In this context she

authority and who it was who gave him his authority to teach - Matthew 21:23.

²⁶⁷ Holly Carter, “Making it in Academia: Gurus Can Get You There?” *Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association* (New York, NY, March 19-23, 1982), ED 235

writes, "The mentor-protégé relationship represents perhaps one of the most pure symbiotic relationships between non-familial human beings."²⁶⁸ Power is seen as shared and as a cyclical process.

Mentoring of the gifted involves a type of power that is earned by the mentor in the eyes of the protégés. Artists respect their teachers for the skill and expertise they display. Job advancement is usually not a factor with these mentors. Perhaps some power in this relationship exists because of the possible indirect advancement of reputation from having studied with a certain master. Some mentoring of gifted students is coloured by the desire for a skill to be mastered - a form of expert power. A mentor of the gifted could be respected as a skillful person but not necessarily as one who is wise or good, or as a person one would want to emulate.

Power is a central issue to women mentoring women. These models of mentoring speak of power-with, mutuality, and living in-relationship. Forms of power that can be construed as power-over are not considered helpful in a women mentoring women scenario. Reward and coercive power both smack of control of one person over another. The power of position has the basic framework of power-to do or power-over another. Even expert power grants one person over another person by one person's having information that the other person does not have. Referent power is offered as a gift by one person out of respect for the other. Referent power promotes the possibility of mutuality because it is a power with a relational base.

758, p. 4.

²⁶⁸ Holly Carter, "Making it in Academia: Gurus Can Get You There?" *Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association* (New York, NY, March 19-23, 1982), ED 235 758, p. 3.

Some of the general definitions of mentoring contain implied or conscious pictures of power within relationships. Kaoru Yamamoto identifies the first marker of mentoring as a need "to be seen" by the mentor.²⁶⁹ Yamamoto describes "to be seen" as "meeting the need of recognition and appreciation by a significant other so as to affirm oneself as a human being."²⁷⁰ The affirmation as a human being probably does not come through reward or punishment. Greater knowledge from an "expert" mentor may give the protégé greater sense of inner affirmation, but the mentor as expert provides no guarantee that he/she will be an affirming person. Affirmations can come from significant people who are trusted and respected. People with referent power with the lives of others have the awesome opportunity to speak affirmations that will be amplified because of the protégés' respect for them.

Nathalie Gehrke defined mentoring in terms of exchanging gifts that she observed in primitive cultures.²⁷¹ The mentoring metaphor of gift-giving starts with the creation of the gift - a life worth emulating. Next, there is a coming together of two people - one who needs the gift and the other who needs to give the gift away. Third, there is gratitude for the gift from the protégé. Gehrke's definition of mentoring does not emphasize coercion, reward or legitimate authority because her definition focuses around the inner qualities of the mentor and the relational qualities of the two coming together. Gehrke's model of mentoring could be seen as the gaining of referent power or expert power. Both these

²⁶⁹ Kaoru Yamamoto, "To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 184.

²⁷¹ Nathalie Gehrke, "Toward a Definition of Mentoring," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 191 - 194.

sources flow out of the mentor as something not that they do (coercion, reward) or a title they hold (legitimate), but as something the mentors possess (referent or expert).

Power that Aids Identity Formation in Adolescents

Mentoring relationships that aim at identity formation in adolescents contain a certain form of power in the relationship. What would that form of power look like? I will start with the least likely choice - the power of coercion. Adolescents are attempting to separate themselves from childhood and all its markers. One of the markers of childhood is punishment and control. For example, we have all experienced "time outs" and bedtimes. Once coercive power is used in an adolescent's life, a power-over relationship is established – "I am the one over you, like your parents are over you." In the "teen movie" series *Back to the Future* there are two adults in the life of the seventeen-year-old, Marty. One is the principal who is giving out detentions - using coercive power. The other adult is the eccentric professor whom Marty emulates (by quoting the professor's phrase "Great Scott") because the professor spends time with Marty. The principal is pictured as the enemy in the movie. The one who brings coercive power over an adolescent generally does not aid adolescents in such a delicate inner formation. Adolescents will not likely open their inner worlds to the power of force.

Legitimate power, or the power of position in the system, is also not a likely source of power to be helpful in identity formation. As related in chapter two, many adolescents are in a time of rejecting systems such as institutions. A generational rule of thumb, from unknown origins, is that the Builder generation loves institutions, the Baby Boom generation wants to reform institutions and Generation X and younger rebel

against institutions. A title may not always get in the way of communication with adolescents, but adolescents are not won over by the title. When being introduced as a speaker to a group of people, sometimes I have an adult and an adolescent introduce me.²⁷² The adult reads out my academic record and my title at the university where I work. Usually the adolescent who introduces me, having read from the same biographical material, emphasizes and is most impressed with my converse "all-star" basketball shoe collection or my collection of barf bags from various airlines. The hard-earned titles and positions do not seem to impress adolescents. Their criterion for listening and learning is "Is this guy real?" In the section addressed to teachers drawn from the Canada-wide survey of adolescents, Bibby and Posterski conclude, "Respect for positional authority, whether personal or institutional, has eroded. . . teenagers are unimpressed with people who simply parade their older status or remind others of their revered position."²⁷³

The power of reward is active in many areas of the adolescent life: reward of pay for part-time jobs; reward of a date based on certain behaviour; reward of using a vehicle based on still other types of behaviour. The power of reward is positive, but it usually focuses on behaviour: if you show up to work on time you keep your job; if you ask the person to the dance you may get a date; if you clean out the garage you get to use the car. The formation of identity requires more than behaviour; it requires the changing of opinions; opening up the mind to new thoughts, goals, needs; identity formation is the crucible where parental, peer and mentor's thoughts are mixed and added to the student's own ideas of who he/she is. It would be difficult to imagine giving someone a reward of

²⁷² I speak to between five to eight thousand students a year in various venues.

²⁷³ Reginald Bibby and Donald Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p. 239.

\$20 if she would come to grips with her own set of values as a unique mix from her backgrounds. Some relationships with adults may offer a type of reward to some adolescents, but the reward power is of limited value in shaping of identity.

Expert power has been seen in many of the mentoring models as a central key. Many times the mentor has special skills or special knowledge that are desirable to the protégé, desirable enough that he/she might even spend time with someone he/she may or may not respect as a person. Often these mentors turn out to be experts in skills such as music, or painting, or have specialized knowledge in education. The expertise flows from something the expert possesses. The musician possesses skills in reading and playing music. The expert teacher mentoring another teacher possesses the time-experience that the protégé does not yet have. In identity formation less of the emphasis is on what is inside the mentor and more of an emphasis is on what is developing inside the protégé. The mentor may need expert power to ask the right questions, but I do not know many adolescents who are drawn to people because they are good at posing questions. Expert power has some degree of impact on adolescent mentoring, but it cannot be the centerpiece.

Power that comes from referent power plays a significant role in the adolescent world. This fact can be seen particularly in the choosing of heroes. Adolescents adulate people they wish to be like, finding in them an adult model to augment their growing identities. Larry Richards notes, “Young people have been shown to overvalue and to idealize some adults – to have a much higher opinion of them than is realistic.”²⁷⁴ Young people dream of floating through the air like Michael Jordan or of being on stage with

²⁷⁴ Lawrence Richards, *Youth Ministry*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1972), p. 128.

thousands of screaming fans like Alanis Morissette. In some ways, adolescents perceive their adult futures as a new, fresh, unwritten journal. Looking up to an adult model and giving them the power of influence is a part of who adolescents are and what they are becoming.

In colouring the referent power of French and Raven with the addition of the feminist “power-with,” we include the quality of mutuality. Adolescents not only look up to some adults, but also want mutual relationships, in which they can be treated as equals. At this particular stage, to treat them as children is an unforgivable insult. If an adolescent can respect an adult, trust an adult to the degree that he/she starts to identify with that adult because that adult can treat him/her with respect and mutuality, the adult can be said to have referent power with that adolescent. It is the adolescent who gives the gift of referent power to the adult.²⁷⁵ It is impossible to demand or buy referent power; it is based solely on respect. Power that is found in a mutual relationship with a respected person seems to be custom-made for adolescents.

Looking from the outside, a mentoring relationship may not seem mutual. The adult is the one with the wisdom of greater time and experience. The adolescent seems to be the only receiver. The mentor does have a power (referent) that the adolescent does not possess in the relationship. To be sure there is an asymmetry in the relationship, yet mutual relationships do not have to be perfectly symmetrical in order to be mutual. It

²⁷⁵ I am using the word “gift” here. I have also used the word gift from Gehrke’s article. Gehrke writes of a “gift exchange,” although she does not say what the protégé gives the mentor. Her emphasis is on the making of the gift from the mentor to the protégé. I am using the word gift independently from Gehrke, but my use of the word gift does not go against Gehrke’s use of the word, in fact it fills in a need to complete the “gift exchange” that she has written of. Nathalie Gehrke, “Toward a Definition of Mentoring,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 191 – 194, p. 191.

could then be argued that there could be no mutuality since perfect symmetry may not be possible in relationships. Instead we can observe a mother-and-child relationship as asymmetrical, yet still possessing mutual love that is meaningful to both lives. Both people are giving and receiving. When I write of a mutual relationship, I am meaning that both persons are giving and receiving and both people are treated with respect for their person. So far in this thesis I have emphasized what the adolescent receives, but what does the mentor receive? Some have written that mentors receive growth in the Eriksonian stage of generativity.²⁷⁶ “Generativity is primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation.”²⁷⁷ For the mentor there is a sense of fulfillment and accomplishment of helping young people who will outlive him/her. However, I believe that a sense of mutuality goes beyond this sense of generativity. Guiding the next generation is a wonderful sense of accomplishment, but mentors also grow themselves while in mentoring relationships. For example, in my own personal mentoring relationships I can point to new interests and knowledge I have gained from baseball-card collecting to skateboard riding. Each person I have built a mutual mentoring relationship with I have learned more about that person and so in some small way more about people in general. I have received good advice from my adolescents who remind me of risk-taking and living more spontaneously, and I have had great fun with them. I am a better person in my enjoyment of life and breath of knowledge and experience because of these

²⁷⁶ Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, “Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages,” *Youth and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, December 1993, pp. 202 – 221, p. 206. Kaoru Yamamoto, “To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 – 188, p. 185. Gail Sheehy, *Passages*, (New York, New York: Bantam Books, 1977), p 406.

²⁷⁷ Erik Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle*, (New York, NY: Norton and Company, 1980), p. 103.

relationships. The benefits to both the mentor and the protégé may be asymmetrical and different in the content that is learned, but I believe that both must give and receive in an atmosphere of respect - something must go both ways - in order to have a mutual relationship and therefore to have a true adolescent mentoring relationship.

If such a power source can be established with an adolescent, several possibilities are open to aiding identity formation. One is the addition of an adult model that will help in second individuation. When my nine-year-old daughter arrives at adolescence, I hope there will be other adults she can respect, offer them the gift of exercising an influence in her life, and gain qualities from them that her parents have not modeled for her.

Referent power also sets up a base for a relationship of mutuality. If an adult is willing to serve as a mentor, the fact probably demonstrates an interest in the adolescents. If referent power is involved, then there is interest on the part of the adolescent; a mutual relationship is on the way to being established.

The physical changes accompanying adolescence can be less devastating within the context of a referent-based relationship. The mentor will most likely not be as physically attractive as a touched-up *Seventeen* magazine cover-girl. Referent source of power offers the adolescent a means of identifying with the adult. A model that is alive, breathing and imperfect can overshadow the brutal comparisons with the almost perfect media models. Some of the protégés I have mentored have been very surprised that at times I struggle with fear and anxiety. There is a great relief that they don't have to strive to be perfect as they become adults.

Assuming the adult mentor does not abuse the referent power bestowed and continues to act in a trustworthy manner, he/she may be able to provide for the adolescent

a type of rite of passage into adulthood. "Relationships" is the number one value of Canadian adolescents,²⁷⁸ and in mentoring there can be established perhaps the first meaningful adult relationship that exists outside of their families. I overheard two teenagers in line at a fair recently were so excited because they saw an old grade eight teacher. The teacher told them, "You are old enough to call me by my first name." The two teens talked for ten minutes about how weird but great it was to be treated as an equal! This simple gesture of mutuality on the part of the teacher is multiplied in magnitude even more within a mentoring relationship.

One type of power that French and Raven apparently did not take into account was the structural power of social location. Because of my gender, faith and race I have a consciousness that supersedes me. I am a member of a group that has history and meaning beyond that of me as an individual. Such factors create differences not only in identity but also in the kinds of power that are found in the structure of our society. For this reason, in many mentoring programs it is strongly recommended that women mentor girls, that Caribbean Canadians mentor Caribbean Canadians and so on. To aid in the adolescents understanding their social identity mentors need to understand their own social identity. As reported in chapter three, Geneva Gay argues that those who understand their own cultural identity will be better able to model the processes for others to understand their cultural identity. If mentors cannot be found within the social group of the protégé, then the mentor must be aware of the structural differential in power that may be perceived by the protégé. In cases such as this, mentors must see one of their roles as facilitators to bring their protégés into contact with models belonging to or

²⁷⁸ Bibbly and Posterski, *Teen Trends*, (Toronto, ON: Stoddart, 1992), p.9.

reasonably congruent with the protégés' social grouping. The mentor will also have to take extra steps to build on mutuality and equality within the relationship, since there will be structural realities of power-over that will have to be worked against over time yet never fully erased. Although an individual can never erase some aspects of social difference, the mentoring relationship need not be seen as useless but just cognizant of its limitations.

Power in Adolescent Relationships

The words used to describe mentoring in the literature are diffuse. The word “mentor” is equated with words such as “coach,” “teacher,” “guidance counselor,” and “advocate,” to name a few. In this section the differences between mentoring and other adolescent relationships will be clearly distinguished, particularly in terms of power. Is mentoring based on referent power different from other adolescent relationships?

1. Parents

Mentoring adolescents through referent power is different from parenting. Parenting, by practice, has the base of positional power. The positional power exercised by a parent is a part of the family system. As children grow, they form their primary identity from their parents - this process is identified as their first individuation. That in itself produces a power differential of position that can not easily be shaken. John McMurtry conducted a 20-year educational experiment with his children. His family was to be an example of the most egalitarian system possible. "Our form of life was that full decision-making powers were vested in our mutual agreements on every matter in which

they had an interest, with no exceptions."²⁷⁹ In McMurtry's words, the purpose of this experiment was to

dismantle all the patriarchal and parental power conferred upon me by social norm and law, and to share it with the community of my family in a decision-making process that left me without a single exclusive power, and my children with all the rights of joining partnership.²⁸⁰

Even though there was no outward "power-over" exercised, McMurtry reported that his teenage daughter rebelled and was sarcastic toward her father about his "little experiment with his children." McMurtry reports, "The concept of experiment with my children's lives confirmed for her my role as a patriarch to blame."²⁸¹ To his daughter, the very fact that he made the decision to perform an experiment indicated to him that he had a position of privilege. The positional role of parents is hard if not impossible to shake.

2. Coaches

Adolescents are in contact with coaches in their gym classes, their school sports clubs and in sports outside of school. In some contexts coaching is equated with mentoring,²⁸² but mentoring adolescents with a base of referent power is different from coaching. Coaching may involve referent power with a few of the participants, but it is neither necessary nor implicit in the relationship: because a player does not wish to emulate the coach does not make the coach a bad coach. Coaches make decisions that affect all the players. Don Schula, long time coach of the Miami Dolphins, told a story of

²⁷⁹ John McMurtry, "The Iconoclast: A 20-year Educational Experiment - the Diaspora of Adolescence," *Canadian Social Studies* (Fall 1994), vol. 29, no. 1, p. 8.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 8.

²⁸¹ Ibid. p. 8.

²⁸² Florence M. Stone, *Coaching, Counseling and Mentoring*, (New York, NY: American

his being on the sidelines with Dan Marino, his quarterback. The coach asked the quarterback, "What's your call, Dan?" He (the quarterback) just smiled and said, 'Coach, this is why you get paid so much.'²⁸³ Coaching decisions range from who will start in a game, to what plays, will be played to making up rules for a team to follow (i.e., sleeping before the game). The rewards of recognition and the coercion of punishment are the backdrops for many of these decisions made for team players. The power of position is inherent in the title of -"coach." One occupies the position to make those decisions. More than these, the power of the expert is central to coaching. Expert power implies specialized knowledge or skill. That is why we employ coaches, isn't it? We hire coaches to bring out the best skills in their players, to use their specialized knowledge to win games. Referent power is not necessary for good coaching to take place.

3. Teachers

Teachers play a central role in the lives of many teens. As I look back on my own schooling, I realize there were some teachers with whom I wanted to identify. They held referent power in my life. However, even here, mentoring adolescents based on referent power is different from teaching. As a teacher myself, I notice a perceptible difference in the attitude of the class before and after the first marks are given back to the students. Classes are friendlier and more open to discussion before marks are returned. Once papers are graded, students once again realize that the teacher holds a position of power to reward them or punish them for not living up to certain educational standards or

Management Association, 1999).

²⁸³ Don Schula and Ken Blanchard, *Everyone's a Coach*, (New York, NY: Harper Business, 1995), p. 52.

expectations. Certainly the teacher also holds expert power - that is why we have teachers instead of facilitators. Teachers bring to the questions they raise and the subject matter that they teach their special knowledge that has been gathered over the years. Referent power may exist within special teaching relationships, yet the granting or withholding of reward along with expert power are more central to what a teacher is required to be.

Summary

Adolescents feel they have little power to exercise within an adult world. They may feel ignored or be seen as problems. In their idealism, they feel as if they should be able to interact on equal terms with adults, but they are usually not given the chance. Mentoring with a referent base of power gives the adolescent that chance, and with that opportunity, they may have an adult they can look up to, emulate, or even one to whom they can open their inner identity.

Mentoring with a focus on referent power will bring with it practical differences in the design of mentoring programs. The practical working out of the mentoring relationship will be explored in full in the final chapter of this thesis. However, to see how referent power may make a difference in the lives of protégés, we can examine to two specific mentoring programs, which are attempting to include referent power.

I was asked to consult with the General Conference Mennonites in Winnipeg, Manitoba, concerning their mentoring program. Their goal is to have every grade nine student matched with a mentor for the four years attended through high-school. To their credit, they asked the students to choose their own mentors. The students were asked to fill out a form which enabled them to select one of three adults named to be their personal

mentor. This approach allows a greater opportunity for including referent power in the relationship. If the teen chooses an adult she already respects, a personable adult with whom she wants to spend time, there is a good chance that a relationship of respect, trust and identification may grow. This method seems more likely to produce referent power relationships than matching strangers.

In the mentoring program I am overseeing, we attempt to build relationships between the adolescent and the adult. We have the adults attend our teen drop-in events for a month prior to the beginning of the mentoring program. A central goal we give the adults is that of building relationships. To begin with we run a weekend retreat, at the end of which the teens are matched up with the adults. The teens and the adults collaboratively agree to participate in a mentoring relationship. The respect for the adults is often forming if not already in place by the time the summer meetings are scheduled to take place. There are safeguards and initiatives we put in place which will be discussed in the final chapter. It is sufficient to say that referent power in mentoring changes the shape of mentoring. It is central to a mentoring relationship that wishes to aid adolescents in the process of forming their adult identities.

Chapter Five

Dialogue In Adolescent-Oriented Mentoring Relationships

Steve was an adult in his late forties who wanted to help some teens in our small community in upstate New York. He started by taking some of the young men out to exercise his dogs to see if they could find some raccoons. The young teens had such a great time that they were willing to get together with Steve every Saturday morning in a mentoring relationship. Steve made an appointment with me because he had some questions about the pragmatics of the relationship. “Ok, so I am meeting with these three teens. We went out running the dogs in the woods but what else am I supposed to do? Is there more to mentoring teens than spending time with them?”

In this chapter I will examine one of the central activities that takes place during the mentoring relationship. This activity will need to be included as one of the markers consistent with the general mentoring literature and as a meaningful aid in adolescent identity formation. Mentoring has a referent, power-with relationship. This referent power is given to the mentor by the protégé. It is not demanded by position or coerced by reward or punishment. Knowing that referent power defines the relationship means that the mentoring activity should be compatible. This chapter will examine one of the key markers of mentoring that was suggested in the mentoring and identity formation literature, and supported by the power literature – the activity of dialogue.

General Comments on Identity Formation Aided by Adults

Because dialogue is a very interpersonal activity, the question begs to be asked, “Is the goal of identity formation able to be aided by an interpersonal means?” At times,

in fact, identity formation has been interpreted as an uniquely intrapersonal event.²⁸⁴ However, most developmentalists recognize the importance of the interpersonal aspects of identity formation. As was discussed in chapter two, Erikson singled out three contributors to identity formation. According to Erikson, identity formation grows through internal reflection, interaction with other people and through the influence of the historical, societal period at large.²⁸⁵ Interaction with other people provides the relational component to identity formation. James Marcia writes, “Psychological development includes the establishment and maintenance of interdependent relational matrices.”²⁸⁶ This observation makes sense because the selves that adolescents are attempting to create interact with other people. It is interesting that Josselson recognized this fact particularly in the development of women and adolescents. “In adolescents and in women, the self does not precipitate out of social embeddedness – the self precipitates within a social matrix.”²⁸⁷ Vygotsky takes the need of social embeddedness another step to include all people. “We are aware of ourselves, for we are aware of others, and in the same way as we know others; and this is as it is because in relation to ourselves we are in the same position as others are to us.”²⁸⁸ The growth in understanding of the self requires other people.

²⁸⁴ Carol Gilligan, “Adolescent Development reconsidered,” in C. E. Irwin ed., *Adolescent Social Behavior and Health: New Directions of Child Development*. (San Francisco, CA: Josey Bass, 1987) vol. 37, pp. 63-92.

²⁸⁵ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 13.

²⁸⁶ James Marcia, “The Relational Roots of Identity,” in Jane Kroger, ed., *Discussions on Ego Identity*, (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1993), p 109.

²⁸⁷ Ruthellen Josselson “The Embedded Self: I and Thou Revisited,” in Lapsley and Power ed., *Self, Ego, and Identity: Integrative Approaches*, (New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, 1988), pp. 91-109, p. 91.

²⁸⁸ L. Vygotsky, “Consciousness as a Problem of Psychology of Behaviour,” *Soviet*

The relational aspects of identity formation have been most often conceptualized in terms of significant others, primarily parents, friends and adults with whom the adolescent regularly interacts.²⁸⁹ This interaction provides mentors a sphere of influence to aid adolescents in their identity formation. Mentors are the significant adults who have built a relationship with adolescents where identity formation can be aided.

James Marcia and Jean Piaget - Adults Aiding Identity Formation Through Conversation

Following Erikson, James Marcia believes that identity formation is achieved through crisis and commitment. "Crisis refers to times during adolescence when the individual seems to be actively involved in choosing among alternative occupations and beliefs. Commitment refers to the degree of personal investment the individual expresses in an occupation or belief."²⁹⁰ Marcia believes that not all adolescents successfully achieve healthy identity formation. Some adolescents are arrested in their development because of attachment to their parents' identities. These are the foreclosed subjects. Some adolescents never really want to spend the emotional energy to actively ask who they are; these are the diffused subjects. According to Marcia, the adolescent who is growing toward identity achievement must travel through a moratorium, in which the adolescent is

Psychology, no. 170, pp.29-30.

²⁸⁹ Jean S. Phinney, "Multiple Group Identities: Differentiation, Conflict, and Integration," in Jane Kroger, ed., *Discussions on Ego Identity*, (pp. 47-73), (Hillsdale New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1993), p.47.

Josselson, R. "The embedded self: I and thou revisited," In D. Lapsley and F. C. Power, eds., *Self, Ego, and Identity: Integrative Approaches*, (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1988), pp. 91-106.

G. Noam, "The self, adult development, and the theory of biography and transformation," In D. Lapsley and F. C. Power, eds., *Self, Ego, and Identity: Integrative Approaches*, (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1988). pp. 91-106.

²⁹⁰ James Marcia, "Ego Identity Status: Relationship to Change in Self-esteem, General

in an acute state of crisis, actively searching out the various possibilities for his/her identity. In response to the question "Who am I?" moratorium students would produce answers like, "I am searching"; "I am striving for meaning"; "I am many different people at the same time."²⁹¹ According to Marcia, if we want to help students grow toward a clear and purposeful identity formation, questions must be asked, and a state of disequilibrium needs to be established to help adolescents grow into their own personhood. In applying the theories of Marcia, Muuss remarks "meaningful ways of frustrating adolescents by challenging them with new ideas, problems, and subjects may increase their efforts to learn and master and, ultimately, contribute to their process of maturing."²⁹² Therefore, one meaningful way to help adolescents grow in their identity is to help them struggle through questions and thoughts in the supportive environment of a significant adult figure.

Piaget describes the flourishing of the mental functions of idealization and generalization in the formal thought of adolescent years. These emerging skills permit thought about themselves on a new level. As adolescents travel through identity moratoria, they are reshaping the mental schemata of themselves to accommodate the changing environment and their own changing bodies. Indulging in conversations with a skilled mentor can help adolescents take advantage of formal operational thought by examining their own changing schemata and the issues of their moratoria.

Maladjustment and Authoritarianism," *Journal of Personality*, 1967, pp. 118-133, p. 35.

²⁹¹ Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p. 78.

²⁹² *Ibid.* p. 84.

Conversations

As described in the preceding section, the literature that recognizes building our sense of identity in the milieu of relating to others uses words like “discussions,” “conversation,” or “dialogue.” Piaget states “Whether in twosomes or in small coteries, the world is reconstructed in common, and the adolescent loses himself in endless discussion as a means of combating the real world.”²⁹³ Adolescents are talking people. The world around them and the images of themselves are constantly being reevaluated and so they often vocalize their experiments with identity.

Living with an adolescent for any length of time leads parents to discover that when their teen is talking on the phone or emailing on the computer, those two instruments take on whole new importance as the central appliances in the house. I have recently spoken with a teen who laughingly admitted that she spends an hour on email with a friend she has just left from school and from whom she lives only five minutes away. I asked what she talked about. She smiled with bubbly delight, and told me that they talk about boys, how people perceive them (physically and “did I make a fool of myself?”), about who is going to whose party. I was an introvert as a teenager, yet even I enthusiastically participated in many long conversations via the phone during my first attempt at dating. One conversation sticks out as unique, as I remember talking so long with my girl friend that she fell asleep on the other end of the line.

Erikson understands this adolescent talk with the opposite sex is not just about falling in love. “Yet in this stage not even ‘falling in love’ is entirely, or even primarily, a sexual matter. To a considerable extent adolescent love is an attempt to arrive at a

²⁹³ Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 68.

definition of one's identity by projecting one's diffused self-image on another and by seeing it thus reflected and gradually clarified. This is why so much of young love is conversation."²⁹⁴ Conversation is turned up several degrees of importance in adolescence because conversation is one way in which adolescents can experiment with various identities and hear their own voice and ideas reflected to themselves. Just as various styles of clothing can be experimented with to establish an identity, so too can various opinions be tried on for size. Conversation is another way to experiment with identity.

This conversation does not need to be restricted to peer relationships. In the end portion of his book *All Grown Up and No Place to Grow*, Elkind writes of his experience as an adult helping adolescents. Elkind writes, "Rather than learn to follow a specific script when conversing with our teenagers, we need simply to talk. . . . The true problem is that teenagers are really not quite sure what it is that is bothering them. They need to talk in a rather freewheeling way in order to discover what they want to say to us."²⁹⁵ In *Reviving Ophelia*, Mary Pipher has a similar prescription for adults working with adolescent girls. "I believe that [adolescent girls] talking to a listener with an accepting, empathic and nonjudgmental stance is healing."²⁹⁶ In both these examples, the content of the talk seems less important than the process of the talk. Ruthellen Josselson also writes about adolescent conversations. She sees not only peer conversations as being central to adolescents, but also any conversation in which adolescents are taken seriously. "If one talks to adolescents, their connectedness to others is immediately apparent. The people

²⁹⁴ Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W. W, Norton, 1968), p. 132.

²⁹⁵ David Elkind, *All Grown Up and No Place to Go*, (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1971), p. 204.

²⁹⁶ Mary Pipher, *Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls*. (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 1994), p. 249.

whom they are attached to are the people they think about and talk about, the people that are ‘with’ them internally.”²⁹⁷ I have seen adults who mentor adolescents by being there for them, listening empathetically, and nonjudgmentally, allowing the adolescents to talk about themselves and have their talk reflected from a person who has traveled farther down the identity formation road. I have seen adult mentors enter that space to be the one “with” adolescents internally. Laurent Daloz gives an example of a mentoring relationship where listening was central to the mentoring relationship.

George did not minimize her concern. He stayed with her emotions and allowed her to express them without censure. By the same token, he did not play therapist with her. There is no attempt here to ‘delve into’ her history. He simply accepted her feelings, thus building a level of trust that allowed her to acknowledge at some level that since he had listened to her, she would listen to him. Careful, discerning listening may be the most valuable talent the good mentor possesses.²⁹⁸

Mentoring Literature and Conversations

If it is possible to help adolescents in their identity formation through conversation, what kind of conversation is helpful? The literature on mentoring gives us some direction. Through the history of mentoring, dialogue has had a persistent presence. For now I will use a simple definition of dialogue as “a conversation between two or more people, an exchange of ideas and opinions.”²⁹⁹ At its most basic definition I am taking dialogue to be set apart from various forms of one-way communication

²⁹⁷ Ruthellen Josselson “The Embedded Self: I and Thou Revisited,” in Lapsley and Power, ed., *Self, Ego, and Identity: Integrative Approaches*, (New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, 1988), pp. 91-109, p. 95.

²⁹⁸ Laurent A. Daloz, “Martha Meet Her Mentor,” *Change*, (July/August 1987), pp.35-37, p.36.

²⁹⁹ Webster’s Third International Dictionary.

(monologues, lectures) and informational conversations (fewer ideas or opinions being shared). For now, let us define dialogue as two-way communication, where ideas and opinions are being shared.

In the mentoring literature, we see that Socrates spoke with and questioned the people he mentored. The Socratic Method is equated with dialogue to some degree, even Plato's writings of Socrates is called the "Dialogues." Jesus, too, had dialogue in his interaction with his disciples. Questions like "Who do people say I am?" and "Who do you say I am?" are but two examples of Jesus setting up two-way interchanges of ideas. Jesus' dialogue with the woman at the well is another example, in which Jesus asked her for a drink and then drew that two-way conversation into spiritual matters.³⁰⁰ Darwin recalled his many walks in unhurried conversation with Henslow. Darwin described these as times where questions flowed back and forth as a two-way conversation filled with ideas and opinions.

The general mentoring literature also mentions dialogue as a part of mentoring. Ambrose, Allen and Huntley write about an artist Jon who had two mentors.³⁰¹ Jon described his mentors as giving him very few didactic, one way lessons. Jon saw that his mentors "dialogued" with him where both the mentor and protégé were learners. Brent Kilbourn's paper on May's first year as a teacher mentions that "questions," "observations," and "listening" were a part of the mentoring times together.³⁰² Eldridge's paper on women and mentoring women uses the words "mutual," "authentic" and being

³⁰⁰ John 4

³⁰¹ Don Ambrose, Jon Allen, and SaraBeth Huntley, "Mentorship of the Highly Creative," *Roeper Review*, 1994, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 131 - 134.

³⁰² Brent Kilbourn and Geoffrey Roberts, "May's First Year: Conversations with a Mentor," *Teacher College Record*, vol. 93, no. 2, (winter 1991), pp. 252 - 264.

“wholly oneself.”³⁰³ Although she did not use the word “dialogue,” a conversation in her context would most likely be mutual. Conversations in this context would also most likely be sharing more than information. When people are being authentic and being wholly themselves, they would most converse by sharing feelings, opinions, and wishes for the future. Daloz writes of a person he was mentoring. He asked her questions, and reflected back the processes she was going through, reinforcing some elements and quietly allowing other elements to slide. He sums up his comments on dialogue by noting the importance of active listening with his protégé with the observation, “listening . . . is a powerful intervention, perhaps the most powerful we have as mentors.”³⁰⁴ In the mentoring literature, dialogue is held up as a marker of what makes mentoring, mentoring.

I believe that dialogue is central to mentoring in two ways. First, dialogue is a good way to gain entrance into that internal world of the adolescent where identity formation is taking place. Identity formation is less a matter of learning new information and more a matter of internal reflection within relationships. An internal narrative is already taking place in most of us. As Steven Crites writes, “It seems intuitively clear that we anticipate by framing little stories about how things may fall out. . . . The whole of experience as it is concentrated in a conscious present has a narrative form.”³⁰⁵ This narrative is amplified as adolescents are comparing their changing bodies to each other

³⁰³ Natalie S. Eldridge, “Mentoring From a Self-In-Relation Perspective,” *Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association*, 1990, pp. 1 – 12.

³⁰⁴ Laurent Daloz, *Mentor: Guiding the Journey of Adult Learners*, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1999), p. 205.

³⁰⁵ Steven Crites, “The Narrative Quality of Experience,” *The Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 39 (Sept. 1971) p. 303.

and to other “ideal” bodies found in magazines. Mentioned in chapter two, there is a prevalence of simultaneous reflection on and observation of others during adolescence.

This internal narrative is also amplified by formal operational thought. The ideal image, future job, friends are all thrown into the narrative soup that is boiling in adolescent minds. And it is dialogue that taps into this internal narrative. Instead of giving more information to add to the soup of thoughts, the use of dialogue invites participation from the adolescent’s internal narrative, to participate by sharing ideas, thoughts and reflections. Questions draw out the internal narrative, and listening adds to the adolescent’s self-worth. Reflecting with adolescents on their narratives helps them gain insights about themselves that they may otherwise never have. Dialogue allows the mentor to enter into one of the very internal processes of identity formation, as Josselson wrote, to be “with adolescents internally.”³⁰⁶

The second reason I believe that dialogue is central to mentoring adolescents is that the very act of dialogue aids in identity formation. Dialogue treats the other person as an equal in the way that both are open to learning from each other. For a two-way conversation to happen that involves a sharing of opinions, you must be willing to hear and consider the opinions of the other. Adolescents long to be treated with respect as does any adult. Anyone who treats adolescents merely like children tends to be seen by the adolescents as the enemy. The act of dialogue treats the ideas and feelings of the adolescents as significant in the sense that their ideas and opinions can be considered and reflected upon in a thoughtful manner. In this way, the mentor is actively helping to build

³⁰⁶ Ruthellen Josselson “The Embedded Self: I and Thou Revisited,” in Lapsley and Power, ed., *Self, Ego, and Identity: Integrative Approaches*, (New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, 1988), pp. 91-109, p. 95.

the emerging adult identity of the adolescent. Kroger writes, “Respect for adolescents as individuals in their own right rather than as extensions of one’s self are crucial adult attitudes to aiding the second individuation process.”³⁰⁷ In particular, the mentor as an adult outside the family is able to contribute to the identity of the adolescent as separate from the family images of identity that have already been formed.

What is Dialogue?

This thesis is an extended conceptual analysis of adolescent mentoring; therefore, it is important to examine the concept of dialogue. First, dialogue is not an easily definable activity, as one may first suppose. Nicholas Burbules writes that dialogue is a human practice that responds to context and changing purposes.³⁰⁸ Dialogue spans an event in time between people; it is more a piece of history than a set of formalized rules. Ivana Markova writes that as “dialogue progresses, the participants exchanging both words and gestures, it unfolds, assumes new forms and, finally, terminates. In this sense dialogue is, almost by definition, dynamic.”³⁰⁹ Because of its dynamic and historical realities, dialogue is difficult to pin down in exacting terms. Dialogue also has an ancient and mixed lineage.³¹⁰ Ancient Greeks, modern anthropologists, linguists, educators, all have their defining input on the concept of dialogue. The dynamic quality of dialogue and

³⁰⁷ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 76.

³⁰⁸ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 7.

³⁰⁹ Ivana Markva and Klaus Foppa, ed., *The Dynamics of Dialogue*. (New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, 1990), p.1.

³¹⁰ C. Jan Swearingen, “Dialogue and Dialectic: The Logic of Conversation and the Interpretation of Logic,” in Tullio Maranhao, *The Interpretation of Dialogue* (Chicago, IL: The University Press of Chicago, 1990), pp. 47-74, p. 49.

dialogue's mixed lineage lead Burbules to write "there will be a limit in the degree to which one can establish a pure characterization of what counts as dialogue."³¹¹ Burbules suggests that we look to what Wittgenstein called "family resemblance" criteria, to cluster related kinds of verbal interaction without expecting a sharp definition.³¹²

It may be argued that Plato first described dialogue as an educational tool. In many instances Plato wrote of dialogical events instead of pure ideas in prose form. Ideas are framed in interactions. Dialogues were not an ancient literary tradition; "Instead, dialogue was unprecedented and was inaugurated by Plato's hybrid of oral and written conventions, oral genres and philosophical modes, a blend he termed *dialegethai*, not just two but many voices 'crossing speakings' or speaking across one another, or 'spanning' or 'comprehending' each other's statement."³¹³ Some reject Plato's dialogues as helpful forms of dialogue because they were teleological. Socrates was working toward ideals through dialogue; there was an end-point goal – discovering Truth, Goodness, and Beauty.³¹⁴ Others see Plato's dialogues as less systematic and do not believe that Socrates had an end-point in mind when he started. "On many matters Socrates contradicts himself within and across the dialogues, further exemplifying the notion of dialogues as growing and blending further voices rather than as settling arguments, as evolving co-knowledge rather than as the 'testing of propositions.'"³¹⁵

³¹¹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p.7.

³¹² L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, (New York, NY: Macmillian Press, 1958).

³¹³ C. Jan Swearingen, "Dialogue and Dialectic: The Logic of Conversation and the Interpretation of Logic," in Tullio Maranhao ed., *The Interpretation of Dialogue*, (Chicago, IL: The University Press of Chicago, 1990), pp. 47-74, p.49.

³¹⁴ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p.4.

³¹⁵ C. Jan Swearingen, "Dialogue and Dialectic: The Logic of Conversation and the

Some postmodernists look at dialogue as a way to break free from the hierarchy of ideas. As one postmodern writer penned, “Opposed to the epistemological focus on positive knowledge, whether ideal or practical, dialogue remains as the hope of overcoming the dogmatic dominance of certain meanings over others.”³¹⁶

1. Freire

Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educator who worked with the illiterate peasants, teaching literacy and political awareness, in some ways spans the debate over goals in dialogue. Freire understands traditional education as providing knowledge as an act of deposit, as in a banking situation. The teacher has the knowledge that the students do not have, and so the student’s job is to passively receive and the teacher is to give with care. Freire sees this as a political activity, perpetuating the oppression of the students. “The capability of banking education to minimize or annul the students’ creative power and to stimulate their credulity serves the interests of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed.”³¹⁷ As opposed to the banking metaphor of education, Freire holds up problem-posing as the answer to the education of the oppressed. “The problem-posing educator constantly re-forms his reflections in the reflection of the students. The students —no longer docile listeners – are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher.”³¹⁸ Dialogue is then set against static

Interpretation of Logic,” in Tullio Maranhao, ed., *The Interpretation of Dialogue*, (Chicago, IL: The University Press of Chicago, 1990), pp. 47-74, p.50-51.

³¹⁶ Tullio Maranhao *The Interpretation of Dialogue*, (Chicago, IL: The University Press of Chicago, 1990), p. 20.

³¹⁷ Paul Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. by Myra Berman Ramos, (New York, NY: Continuum, 1970), p. 60.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 68.

knowledge that is transferred from one source to another. Yet Freire sees dialogue as movement toward a goal; dialogue is not destinationless. “Dialogue is the sealing together of the teacher and students in the joint act of knowing and re-knowing the object of study Instead of transferring the knowledge statically, as a fixed possession of the teacher, dialogue demands a dynamic approximation toward the object.”³¹⁹ Absolute understanding of a subject may not be achieved, but for Freire we can still grow toward an approximation of understanding and that is worthwhile. Freire’s emphasis is that dialogue is the mutual development of understanding through a process of shared inquiry. Both teacher and student learn from the exchange. Dialogue does not place primary emphasis on the teacher’s knowledge, but it does have a goal of growing in understanding toward a subject. A better understanding can be reached at the end of dialogue, but it is a relational understanding which two or more people can grow toward because of the benefit of the relational aspects of the inquiry.

2. Burbules’ Dialogical Relationship

Burbules was highly influenced by Freire’s relational aspects of dialogue and moved the study of dialogue from a political action model to a relational model. Since both mentoring and adolescence are highly relational, I will move on now to examine Burbules’ description of dialogue in greater detail. He starts his study with the etymology of the word dialogue. Burbules notes that *Dia* means more than two - it also has the meanings of “between,” “across,” or “through.”³²⁰ *Logos* too has more meaning behind it

³¹⁹ I, Shor and P. Freire, “What is the ‘dialogical method’ of teaching?” *Journal of Education*, 169, pp. 11-31.

³²⁰ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers

than simply “word,” or “speech.” Logos also means “thought,” “reason,” and “judgement.” For Burbules, thoughts and judgements flowing between and through people in dialogue requires a certain type of relationship.

What underlies and shapes the patterns of interaction in a dialogue are the attitudes, emotions, and expectations that participants have regarding each other and the value of dialogue itself; these are formed partly out of the dynamic of interaction as the discussion moves along. What sustains a dialogue over time is not only lively interchange about the topic at hand, but a certain commitment to one’s partner; a commitment that might not precede the dialogue, but arises only gradually in the spirit of the engagement.³²¹

Burbules agrees with Freire in that a dialogue is relational; it is a shared inquiry. A relationship arises out of mutual dialogue and is strengthened by the engagement of the dialogue. Because dialogue is seen as relational, Burbules argues that dialogue is essentially not a specific communicative form of questions and responses but rather a social relation that engages the participants.

For such a dialogue to occur, there needs to be some prerequisites. Burbules suggests that in such a relationship, qualities such as mutual respect, trust and concern are required.³²² In fact, part of the exchange needs to be for the purpose of establishing and maintaining this relationship. This spiral of connecting feelings in the relationship also opens people up to share more thoughts. As an old proverb goes, “Do not expect me to care what you say until you show me how much you care about me.” The expression of personal feelings within a relationship can be an essential part of an educational project.

College Press, 1993), p. 15.

³²¹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 15.

³²² *Ibid.* p. 19.

Burbules lists several emotional factors that he believes are central to the dialogical relationship.

Burbules' key emotional factors in dialogue begin with "concern." It would be impossible for any of us to afford the emotional energy to give equal concern to every one in our lives, and so we make choices. Concern begins with the choice to regard our dialogical partner as someone important to us. I tell my mentors I am training that they need to be fully present with their protégé. The mind spins so much faster than we can listen. So the question is "What is the rest of your mind doing?" In a dialogical relationship we are being fully present with concern. This is similar to Martin Buber's I-Thou relationship. "The basic word I-Thou can only be spoken with one's whole being."³²³ Our dialogical partner is important to us and so we consider that person to be with us in an I-Thou relationship. We bend our whole being toward the other person. Burbules explains concern this way, "We follow what our partners in dialogue are trying to say, we think along with them, we try to imagine matters from their point of view, to a degree that we do not bother with in ordinary speech."³²⁴ The emotional quality of concern deepens the act of dialogue.

The second emotional quality Burbules suggests is "trust." An old saying states that trust is the strongest when you don't notice it. Patricia White has observed that trust requires the belief that you can rely on the other person and the quality of taking risks.³²⁵

³²³ Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. by Walter Kaufmann, (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1970), p. 54.

³²⁴ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 36.

³²⁵ Patricia White, "Involving different social and cultural groups in discussion." In W. W. Wilen, ed., *Teaching and Learning Through Discussion: The Theory, Research, and Practice of the Discussion Method*, (Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas, 1990) pp. 147 – 174, as

We give out increasing amounts of trust by taking risks with the other person as we find out that we can rely on them. Therefore, the building of trust in a dialogical relationship takes place when the participants believe in each other and take risks by trusting the other person. As the small group authors Johnston and Johnston write, “The key to building and maintaining trust is being trustworthy.”³²⁶

The third emotional quality Burbules writes of in a dialogical relationship is “respect.” Respect gives the other person the benefit of the doubt. We withhold judgement on certain statements and consider others more deeply because we respect that other person. Our first instinct to reject some issues out of hand is held in check because we respect our dialogical partner. Respect encompasses not only the other person but also includes respect for ourselves and the relationship itself. This fact demonstrates the reciprocal nature of dialogue in that if both people do not hold respect for the other and for self, it is not a dialogical relationship.

Burbules names “appreciation” as a fourth quality of a dialogical relationship. Appreciation is seen in the act of encouragement. It would be difficult to imagine a positive dialogical relationship that did not affirm each other’s contributions. A dialogical relationship that is always negative will not last for long. People are vulnerable as they share their inner thoughts, opinions and dreams. If affirmations are not given, then some of the inner thought-life is closed off in order for the person not to be hurt. The dialogue then wallows in the shallower waters of conversing about the day’s events.

discussed in Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p 37.

³²⁶ David Johnson and Frank Johnson, *Joining Together: Group Theory and Group Skills*, (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1994), p. 123.

The fifth quality within Burbules' dialogical relationship is "affection." This word is not used in a romantic way but in the way that two or more people in the dialogical relationship simply like each other. We all have experienced conversations in which we are with someone we do not enjoy being with. In that case, our inner selves may be in fight, flight or any other place, but certainly not in the sharing of our real selves. We naturally do not share our deeper concerns with a stranger. To those whom we like, we reveal an increasingly accurate picture of what our inner state and thoughts are. Again, the affective relationship influences the cognitive depths of the dialogue.

Finally Burbules lists "hope" as an emotion with a strong cognitive component. The idea of hope is that we enter into a dialogical relationship with the hope of learning and understanding new insights. Hope is one of the building blocks to mutuality. If both people enter a relationship in a hopeful stance, along with a learning spirit there is the possibility of mutuality. As discussed in chapter four, mutuality does not assume that the same information is being learned; I am taking mutuality to mean a flow of learning back and forth, an openness to learning from each other. If a mentor is not truly open to listen and consider the insights from and about the adolescent, then there is no mutuality. Too often people do not have the time to meet and engage in unhurried conversation. Where there is hope to learn and grow together, Burbules believes that there is a greater possibility for a dialogical relationship. The hope for positive change drives the dialogical relationship.

Having established the relational aspects of dialogue, Burbules then relates dialogue to playing games. The aspects of games he writes about are not particularly concerning the competitive nature of games (he suggests that competition takes the

enjoyment out of games). Rather Burbules cites curiosity, interest and enjoyment as the central characteristics of games. These he tells us are what are similar to dialogue. As a game has moves, so does dialogue. Burbules suggests that in dialogue there are questions, responses, building and redirecting statements and clarifications.³²⁷ However, at the heart of dialogue is questioning. Questions, along with the other pre-requisites of relationship, are at the core of attempting to enter another's heart and mind, drawing out the thoughts, opinions and dreams of another self.

Creating and maintaining a relationship creates additional insights by opening up inner thoughts and feelings that may not otherwise have been brought into the dialogue apart from the relationship. As people talk, they usually get carried away with the subject and with the relational moment. In a dialogical relationship, not only does the topic challenge each person, but the whole person can challenge the other. As Burbules writes, "We need to be similar enough for communication to happen, but different enough to make it worthwhile."³²⁸ A dialogical relationship also opens us up to learn far more than from the words of the other person. If inner worlds are opened up in a dialogical relationship, then I too will learn, be challenged, and be encouraged by the other person's inner person. It also means I too will begin to understand myself better as I open my inner being to learn from another. Burbules points out that in the framing of questions the self goes through an enrichment in a dialogical relationship. "At a basic level, a relational attitude toward dialogue involves asking seriously the questions 'Who am I?' and 'With

³²⁷ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 86-96.

³²⁸ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p.31.

whom am I speaking?"³²⁹ These are the questions adolescents have as they struggle through their identity formation, and as such, a dialogical relationship is an important and worthwhile factor within an adolescent mentoring relationship.

3. Ellsworth

Ellsworth writes critically of Burbules and of communicative dialogue.³³⁰ As will be demonstrated, Ellsworth's position on dialogue begins with different assumptions than those proposed in this thesis. Nonetheless it is worth some time to outline her arguments against communicative dialogue in order to better understand what my assumptions are in this thesis when I use the word "dialogue" in a mentoring relationship. In a paper entitled "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering?", Ellsworth situates her understanding of dialogue in the process of dealing with a class that she taught at the University of Wisconsin. There she designed a class in which "critical pedagogy supported classroom analysis and rejection of oppression, injustice, inequality, silencing of marginalized voices, and

³²⁹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 32.

³³⁰ As will be seen in this section, Ellsworth is questioning the possibility of a dialogical relationship and suggests a different form of dialogue altogether. I partially agree with Ellsworth in that, I believe that a dialogical relationship is improbable in the classroom. However, outside the classroom structure I believe that a dialogical relationship is very possible. I will observe in this section that Ellsworth approached a dialogical relationship (qualities of concern, trust, respect, appreciation and hope) with her students when they met outside of classroom structure.

In a later book, *Teaching Positions*, Ellsworth criticises communicative dialogue as a "controlled process of interaction that seeks successful communication, defined as the moment of full understanding." (pg. 15). In mentoring there is an assumption that there does not need to be "full understanding" between the mentor and the protégé. Success in adolescent mentoring is when there is a clearer self-understanding within the adolescent. Mentoring an adolescent is initiated by the adolescent's choice and is successful when the adolescent has a clearer formation of self. E. Ellsworth, *Teaching Positions: Difference, Pedagogy and the Power of Address*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1997).

authoritarian social structures.”³³¹ In the class, she observed that assumptions concerning the students’ ability to dialogue about social inequalities was based on the presence of the “‘universally valid proposition’ underlying the discourse of critical pedagogy – namely, that all people have a right to freedom from oppression guaranteed by the democratic social contract.”³³² Ellsworth realized that any “universally valid propositions,” tools of rationality and the presence of a student/teacher relationship, could be used to dominate others. So-called universal propositions may not be universal in every culture and the tools of rationality are not honoured in some cultures. The student/teacher relationship at best has only the illusion of equality. In Ellsworth’s words, “Student empowerment and dialogue give the illusion of equality while in fact leaving the authoritarian nature of the teacher/student relationship intact.”³³³ Ellsworth criticizes a teacher/student relationship in which dialogue is espoused because there is the assumption that the teacher still knows more than the student but must in a way “relearn” the material through dialogue. This “relearning” is really a sham; the teacher remains the center of what can be known. Also, Ellsworth observes that dialogue does not in reality provide a place of equality because of the social structures that prevent equality from being realized. Ellsworth describes the rules of dialogue to include “the assumptions that all members have equal opportunity to speak, all members respect other members’ rights to speak and feel safe to speak, and all ideas are tolerated and subjected to rational critical assessment against fundamental judgements and moral principles.”³³⁴ These are not the realities of a classroom setting.

³³¹ E. Ellsworth, “Why doesn’t this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy.” *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, (Aug. 1989), pp. 291-324, p. 300.

³³² *Ibid.* p. 304.

³³³ *Ibid.* p. 306.

³³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 314.

Ellsworth suggests that “it is impossible to be free from these oppressive formations at this historical moment.”³³⁵ For Ellsworth what passes for “dialogue” hides assumptions which allow unequal power relations to be replicated in that very dialogue.

She discovered that the class she taught could not have open and free dialogue; the classroom was not a safe place to speak, and the achieving of a harmony of interests was a fiction. She discovered this to be the case as she began to have informal conversations outside the classroom with the students. “As students have been doing with each other all along, I began to have informal conversations with one or two students at a time who were extremely committed on personal, political, and academic levels to breaking through the barriers we had encountered and understanding what had happened during the semester.”³³⁶ She discovered that some things were not being said in class because some students felt too vulnerable; there were memories of bad experiences of speaking out in class; resentments toward others, and lack of trust, to name a few. She discovered that a greater level of trust was needed that could best be built up through social interactions outside the class, i.e., through potlucks, and fieldtrips. During this process, Ellsworth discovered that affinity groups could be built without unity of ideals among the whole class. These groups would build coalitions in which the individual felt freer to interact because of his/her membership in these shifting, unequal, sometimes contradictory groups.

Ellsworth makes several assumptions concerning dialogue that are quite different from my assumptions of dialogue in this thesis. The most obvious difference is the use of

³³⁵ E. Ellsworth, “Why doesn’t this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy.” *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, (Aug. 1989), pp. 291-324, p. 308.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 315.

dialogue in a classroom setting. As I have been arguing throughout this thesis, mentoring is not the same thing as that which is found in the normal teaching situation.³³⁷ There are different power issues in a classroom in which the teacher “knows more” information, gives marks out and gives the classroom experience structure. In a classroom situation, there are issues of size affecting the introverted or oppressed student who will not speak out. In mentoring adolescents, the whole atmosphere is different. In a one-on-one situation there is little or no waiting for a turn to speak, but there is the vulnerability and trust of the relationship, which are the gates to dialogue. In a mentoring situation, the mentor does not know more information than the protégé if the goal is identity formation. Both mentor and protégé are truly on a path of mutual discovery as they discover who the adolescent is becoming. It would seem ludicrous for an adult to come into a mentoring relationship and think he/she knows who the adolescent will become, and therefore just needs to nudge the student along. The dialogue in an adolescent mentoring relationship is truly to-and-fro as various ideas and questions are tried and mutual discoveries about the subject at hand (identity of the adolescent) are made.

In a mentoring pairing there can be a harmony of interests as both are interested in the same thing: the identity formation of the adolescent. In a way, mentoring becomes a coalition group that gives strength to the adolescent as “someone else is in the same space I am in.” In mentoring the choice of the mentor is in the hands of the protégé and so the adolescent chooses which “coalition group” to be a part of. It is significant that Ellsworth discovered her insights concerning dialogue when she spent informal time with the

³³⁷ It can be argued that Burbules also had in mind a classroom situation. I agree with Ellsworth in that I don't think that Burbules' dialogical relationship can work in a typical classroom situation either. I have used Burbules mainly because his model of dialogue has its basis

students. It is also significant that one of the solutions to building trust was to spend time in social interaction. These two aspects are also assumptions I have regarding mentoring relationships. Mentoring times together are not like the formal meeting times of classroom settings; such would work against the referent power base. I will write more concerning this in the chapter on modeling, but it is important to bring up here that genuine communication did not occur until Ellsworth spent informal time, building trust, outside the power-over relationship embodied within the classroom environment. Ellsworth doesn't theorize about this informal time of conversation in which she builds an informal relationship with her students. I would be interested in what she called what she was doing. Her discovery of the problem in the class was made in some sort of dialogical way. Whatever the label, Ellsworth's informal talk with her students approaches what I am calling dialogue. The free exchange of facts, opinions, and feelings in a conversation based on a power-with relationship surely qualifies as dialogue.

Ellsworth points out the important differences we have across our social location. She reminds us of what was conveyed in chapter four about power - that sometimes the social location of the mentor and protégé are different enough that there can only be limited success in the two having freedom of input. The mentor may have to facilitate the dialogue by the modeling of other people closer to the social location of the protégé.

Ellsworth brings to the surface several of my assumptions of what dialogue is. One clear assumption is that mentoring is not carried out in a classroom setting. Mentors and protégés can profitably spend their time in dialogue at a coffee shop, on a miniature golf green, or while riding go-carts. Just as Henslow and Darwin spent time in "unhurried

fixed on a relationship which works in mentoring situations.

interaction” so must the setting be of dialogue in a mentoring situation. Another of my mentoring assumptions is that the protégé selects the mentor and in so doing chooses in what direction he or she wishes to grow. I also assume that both the adolescent and adult are focused on building the identity formation of the adolescent. Other things may be learned along the way. Art appreciation, driving skills, or camping skills may be learned, but the primary goal of the relationship remains the identity growth of the adolescent.

Dialogical Relationship and Identity Formation

Since identity formation is the primary goal of adolescent mentoring, does a dialogical relationship help? In this section I will outline how the qualities of Burbules’ dialogical relationship can be used in a mentoring relationship to aid identity formation in adolescents. First, Burbules writes that a dialogical relationship relates inner self to inner self. Burbules quotes Maranhao to describe what he means by this. “Maranhao . . . identifies dialogue in an ethic of answerability . . . of respect to otherness and of *disclosure of identity*. . . . From an ethical point of view the heart of dialogue lies in the relation between self and other, not in particular manifestations.”³³⁸ Those involved in a dialogical relationship are disclosing their identities to each other, allowing their identities to rub up against each other as two chalk drawings can be rubbed together. A person’s identity is kept, but some of the other person has rubbed off on the other. Burbules writes, “Sometimes an external perspective is helpful precisely because it is different from one’s own This does not require embracing the other standpoint or

³³⁸ T. Maranhao *The Interpretation of Dialogue*, (Chicago, IL: University Press, 1990), as quoted in Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 41. [italics mine]

letting it supersede our own, but it does stress the value of incorporating that perspective into a more complex and multifaceted framework of understanding.”³³⁹ As adolescents are looking for other adult models to build their emerging adult identities, the dialogical relationship opens up the inner world to be touched by another’s identity.

According to Burbules, asking questions is at the heart of the dialogical relationship.³⁴⁰ Questions invite inner participation. A wise mentor who understands the issues of identity formation can ask questions which bring to the surface the thoughts and feelings of the adolescent. These are, however, are not leading questions where the mentor already knows the answers. In a way, these questions many of us ask ourselves as we move into adulthood. The mentor simply invites these questions into the open so that the protégé’s answers can be echoed to the protégé. More questions will be expanded in chapter seven, but some questions may sound like this: “How much are you alike each of your parents?” “How are you different from them?” “What would you like to be doing in ten years from now?” “How are the qualities you have gained from your parents going to help or hinder your future plans?” “What are your strengths?” “What are your weaknesses?” In this way the mentor question-asker is the learner and observer. The adolescent, dialogical partner produces her own possibilities, which are reflected off the sounding board of the mentor. At the beginning of this chapter I examined James Marcia’s work where he observed that questions must be asked to support the adolescent’s moratorium. Questions are the stimulus to the internal reflection part of identity formation.

³³⁹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 115.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 96.

Teens are using their formal operational thought to create their inner world. Dialogue taps into that higher order of thinking. Collins and Stevens writes that dialogue fosters a “higher order” of cognitive skills such as forming and testing hypotheses.³⁴¹ Asking those higher order questions not only aids them in their thought-life but also uses the very newly awakening skill that adolescents love to use – abstract thought. As such, the adolescent’s identity formation is being helped.

The emotional aspects of the relationship are also helpful in aiding identity formation. The mentor demonstrates respect toward an adolescent by showing concern, being fully present, by being vulnerable, in building trust, by withholding judgement, by encouragement, by just enjoying his/her presence. At the beginning of this chapter I quoted Kroger as saying that the giving of respect is essential in aiding adolescents in their identity formation. Adolescents want to be treated with respect, i.e., not like children. A dialogical relationship involves an adult learning from them and seriously reflecting with them on their musing – mixing reality with ideology. According to Piaget, “Adolescent egocentricity is manifested by belief in the omnipotence of reflection, as though the world should submit itself to idealistic schemes rather than to systems of reality. It is the metaphysical age par excellence; the self is strong enough to reconstruct the universe and big enough to incorporate it.”³⁴² This is the time for the mentor to sit back and listen to how this adolescent will fix the political system of Canada, avoid laughing at any naiveté, but take seriously the possibilities and reflect with the adolescent, as he/she sharpens his/her own thinking. This process gives the adolescent a

³⁴¹ A. Collins and A. L. Stevens, “A Cognitive Theory of Inquiry Teaching,” in C.M. Reigeluth ed., *Instructional Psychology*, vol. 2, (Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum, 1983), pp. 65-119.

³⁴² Jean Piaget, *Six Psychological Studies*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 64.

taste of an adult relationship and so aids in moving him/her toward adult identity formation.

The act of encouragement through appreciation gives adult mentors opportunities to give insights into character and identity. In our youth programs, we have what is called an encouragement circle. The adults and adolescents sit in a circle and we go around selecting one adolescent at a time. The group then gives its encouragements to the adolescent (they are all picked one at a time). The adults steer the encouragements toward what they see as the adolescents' gifts, talents, and personality strengths. "Sally, I noticed at this retreat how giving you were." "Bill, you have a great sense of humour." During one such event, the teens sat for three hours encouraging one another. I was uncomfortable with the length of time sitting, but the act of encouragement was so meaningful to them that they refused to stop. In a way, we are outwardly practicing what is taking place inwardly in the adolescents. We are giving the teens the feedback they are desperately looking for as to who they are. A dialogical relationship offers encouragement as does a mentoring relationship in which identity formation is aided.

At the beginning of this section the question was asked, "Does a dialogical relationship aid in identity formation in adolescents?" In summary, it does so through the adult and adolescent mutually disclosing layers of their identities to one another through the vehicle of dialogue. In addition, the asking of questions in a dialogical relationship invites participation in the inner world of the adolescent. Tapping into an abstract way of thinking - formal operational thought - pushes the adolescent to act like an adult. Treating the adolescent with respect as an emerging adult by listening, and taking his/her input seriously, aids in the formation of the emerging adult identity. Finally, the act of

encouragement proactively points out positive identity formation that has taken place.

With these considerations, a dialogical relationship can aid in the identity formation of adolescents.

Dialogical Relationship and Power Considerations

Dialogue involves a relationship and as such has a power inherent within it. As I discussed in chapter four, French and Raven gave a helpful description of various types of power within relationships. People with coercive power push others to do things they do not want to do. Reward power is in the hands of those who have the ability to give out rewards. Legitimate power is in the hands of those who have positions of power within structures. Expert power is in the hands of those who have the knowledge or expertise in a certain area. Referent power is given to a person because the other wishes to emulate that person. Referent power with some understanding of the feminist's "power-with" was discovered to represent the power structure of a mentoring relationship best. Does this referent power involving a "power-with" attitude correlate with a dialogical relationship? Referent power, overlaid with a feminist understanding of mutuality, gives mentoring a sense that there can be true two-way conversations. Power is given to the mentor who does not become another "authority figure" in the use of that power, but rather approaches the protégé more as a co-traveler on the journey of life. The content of the learning may differ and the mentors do have referent power given to them that the adolescents do not have. The mutuality is asymmetrical, but the fact of the mentor treating the adolescent as an equal, being open to learning from them in dialogue lends mutuality to the relationship. The respect given to the adolescent fits well with the

referent power-with view. Burbules comments that a dialogical relationship should always carry with it “mutuality and respect.” He goes on to write that the misuse of power “is the primary area in which status or power differences can intervene to distort the dialogical relation and make it an instrument of something nonpedagogical.”³⁴³ The status or power “differences” portray pictures of the other types of power in relationships. Power that is coercive in relationships seems to be more conducive to one-way conversations, to manipulative talk rather than mutual talk. The person holding coercive power does not need to listen. Burbules writes that a dialogical relationship represents “partners in a dialogue free of coercion.”³⁴⁴ Likewise, reward power is not mutual in nature because one person has the reward that the other person does not yet possess. The one who offers the reward is still regarded as the one exercising power over the other, and not as one with them in a relationship of equality. Vulnerability, trust, respect would not be necessary in a reward power situation. Power that is legitimate comes from a title, from those in control. Where there are power differences, the conversations are not really two-way, where both have a stake in learning. The legitimate-powered person does not need to show appreciation, respect, or affection. Power that is expert is also easily displayed as similar to the banking educator of Freire. The expert has the knowledge while the non-expert does not and so the information flow is not reliant on mutual discovery. Dialogue works in the spirit of referent power, providing mutual respect as a base for conversation. A dialogical relationship must encourage mutual discovery to aid in identity formation. The mentor does not already know the teen’s identity. Both are

³⁴³ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 94.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 13.

unaware of the final outcome, but both are cooperating with each other to unfold a clearer picture of the teen's identity.

Dialogical Relationships Within Adolescent Relationships

The words used to describe mentoring, in the mentoring literature, are many. The word "mentoring" is equated with words such as "coaching," "teacher," "guidance counselor," and "advocate," to name a few. In order to clearly distinguish a mentoring relationship from other adult relationships an adolescent may have I will examine the possibility of a dialogical relationship with teachers, coaches and parents.

1. Teachers

Teachers have an hour or less per class to engage in instruction, take up questions, and provide housecleaning information before the next group files in. Such a situation leaves, in an average class of thirty students, far less than two minutes per student to engage in meaningful dialogue in which a student can be affirmed through encouragement, an atmosphere of trust can be established, in which affection and hope can be fostered. It assumes that no student gets excited and takes up another student's time by interacting for five minutes. I am being facetious. It is difficult to imagine dialogical relationships opening up in a typical school setting with large class sizes. The commitment to the other partner, the concern in thinking along with the other, the building of trust through vulnerability, the respect granted by holding one's judgement, the appreciation of the other stated and the enjoyment of simply being with the other person cannot be developed in a classroom where students do not choose to be a part.

Students are required to be a part of the classroom and so cannot choose the people with whom they will become vulnerable.

The increasing numbers in an average classroom also militate against the sharing of these qualities. One would be more willing to be vulnerable in a group of three rather than in a group of twenty or thirty. A smaller group or perhaps one-on-one seems to be the better application for engendering a dialogical relationship. Burbules admits that the dialogical relationship needs at least to create “some commonality of extra-communicative associations (for example, working on something together, undergoing a particular experience at the same time, noting common friends and so on) may be a condition of establishing and maintaining the right atmosphere.”³⁴⁵ Getting together and having shared experiences sounds very familiar to mentors and protégés. Teachers would have to make the extra time outside of class to establish such relationships or class size would seriously have to diminish. Mentoring and teaching differ at this point, in that mentors of adolescents are more likely to create a dialogical relationship with the adolescent than is feasible within a normal teaching situation.

2. Coaches

Adolescents have relationships with coaches in schools and in extra-curricular activities. Many times these relationships can be close and memorable. However, coaches have a job to do by adding to the skill set of the athletes and by making the decisions during games. Football player Jo Greene wrote about his football coach, Don Shula;

³⁴⁵ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY:

“Shula listens to advice, then makes a decision and moves forward to implement it, without looking back. The coaches who burn themselves out are the ones who are always second-guessing themselves. The players respect a coach who’s not wishy-washy.”³⁴⁶ Coaches who build trust, show appreciation through encouragement, show affection through enjoying a team-player can approach a dialogical relationship. It is when the game starts that coaching starts to move away from a dialogical relationship. The dialogical concern to imagine things from another’s perspective starts to get in the way of some of the tough decisions coaches have to make – coaches are not respected if they are “wishy-washy.”

The use of questions to stimulate internal thought is also less likely; coaches talk less of internal issues of life and more of skill sets that need to be performed. I have not experienced a coaching situation where the team members sit around and ask each other about their personality strengths. Most coaching situations also suffer from the same large class size problems that teachers suffer from. All too often there are inner competitions in team situations that work against the vulnerability of a dialogical relationship. Mentoring and coaching differ in this point, that mentors of adolescents are more likely to create a dialogical relationship with the adolescent than is feasible within a normal coaching situation.

Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 48.

³⁴⁶ Don Shula and Ken Blanchard, *Everyone’s a Coach*, (New York, NY: Harper Business, 1995), p. 110.

3. Parents

Parents many times already have a close relationship with their children. Many parents enjoy being with their teens, show them appreciation through encouragement and try to understand them by imagining what life is like from their teen's point of view. When a parental relationship starts to break down in approximating a dialogical relationship is in the area of coming together as equal learners. It is tough for a teen to try to instruct his/her parents and even harder for the parents to take it. Youth worker for over fifty years, Mike Yaconelli, tells a story concerning his own teenaged son. One day his son came in with another teen friend. The father, Mike, started up a conversation with the friend and found out that the student had failed French. Mike, being a relational youth worker, told him that he'll get over it and that he needs a medal for taking French anyway. The friend was overheard telling Mike's son on the way upstairs, "Your dad is so cool." The scene shifts as Mike's son comes home and announces that he failed English. Mike's reaction, "Get up stairs and study, You are grounded for the week!" The son asks why was he so nice to his friend and not to him. Mike's reply was, "It's different; you're my son."

Parents have a harder time to remove themselves and speak dispassionately about major happenings in their teen's lives. I have been the first person a pregnant teen comes to talk to. I can somewhat remove myself from the situation and address her emotions and clarify her options. When she talks to her parents they are typically more passionately involved. Perhaps there is some of the parent's self-worth tied up in their child. Whatever the reason, parents find it hard to remove themselves from giving direction to their growing children. Adolescents also are consciously attempting to find their full identity

as evolving away from their parents. The picture of two identities rubbing against each other in a dialogical relationship is complicated when the two pictures have many of the same scenes, arising from the same family. Probably in some instances there can be dialogical relationships that open up within the parent-teen relationships. However, my experience is that parents and teens rarely reach that type of a relationship during the adolescent years. The parent-child relationship has an intimacy all its own. Perhaps that is why I have seen a hunger in adolescents for a significant adult relationship.

Summary

If a dialogical relationship is central to an adult to adolescent developmental mentoring relationship, then how does dialogue affect mentoring? I will spend more time in the final chapter on the implications for individual relationships and programs, but here are some initial observations.

My first observation concerns the amount of time that is necessary. The relational qualities of trust, concern and affection do not happen within the first day of a mentoring relationship. Burbules' advice to participate in outside activities together is helpful here. Before any significant dialogue or questions are asked, the relationship needs to be built, and that takes time. Youth worker Denny Rydberg suggests several steps in building trust in a youth community. He writes that "bond building" exercises must precede any opening up of trust in a group situation.³⁴⁷ Bond building simply involves the building memories, attending events, spending unhurried time together.

³⁴⁷ Denny Rydberg, *Building Community in Youth Groups*, (Loveland, CO: Group Publishing, 1985).

Mentors should have some pertinent qualities in themselves to be a part of a dialogical relationship. One quality would be a strong enough sense of self that she could become vulnerable by sharing various layers of personal information, to initiate some levels of trust building. Some adults I have worked with believe that it is only the adolescent who needs to open up. Metaphorically, they stand on the shore giving advice on how to paddle a canoe without getting into the boat themselves. Adult mentors should be careful not to shut themselves off from sharing or be too talkative, controlling the conversation, excluding the teen from taking part in the dialogical relationship.

Another quality the adult mentor needs is the ability to ask effective questions. There is an art to asking questions that stimulate discussion. Questions that require one-word answers or do not touch on the center of identity formation are all too frequent in many mentoring situations. Questions need to be asked in creative ways so that they do not elicit pat answers. There is a skill in determining what the appropriate question should be, and there is a time to ask it during unhurried time together. The art involved in understanding what an adolescent is going through and where she/he is in the journey of identity formation should shape the question-posing process. Mentors need to become students who study their protégés.

The mentor needs to be fully present with the protégé, carefully listening to his/her ideas and reflections. The attentiveness itself helps build the teen's identity. The mentor shows that the protégé is a person of worth. To listen fully includes eye contact, not allowing distractions to turn away attention, and listening carefully for feelings not just facts.

The mentor needs to be an encourager. To encourage effectively requires insight and observation. A good mentor is always on alert to catch his protégé doing something right. Mentors with insight recognize in others positive qualities such as gratitude, generosity, honesty, and humour and praise these attributes by way of encouragement.

Mentors can help the formation of identity by tapping into the conversation-gearred adolescents through building a dialogical relationship with referent power. In shaping such a relationship, by asking questions, by listening and respecting, adolescent identity formation is given a helpful push.

Chapter Six

Modeling Within Adolescent-Oriented Mentoring Relationships

Those who have been given the privilege of building a relationship with an adolescent know the power of modeling. A few years ago, I had received a phone call from a mother who thanked me profusely for saving their family over \$100. The adolescent son was asking for “Buffalo” jeans for the fall to make a back-to-school fashion statement. After a long search, the mother found them at a specialty shop for over \$80 a pair. Reluctantly, she bought the jeans, wishing her son did not have such expensive tastes. The day she brought them home, her son told her he had changed his mind and that he now wanted “Jonathan” jeans. Hoping to save some money, she searched every specialty shop for “Jonathan” jeans. She was about to give up while walking through K-Mart. There they were – “Jonathan” jeans. After picking up two pairs for \$20 each, she became curious as to why her son had down-shifted his expensive taste in pants. She didn’t tell him the difference in price or where she had purchased them, but asked him why he wanted to change the designer labels. His reply was, “Dave [yours truly] wears them all the time.” Hence the phone call, and appreciation for saving her over \$100.

Adolescents “pick up” not only on what others wear but also on what others say. There was a student named Zach who asked me to be his mentor when he was in his final two years of high school. He was by his own diagnosis too busy in his life. I briefly described the place of meditation I have in my room. In about five minutes I mentioned to him the benefits of quiet times in my life in which I reflect on the activities of the

week. The next Saturday morning I picked him up and Zach's mother asked me to come in. She gave me a stern look and asked if I could talk some sense into him. "Go up to his room and see what I mean," she told me. As I knocked and entered, I first noticed a pile of clothes still on their hangers piled high in the corner. Zach enthusiastically greeted me, saying, "Dave look what I've done; I have made a meditation corner too!" There was Zach's former closet cleared of clothes and set up with a bean bag chair and candles. For some strange reason, the students I have been close to in the past have taken on aspects of my life, whether I have asked them to or not.

Up to this point, I have described mentoring adolescents as a process of involving referent power, within a dialogical relationship. Our intuition tells us that there is more to mentoring adolescents. If dialogue were the only action taking place, then perhaps we could mentor someone over the telephone.

A marker in the mentoring literature that was also seen to aid identity formation was modeling. In this chapter, I will explore the concept of modeling as it relates to mentoring and identity formation in adolescents. First, I will review the mentoring literature that includes modeling, reminding us of the place of modeling in mentoring in general. Then I will review how modeling is helpful to identity formation in adolescents. Next I will analyze the concept of modeling. At the end of reviewing the concept of modeling I will refine a notion of modeling that seems most appropriate to the mentoring context. Next I will examine the implications of modeling within a mentoring relationship. Lastly, I will demonstrate how modeling sets apart mentoring from other adolescent relationships.

Reviewing Modeling as Found in the Mentoring Literature

One of the strongest markers of mentoring in the literature was that of modeling. In the history of mentoring, we discovered that Socrates' students imitated his way of questioning others. Jesus also used modeling as a central platform for his teaching. Jesus' call to "come follow me" was more than an occupational change, it was a call to imitate a lifestyle. The Gospel writers recorded that Jesus called himself "the way" and so His followers were called "people of the way." Jesus' teachings were connected to the life of his personhood. Jesus' reaction to the woman at the well, the woman caught in adultery, and the thief on the cross are but some examples of the passing on of a life model not just conversations of abstract thought. Modeling was taking place in the relationship between Darwin and Henslow. Henslow loved to observe nature and to take field excursions with Darwin, a behaviour that prompted Darwin to take with him into the Galapagos Islands.

In the mentoring literature, Torrance noted that the word "role model" was a prominent aspect of mentoring in his longitudinal study. Torrance's study revealed that "84% of the subjects having mentors said they had adopted some of their mentor's characteristics."³⁴⁸ This demonstrates the centrality of modeling as there are probably some people who have unconsciously adopted a few of their mentor's characteristics.

Teachers who mentored teachers were seen as modeling good educational theory. Older teachers modeled to younger teachers how to manage a class. During May's first year of teaching, she imitated some of her mentor's management techniques, attempting to make them her own.³⁴⁹ Geneva Gay's article focused on the importance of being a

³⁴⁸ Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they Aid Creative Achievement, Endure, Change and Die*, (Buffalo, NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p. 10.

³⁴⁹ Brent Kilbourn and Geoffrey Roberts, "May's First Year: Conversations with a Mentor,"

person worth imitating. According to Gay, a mentor builds a life-story worth passing on.³⁵⁰ One of the ways Gay suggests modeling is active occurs when teachers model to each other and to their students a strong sense of self and cultural acceptance. She noted that the emotional well-being of the mentor is the first key to evaluating a good mentoring relationship.

In the literature surrounding women mentoring women, Eldridge writes about a connection of mutuality.³⁵¹ This group of writers makes an important addition, in that modeling needs to flow both ways in a mentoring relationship. An adolescent can be stretched to see an adult life possessing such qualities as dependability or endurance. Seeing an adolescent life possessing such qualities as the joy of life and taking risks can stretch an adult mentor. Also, Eldridge writes concerning being wholly oneself with another. In this way, the modeling that she writes about is not just modeling involving behaviour, but modeling involving inner thoughts and attitudes.

The literature concerning mentoring the disadvantaged focuses on mentoring programs. Unfortunately because of the nature of the programming, some of the pairs of mentors and protégés did not relationally connect. Those mentors who were able to develop an interpersonal attachment had a modeling impact on their protégés. In one researcher's mind, if modeling did not occur, then mentoring did not occur.³⁵²

In the literature surrounding mentoring the gifted, modeling was central.

Teacher College Record, vol. 93, no. 2, (winter 1991), pp. 252 - 264.

³⁵⁰ Geneva Gay, "Modeling and Mentoring in Urban Teacher Preparation," *Education and Urban Society*, vol. 28, no. 1, (November 1995), pp. 103 - 118.

³⁵¹ Natalie S. Eldridge, "Mentoring From a Self-In-Relation Perspective," *Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association*, 1990, pp. 1 - 12.

³⁵² Erwin Flaxman, Carol Ascher and Charles Harrington, "Youth Mentoring Programs and Practices," *Urban Diversity Series No. 97*, ERIC, 1988, p. 1.

Subotnik interviewed gifted people in the performing arts, journalism, and academe and found that one of the four primary roles of a mentor was to provide role modeling.³⁵³

Kaufman, and colleagues³⁵⁴ questioned a representative sample of President Scholars to determine the functions of mentors. The authors discover that one of the three functions inherent in mentoring is modeling. The artist Jon who was mentored by two people discovers that he picks up an emotional confidence by being with his mentors. The confidence of his mentors is passed on to Jon as he experiments with his work.

In the general literature on mentoring, Patricia Haensly and James Parsons note that being a model is an “essential” and powerful part. “The modeling effect is especially powerful due to the mentor’s status and personal warmth. Mentorship often leads the protégé to assimilate many of the mentor’s characteristics.”³⁵⁵ To Haensly, building the relational/emotional bond in the relationship is one of the engines that drives modeling. Yamamoto describes mentoring as gaining a way of seeing.³⁵⁶ The protégé learns a way of seeing from being with the mentor who models a whole life, including a clearer way of seeing life. Gehrke also writes about a whole new way of seeing life that is passed on through modeling. The first task of the mentor, according to Gehrke, is to create a life

³⁵³ Rena Subotnik, "Talent Developed: Conversations with Masters in the Arts and Sciences," *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 1995, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 440 – 466, p. 453.

³⁵⁴ Felice A. Kaufmann, Gayle Harrel, Cheryl P. Milam, Nina Woolverton and James Miller, "The Nature, Role and Influence of Mentors in the Lives of Gifted Adults," *Journal of Counseling and Development*, (May 1986), vol. 64, p. 576 - 578.

³⁵⁵ Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, "Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development Through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages," *Youth and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, p. 205.

³⁵⁶ Kaoru Yamamoto, "To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188, p. 184.

worth emulating.³⁵⁷ This will be significant in the implications of modeling at the end of this chapter.

Daolz is a mentor of adult learners and in the context of a community college. He sums up modeling nicely: “Mentors most obviously provide vision by modeling the person whom the protégé wants to become.”³⁵⁸ Daolz explains that modeling is not the mere copying of a person. “As we grow we come to realize that their gift is not the opportunity to become like them but the challenge to become more fully ourselves through them. They call forth the best we have. They invite us to transcend ourselves. They embody our deep aspirations.”³⁵⁹ The single word that surfaced most as a descriptor of mentoring in my literature search was ‘modeling.’ Modeling is woven into the very fabric of mentoring.

Modeling as an Aid to Identity Formation

As previously stated, modeling is central to mentoring. Modeling is also helpful in terms of identity formation. As we have seen, Peter Blos describes the process as second individuation. Just as a two-year old traveling through her first individuation (learning she is a separate person from her parents) is observing and learning from significant adult models around her, so are adolescents who are traveling the waters to second individuation. Peter Blos recognizes the importance of the society that envelops the adolescent as it plays an important role in this second individuation. “No adolescent, at

³⁵⁷ Nathalie Gehrke, “Toward a Definition of Mentoring,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 191 - 194.

³⁵⁸ Laurent A. Daolz, *Mentor: Guiding the Journey of Adult Learners*, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1999), p. 223.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 225.

any station of his journey, can develop optimally without societal structures standing ready to receive him, offering him that authentic credibility with which he can identify.”³⁶⁰ Commenting on Blos’s second individuation, Kroger says that the social context about which Blos is writing can be seen in “parents, teachers, counselors, psychotherapists, and others working closely with young people.”³⁶¹ Metaphorically speaking, adults outside the family play a role in providing varied - cloth pieces of example which the students sew together in their identity quilt of their own making. Gary Davis describes this process through the metaphor of moving from second-hand to first-hand fittings. “Adolescence is, after all, the phase of life in which the individual must ‘transform’ his religious attitudes – indeed, all his attitudes – from second-hand fittings to first-hand fittings of his personality.”³⁶² Adolescents do not have to feel as if they are locked into a way of acting because of how their family members behave. Adolescents are desiring to build their own identities with a patchwork from the various models that they see around them. One teen may want a physical appearance like that of his favorite movie star, an intellect like his chemistry teacher, and a marriage like that of his skating coach.

Erikson recognizes the importance of adult models for assisting identity formation in adolescents. Erikson writes, “Clearly the adolescent looks most fervently for men [sic] and ideas to have faith in.”³⁶³ It is at this point we see examples of teens following their

³⁶⁰ Peter Blos, 1971, as quoted in Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 975.

³⁶¹ Jane Kroger, *Identity in Adolescence: The Balance Between Self and Other*. (New York, NY: Routledge, 1988), p. 74.

³⁶² Gary L. Davis, “Spiritual Direction: A Model for Adolescent Catechesis,” *Religious Education*, vol 81, no. 2 (Spring 1986), p. 268.

³⁶³ Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W. W, Norton, 1968), p. 128.

heroes within the adolescent culture. Their adulation is seen clearly in the posters of sports heroes in many a young person's bedroom and in the tribes of clothing styles of the high-school hallways, styles that mimic various MTV musicians. For example, every campus seems to have a group of Marilyn Manson look-a-likes huddled together during lunch period. "All of us who have been through the public education system realize the importance of imitation, or the influence of modeling; this determines in a large part our values, our heroes, and our clothing and hair styles."³⁶⁴

Not only do adolescents model people from the general public, but also part of Erikson's definition for identity formation includes the importance of significant others in the immediate community.³⁶⁵ As adolescents form their identities, they are looking to people around them to give feedback about who they are and about how they are coming across to others. A person who is significant or "who counts" is one in whom the adolescent has invested some emotional capital. These significant others (including other adults) not only help define their identity, but in the process of defining, they help advance it through modeling. In a way, it is like an adult holding up an incomplete mirror with some patches of clear glass through which they can be seen. The adolescent observes his reflected image mixed in with the image of the significant adult shining through.

³⁶⁴ John C. Malone, *Theories of Learning: A Historical Approach*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Pub., 1990), p. 179.

³⁶⁵ Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), p. 50.

Social Learning Theory

What is modeling then? Is it mimicking or does it go deeper than that? Social learning theory uses the word “modeling” as a central principle in its understanding of learning. For this reason I am beginning my conceptual analysis with the work of social learning theory.

In the 1920’s, the field of psychology was changing. The introspectionists were being challenged by a new breed of social scientists. One such was Clark Hull, who believed that organisms, including humans, must be viewed as biological machines, or automatons.³⁶⁶ To understand the running of this “machine,” Hull placed an exclusive emphasis on verification through experimentation. In Hull’s thinking, psychology could be taken from mere conjecture to a scientific testing in controlled situations.

Social learning theory grows out of this Hullian perspective. Social learning theory focuses on how people learn from their social environment and is tested in controlled situations. Various schools of thought are drawn upon for concepts, hypotheses and methodology, from psychoanalysis to anthropology. The social learning theorists believe that human learning comes from the observations of others; hence, the focus on modeling. In its study of modeling, social learning theory draws on the constructs of behavioristic learning theories, particularly that of reinforcement, but it also adds other theories to them. Skinner’s concept of direct reinforcement of behaviour was expanded to include social dimensions of reinforcements: vicarious reinforcements, self-reinforcement and the whole spectrum of the socialization process by which children

³⁶⁶ John C. Malone, *Theories of Learning: A Historical Approach*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Pub., 1990), p. 145.

learn.³⁶⁷ “Common to all [social learning theorists] appears to be the application of behavioristic constructs to basic social and developmental problems and a belief that environmental, situational, and social, rather than biological and maturational factors are primarily responsible for learning and development.”³⁶⁸

Albert Bandura has been the most prolific writer on social learning theory and is the only widely read social learning theorist to include much material on the subject of adolescents.³⁶⁹ In opposition to the stage theorists, social learning theorists see growth as a steady continuum in which persons learn from the environment in similar ways at various ages. As such, for social learning theorists there is no special emphasis on adolescence (since all ages are similar in the ways they learn).

Bandura tracks the potency of watching and imitating a model in such areas as moral judgement, self-imposed delay of reward pattern exhibited by the model, and self-reinforced patterns³⁷⁰ closely following those of the model.³⁷¹ In one study Bandura found that adolescent boys may be more likely to engage in sexual intercourse when double or multiple dating, thereby imitating the sexual advances of each other.³⁷²

Bandura’s definition of social learning theory may be summed up in this way: “Social

³⁶⁷ Rolf E. Muuss, *Theories of Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Random House, 1975), p.231.

³⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 232.

³⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 233.

³⁷⁰ A self-reinforced pattern is the self-talk of rewards and punishments. For example, a person may give him/herself a reward for finishing a task on time.

³⁷¹ A. Bandura and F McDonald “Influence of Social Reinforcement and Behavior of Models in Shaping Children’s Moral Judgements,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1963, 67, pp. 274-281. ,” A. Bandura and W. Mischel, “Modification of Self-imposed Delay of Reward Through Exposure to Live and Symbolic Models,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1965, 2, pp. 698-705. A Bandura and C. J. Kupers “Transmission of Patterns of Self-reinforcement Through Modeling,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1964, 69, pp. 1-9.

³⁷² A. Bandura, *Adolescent Aggression*. (New York, NY: The Ronald Press, 1959).

learning theory approaches the explanation of human behaviour in terms of a continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants.”³⁷³

Although social learning theory has some behavioral roots that are different from behaviorism, Bandura explains that personal and environmental factors do not function independently; rather they determine each other. Therefore, to the behaviorist formula, Bandura adds that a behaviour results from a person coming up against the environment. Social learning theory recognizes that persons can affect the environment just as much as the environment affects them. Not only that, but a person’s behaviour affects the self and the environment. Behaviour is not always a byproduct but also a reinforcer. For example, if someone performs a behaviour that is at one time perceived as immoral, the person often changes his/her opinion of the immorality of the self-action. The behaviour had an effect on the person performing the behaviour – learning is therefore a reciprocal event.

Another factor which distinguishes social learning theory from behaviorism is the inclusion of the cognitive realm of the person. “People learn and retain behaviour much better by using cognitive aids that they generate than by reinforced repetitive performance A theory that denies that thoughts can regulate actions does not lend itself readily to the explanation of complex human behaviour.”³⁷⁴ In this way, behaviour is seen as not only influenced by environmental stimuli but also by cognitive reinforcements. The cognitive side of modeling produces patterns of learning. “In actuality, virtually all learning phenomena resulting from direct experience occur on a vicarious basis by observing other people’s behaviour and its consequences for them. The

³⁷³ A. Bandura, *Social Learning Theory*, (Englewoods Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice –Hall, 1977), p. vii.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10.

capacity to learn by observation enables people to acquire large, integrated patterns of behaviour without having to form them gradually by tedious trial and error.”³⁷⁵ Because the cognitive side of learning is included, social learning theory also speaks of attitudes, values and thought patterns in the products that are modeled, not just behaviour. Bandura writes, “Through the years, modeling has always been acknowledged to be one of the most powerful means of transmitting values, attitudes, and patterns of thought and behaviour.”³⁷⁶

To understand this process, Bandura outlines the sub-processes governing modeling. He observes that during the modeled event there is a process called “attentional process.” This process occurs when the observer pays attention to the modeler. In other words, we can expose people to behaviour, but the learner must see, understand and be interested in the modeled behaviour. Can the observer understand the complexity of the action or thought; are the actions of the model salient to the observer? The next process in modeling Bandura calls the “retention process.” This process involves the cognitive aspect of modeling. The observer encodes the actions and thought processes of the model. Then the learner cognitively rehearses the action or the thought processes of the model. The third process Bandura names “production processes.” This is the point at which the observer attempts the same actions as the model. Modeling does not occur if it is just a mental act. The last part of the process is called the “motivational processes.” It is here that the actions, thoughts or values of the observer are reinforced by the model or the environment. In this process, Bandura shows that modeling occurs when

³⁷⁵ A. Bandura, *Social Learning Theory*, (Englewoods Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice –Hall, 1977), p.12.

³⁷⁶ A Bandura, *Social Foundations and Thought and Action: a social cognitive theory*,

a model is noticed, is thought about and is imitated and the imitation is somehow rewarding to the observer.³⁷⁷

Bandura outlines several ways in which the phenomenon of modeling is demonstrated.³⁷⁸ The first phenomenon Bandura recognizes is called observational learning. Observational learning is most clearly displayed when the learner exhibits novel patterns of thought or behaviour learned from the model. These thought patterns and behaviour did not preexist in the mind of the observer prior to the modeling. For example, a model who has high self-esteem may model to teenagers that they can consider themselves as a marvelously complex piece of art. This novel way of seeing themselves may have long-lasting effects on the teenagers, since these new thought patterns are encoded for long term change.

The second phenomenon that Bandura describes is the inhibitory and disinhibitory effects of modeling. Some people feel inhibited in certain circumstances. They observe others “going first” and observe the results of their actions. If there is a favorable outcome, then they will most likely also try “going next.” The activities are not really new but the new environment may be inhibiting. Observers weigh whether the modeled activity is possible for them to accomplish, whether the outcome of this modeling is beneficial, and wonder if these same benefits will come their way. For example, a teen may be too shy to initiate a conversation in a gathering of people. If she is with an adult who takes the initiative and models to her how to start a conversation, and it goes well,

(Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1986), p. 48.

³⁷⁷ A chart of this process is outlined in A Bandura, *Social Foundations and Thought and Action: a social cognitive theory*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1986), p. 52.

³⁷⁸ These five phenomena are outlined in A Bandura, *Social Foundations and Thought and Action: A Social Cognitive Theory*, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1986), p. 47-51.

the teen is more likely to try this behaviour of starting a conversation, even though the environment may be inhibiting.

The third phenomenon of modeling Bandura calls “response facilitation.” A model can be a social prompt for an action or a thought process that has been completed in the past. The thought or action has not taken place because there is really little reason for it to take place. The behaviour is not new and there are really no inhibitions to stop one from carrying out the behaviour. There just was no reason to do the behaviour such as happens when people influence others to look up at a building by modeling looking up at the building. For example, a teen has studied before and doesn’t feel inhibited by studying, but an adult coming by to study the night before a test, and that may be all the encouragement he needs to better entrench a good life skill.

The fourth phenomenon of modeling Bandura describes is termed “environmental enhancement effects.” Modeling draws the observer’s attention to the setting or objects that the model favors. As a result the observer may use the object or setting to a greater extent. In this way, the model stimulates creative thought for a range of possibilities. Bandura refers to a child who observes a mallet being used to pummel a doll. The child, as a consequence, will likely use the mallet for many activities other than driving in the plastic nails – going beyond pummeling the doll. For example, an art mentor may use a palette knife to paint. The observer may then be more likely to use that knife in other creative ways in mixing and painting or sculpting.

The fifth and final phenomenon of modeling Bandura describes is termed “arousal effects.” Modeling often commonly involves emotions. Seeing models express emotional reactions tends to elicit emotional arousal in the observers. For example, if an adult

mentor expresses anger over mistreatment of another person, the observer is more likely to express some of the similar emotions.

Bandura shows us the breadth of modeling from new behaviours to facilitating behaviour in inhibiting situations, to prompting behaviour previously not conceived, to drawing attention to objects, to enhancing emotions. Next I will add to Bandura's understanding of modeling the insights, the depth of modeling, from a developmentalist – Lawrence Kohlberg.

The Reaction of Developmentalists to Social Learning Theory

Frank Smith outlines two types of learning. One he calls the “official” theory where learning is hard work – the sit in your seat and study kind of learning.³⁷⁹ This learning employs reinforcements and tests to push on the learning. Smith notes that much of what we “learn” in this environment we forget. The other kind of learning is what Smith calls the “classic” view of learning. “The classic view of learning is encapsulated in seven words familiar to every speaker in English: You learn from the company you keep.”³⁸⁰ This classic way of learning is life-long and happens almost without notice. Smith dryly notes that he does not know of any parents who are not worried about who their child is hanging out with just because their child is a slow learner. Smith notes that “we learn from the individuals or groups with whom we identify.”³⁸¹ This is the important shift that developmentalists have made, noticing the power of identification in

³⁷⁹ Frank Smith, *The Book of Learning and Forgetting*, (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1998), pp. 3-5.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 9.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 10.

modeling.

Some researchers interested in learning have reacted against Hullian types of learning models. Edward C. Tolman was one of the first to react against the learning theorists.³⁸² Influenced by the Gestaltists, Tolman emphasized the importance of innate mechanisms that impart order to the world. He reacted against the learning theorists because of their small units of behaviour; children in labs with two-way mirrors interacting with strangers in order to isolate one particular response. Tolman observed that we often take one thing for granted; that is, most of behaviour is goal-directed. Often we learn from others for a reason. This goal-directed behaviour highlights the cognitive motives and emotive side of modeling. Thought systems are not only modeled and used in understanding an action (as with Bandura) but the mind and emotions are tied to the motivations behind why we pick up behaviour from models. We engage our minds and emotions, imagining the end product of our action or evaluating who it is that is modeling a behaviour; for example, asking the question, "Do we want to be like this person?" People's motives must be taken into account in the process of observational learning.

The developmentalist Lawrence Kohlberg was front and center in the debate with the social learning theorists, describing what he calls the cognitive-developmental model. Kohlberg outlines the differences between developmental theory and learning theory.³⁸³ Developmental theory assumes that as people grow there are interactions with the environment that produce a transformation of internal structure which is different at every

³⁸² John Malone, *Theories of Learning: A historical approach*, (Blemond, CA: Wadsworth Pub., 1990), p.189-191. E. C. Tolman, "Cognitive maps in rats and men," *Psychological Review*, 56, 1948, pp. 144-155.

³⁸³ The following is an outline of eight assumptions that Kohlberg put forward. Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The nature and validity of moral stages*,

developmental level. This change in structure is produced by an interaction of the developmental patterning and the environment.³⁸⁴ When young children learn, they start with certain classifications of ideas based upon previous life experience. When an experience is different from the learned classifications, there is an internal disequilibrium. Individuals learn by responding to disequilibrium that the environment creates, trying to make sense of the world around them. New experiences are assimilated into an existing structure, a way of seeing the world. This structure provides a set of rules for processing information, including how people act and what their roles are. At critical “developmental” periods in life, the structure itself is changed. Applying this understanding of learning to social situations, social learning starts with role-taking as children play certain perceived roles taken from their understanding of their environment at that time. Social learning takes place as children mentally and emotionally take on the role of another person in their understanding of the world. This is how a developmentalist understands modeling.

Social learning theory does not take into account developmental stages or a schema that processes information as it reacts with the environment. To a developmentalist, the internal and external reinforcements of social learning theory may change temporary behaviour, but they cannot change the structures of thought, because the reinforcements will only be assimilated into the existing structures of thought.³⁸⁵ Intuitively, we sense that there is more to modeling than the strength and the repetition of

(San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p.8.

³⁸⁴ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 11.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 17.

the reinforcements. Even though the social learning theorists recognize both internal (cognitive) and external reinforcements, both have a reinforcement basis. The question remains, “In real life situations, why are some actions modeled and other actions not?” For example, in families, why are some actions modeled by one sibling and not by the other if similar reinforcements are used and similar experiences are provided? Experiments were conducted in which children were given opportunities to cheat. Rau found that there was no consistent relationship between parental demands or reinforcements and the amount of conformity.³⁸⁶ In addition, if learning is mainly about reinforcements, the removal of the original reinforcements or the introduction of other reinforcements can just as easily extinguish learned behaviour. It is not that Kohlberg believes that all learning is related to structural changes, for he writes: “Some behaviour changes are ‘structural’ and ‘directed’ as evidenced by proceeding through sequential stages, while other behaviour changes are not.”³⁸⁷ Kohlberg recognizes that learning in the short run and in the long run need different explanations. There can be external motivations but the behavioral results are not long lasting.

The word “identification” is important in developmentalism. In the area of modeling, Kohlberg writes that there is a difference between mere imitation and identification. Identification with another person is usually more generalized as opposed to the specific behaviours and situations belonging to imitation. The results of learning through identification are more persistent than mere imitation. A person can be

³⁸⁶ L. Rau, “Conscience and Identification,” in *Identification in Children*, ed., Sears, Alpert and Rau, (1963).

³⁸⁷ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The nature and validity of moral stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 23.

influenced for life through identifying with another person while imitation is usually more temporary.

The root meaning of identification is a tendency to model one's own behaviour after another's. Identification is distinguished from imitation in that: 1) It is a motivated disposition rather than an instrumental response, i.e., it is maintained without obvious extrinsic or situational rewards. In some sense, the fact of perceived similarity to the model is intrinsically rewarding. 2) Similarity to the model is maintained in the absence of the model.³⁸⁸

Identification is also relatively irreversible. Kohlberg is in agreement with Bandura in suggesting that there is a spectrum, or theoretical continuity between the two concepts of imitation and identification.³⁸⁹ However, Kohlberg understands identification to be aroused by much more than reinforcements, where imitation can be observed as occurring merely in the presence of reinforcements. This deeper level Kohlberg believes was influenced by the developmental level of the person. "Identifications are 'solutions' to developmental tasks which may change in object or nature with new developmental tasks."³⁹⁰

To developmentalists, the structure of the mind, the motives and the emotions are involved in moving from imitation to identification. DeNike and Tiber write about the involvement of emotions with modeling: "Identification is a process in which a person believes himself to be like another person in some respects, experiences the other's successes and defeats as his own, and consciously or unconsciously models his behaviour

³⁸⁸ Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral Development and Identification," *Child Psychology: 62nd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, (Chicago, IL: U. of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 296.

³⁸⁹ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 108.

³⁹⁰ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 109.

after him The fact that there is emotional involvement with the other person distinguishes identification from mere imitation.”³⁹¹ The developmentalists observe that a classroom of students will not all model themselves after the teacher to the same degree even though the reinforcements may be similar. Kohlberg believes that identification has a constellation of components to it, which include imitation, conformity, status, and attachment. Each of these components has a place in modeling as people grow in identifying with another person.

In the next few paragraphs I will examine these components of identification in order to better understand modeling in a mentoring relationship. Kohlberg’s interest is primarily invested in how younger children identify with others in order to learn. However, Kohlberg uses occasional examples of adult modeling, demonstrating that he is writing concerning modeling at all ages.³⁹² Before the onset of formal thought in adolescence, internalization cannot be complete in terms of forming generalized principles of modeled behaviour. Many of the examples of identification he uses are with families, but he recognizes that identification with another may occur outside the family.³⁹³ He writes that modeling processes in the young child form the ideal self.³⁹⁴ With what we know concerning second individuation, it is conceivable that adolescence is another time when modeling is of primary importance because the self is now stretching toward the ideal adult self.

³⁹¹ L. Douglas DeNike and Norman Tiber, “Neurotic Behavior,” *Foundations of Abnormal Psychology* (Winston, NY: Holt, Rinehart, 1968), p.355.

³⁹² Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 145.

³⁹³ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 112.

³⁹⁴ *Idid.* p. 118.

The first in the constellation of ways that identification is built Kohlberg terms “imitation.” Kohlberg observes that imitation is not primarily built on reinforcements but on what stimulates curiosity, exploration and a desire for mastery. If a behaviour is interesting enough, people will try to imitate the behaviour. If it is not interesting, there is no internal motivation to imitate. Kohlberg writes concerning how difficult it is to have children imitate you in an experimental setting. He cites Bandura’s use of novel and interesting behaviours (such as an adult punching a bobo doll) as the real reason the children imitate the behaviour in Bandura’s controlled settings. Imitation is internally rewarding if it builds mastery in an area, or if it is so novel that it leads to an interest in further exploration.

The second way identification is built is through “conformity.” Kohlberg describes conformity as a need for social approval - “to need another self (or an audience) as confirmation of achievement and then to systematically ascribe superior competence to the adult model or audience.”³⁹⁵ This identification differs from the use of reinforcers as the person who is modeling wants to have a competence that is clearly seen by the audience. Reinforcers are usually just a sign of a job well done. Kohlberg cites an interesting experiment in which a compliment machine was installed in a school. At first the children pressed the button that would give them compliments because the machine was such a novelty. After a day they did not bother with it. The real reinforcement, then, is not the compliment but the feeling of competency of doing an activity well. Therefore, outward rewards are powerful only if they are perceived as tied to appropriate performance or relationship.

³⁹⁵ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The nature and validity of*

The third way in which identification is strengthened is through the “status” of the model. Kohlberg described the status of the model as “the quality of his relationships to the child, to other persons or to the larger social structure.”³⁹⁶ At one time or another, we have all observed examples of people who are liked being more readily modeled than those who are disliked. This observation was not noted in the social learning theory. In those experimental situations, the models that were chosen were strangers or had nothing in common with the children in order to maintain a purity of experimental condition. For this reason, social learning theory does not explore the quality of relationship. Kohlberg begins to describe the quality of relationship as residing in the two researched characteristics of competence and similarity. Those people who display competence are more likely to be modeled. For example, children will pretend to be a famous sports or music figure. Although there is not a personal relationship, there is a relationship established through the arena of competence. Additionally, those people who are somewhat similar to the observer are more likely to be modeled. We usually draw away from people who are very different from us.

Kohlberg mentions the quality of relevance as another relational motivator. If what the model is doing or being is relevant to the observer, there is a greater likelihood that identification will take place. “A cognitive-developmental theory would stress that the relevance of the model’s role to the child’s own is a major determinant of imitation.”³⁹⁷ Kohlberg avoids using interpretations from psychoanalysis in his

moral stages, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 125.

³⁹⁶ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The nature and validity of moral stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 135.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 145.

theorizing. He notes that the child's attention is drawn to competence because he/she too wishes to be competent. "It does not assume that the child's modeling indicates the desire to introject the model, to magically share the model's powers, or to act toward the self as the model has."³⁹⁸ This is an important distinction, since the choice of whether or not to follow a model is in the observer's hands and is based on only parts of a person's life. The person may want to play hockey like Wayne Gretzky but may not want to be like Wayne or want to buy gas where he buys gas. This observation relates to what Daolz writes in the area of mentoring when he writes that people do not pick up all the traits of the mentor, but they rather choose the areas they appreciate about the person, e.g., "She is so articulate." In a way, this selection process leads to partial identification.

The last of the constellation of ways that identification is strengthened is termed 'attachment.' "As studied by social psychology, a social attachment or bond is conceived of as a relationship of sharing, communication, and cooperation (or reciprocity) between selves recognizing each other as other selves."³⁹⁹ The motivation stems from a desire for shared stimulation, for shared activity and competence. Kohlberg lists a few implications of attachment. The first is similarity; i.e., we feel attached to others who are somewhat like us. The next two implications that Kohlberg describes are having love toward another person and self-love. A person who can respect him/herself enough not to be taken advantage of and who can love in return sets up a mutual bond. In such a relationship there are levels of possession (i.e. a mother feels more possessive than a

³⁹⁸ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 139.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 153.

nurse may of a child) and a desire for esteem in the eyes of the other for reciprocal attachment.

Modeling as Applied to Mentoring Adolescents

Kohlberg recognized that both imitation and identification were similar concepts on a spectrum. At one end of the spectrum is imitation, more temporary and externally motivated; at the other end of the spectrum is identification, persistent even when the model is absent. I believe that the learning theorists understand modeling at a basic level of imitation very well. Their experiments focus around one modeled behaviour in a controlled setting, showing how imitation is stimulated. The results are not measured over a long term, nor is an internal motive of connection to the person emphasized. The results achieved by social learning theorists may be of some benefit to the first stages of mentoring where, as yet, no relationship is built.

What does modeling in a mentoring relationship look like then? According to Bandura, modeling occurs when a model is noticed, is thought about and is imitated because imitation is somehow rewarding to the observer. Modeling can take the form of new behaviours, facilitating behaviour in inhibiting situations, prompting behaviour not previously thought of, drawing attention to objects and to enhancing emotions.

In order to include this type of modeling as part of the mentoring relationship, mentors need to model actions and thought forms that are novel. The adult will need to act (go first) in situations where the student may need to see some demonstration of confidence. The adult will need to be proactive in providing social prompts to needed action. The adult will need to use objects and model responses within the adolescent's

environment. In other words, mentors will somehow need to be a part of the adolescent's physical world. Adult mentors will need to feel free to share and express their emotions in front of their protégés. If modeling is key to both mentoring and to identity formation, then the adult needs to have this kind of closeness with the protégé. Too often there may be fear when an adult comes into contact with a teen in a mentoring program. Questions arise. How much will I have to be involved with this young person? Will the person like me? How much should I let him/her know about the real me? Unfortunately, often these questions and fears stop many adults from doing or saying anything that is too revealing and as such, and they lose in the modeling what adult life is really like. However, some adults have conquered their fears and share what they have learned from a book, share their emotions and share physical space with the adolescent. As adults share their interests and their lives, adolescents have an opportunity to observe something that may be novel, or something from the past which has not been practiced for awhile. Interest is piqued and some type of imitation-modeling begins.

The benefit offered by the developmentalists is in understanding the part of the modeling spectrum that includes identification; i.e. sustained internal change. This understanding is of great benefit to adolescent mentoring relationships since prolonged, internally motivated change is closer to the goals of identity formation. Identification modeling assumes that the protégé knows the model for a long period of time. If this were not the case, then the status of the mentor would not be known and attachment would be less likely to take place.

Kohlberg terms his first way of understanding modeling as imitation, which he describes as stimulating curiosity, exploration and a desire for mastery. If a behaviour is

considered to be valuable, interesting or seen as attainable, people will often try to imitate the behaviour. This view is similar to that of the learning theorists on stimulating modeling. Adults are assumed to have a greater degree of mastery of adulthood than does an adolescent. It is to be hoped there is greater mastery in handling higher levels of moral reasoning and higher levels of handling thought. The mentor needs to create a level of curiosity or thirst concerning their lives. For example, how do they handle problems in their lives? If an adult can display to an adolescent creative problem-solving in a life situation instead of conceding defeat, modeling will likely take place. How can an adolescent see how I handle conflict unless I let him see some of the real conflict in my life? This type of mentoring cannot take place without a closeness and degree of openness and vulnerability in the relationship. The adolescent who desires to attain a degree of adult mastery of life, along with the curiosity of how an adult handles problems, will be led into further identification.

Another aspect of mentoring I have seen play itself out in terms of mastery and curiosity is in the breaking off of some mentoring relationships. A few adolescents have wanted to spend time with some adults. The adults seemed to love fun and be carefree, and that stimulated some initial curiosity in the adolescents. "I want to be like that when I am their age." However, as the students drew closer to the adults, they discovered that the adults lacked a mastery of adult life. The students lost interest. This kind of result is recorded in the results of Torrance's study of mentoring. Some relationships die because of a lack of new ideas, and stimulation.⁴⁰⁰ This kind of situation relates to Geneva Gay's

⁴⁰⁰ E. Paul Torrance, *Mentor Relationships: How they aid creative achievement, endure, change and die*, (Buffalo NY: Bearly Limited, 1984), p. 55.

observation that the first task of the mentor is to build a life worth imitating.⁴⁰¹ Gehrke emphasizes this point by describing the mentor's task as creating a life that is a gift to their protégés.⁴⁰²

The next way in which developmentalists understand modeling to grow is through conformity or social approval. A central characteristic at this stage of development is the adolescents' internal picture that they are performing before an audience.⁴⁰³ No wonder modeling is so central to an adolescent mentoring relationship! The need for adolescents to have an audience seems to have bad press. Acting out deviant roles because for the need of social approval in a peer group, for example, can be seen in any high school. In mentoring, the need for an audience can be much more positive if that audience is an adult espousing more life-affirming attitudes. With this aspect of modeling in mind, the adult must be aware that he/she needs to give feedback to the adolescent. The adult "audience" must be aware that all the ways of communication are being monitored by the adolescent. If the adult meets the teen who has just dyed his hair bright blue, the adult must realize that he/she is the "audience" and must be careful not to communicate messages that he/she does not really want to communicate; i.e., rejection. The adult mentor must be willing to give vocal feedback concerning various aspects of the adolescence's life, realizing that one of his/her roles is to be an audience. This relates to

⁴⁰¹ Geneva Gay, "Modeling and Mentoring in Urban Teacher Preparation," *Education and Urban Society*, vol. 28, no. 1, (November 1995), pp. 103 – 118.

⁴⁰² Nathalie Gehrke, "Toward a Definition of Mentoring," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 191 - 194.

⁴⁰³ Imaginary Audience. David Elkind, *All Grown Up and No Place to Go*, (Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1971), p. 33-36.

what Yamamoto writes when he says that mentoring is the protégé “being seen.”⁴⁰⁴ The mentor’s job is to provide that adult presence, outside of the family mirror.

The third way Kohlberg writes about which modeling concerns the status of the model. This area is described under several headings: the model is liked, is competent, is similar and is relevant. These characteristics relate to what Haensly and Parsons writes when they note that modeling is “due primarily to the mentor’s status and personal warmth.”⁴⁰⁵ Adults often wonder whether they are “cool” enough for the students to want to be around them. The secret thought of many a novice adult mentor is: “They won’t want to hang around an old person like me.” And that raises the question, “How much do we, as adults, need to wear their clothes and speak their language?” Kohlberg offers a good framework for the status of the adult being modeled. An adult should show some kind of competence in living their lives - in their family, or work or art, etcetera. A teen certainly would not wish to model after someone who displays only incompetence. An adult should share some similarities with the adolescent. If the two are living in completely two separate worlds, there is less likely the possibility to model aspects of the adult’s life. Common interests may be the starting place for building a mutual relationship. For example, a grade seven young man who did not have a healthy family situation wanted to build a mentoring relationship with me. I came into the relationship as a learner hoping to establish a common interest. He taught me all about baseball card collecting. I drove him to card shops and we traded cards on Saturday mornings.

⁴⁰⁴ Kaoru Yamamoto, “To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship,” *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188, p. 184.

⁴⁰⁵ Patricia Haensly and James Parsons, “Creative, Intellectual, and Psychosocial Development Through Mentorship: Relationships and Stages,” *Youth and Society*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1993, pp. 202 - 221. p. 205.

Similarities that build status do not have to be seen as trying to live completely similar lives, but can be based on some common interest or understanding.

Relevance is the third aspect concerning status of which Kohlberg writes. A person will not want to model a baseball player if baseball holds no relevance for him/her. Fortunately, there is somewhat of a built-in relevance in an adult to adolescent mentoring relationship. Adulthood is where teens are headed, and most adults are seen to have some experience in the adult world (hidden wisdom) that is still somewhat of a mystery. Daloz writes that mentors are relevant to another person sometimes in an attribute, or competency that they have. "Attachment is likely to be around general attributes rather than to a particular role. . . . 'he is so knowledgeable and spoke so distinctly,' or because. . . . 'She's got it all together and I definitely haven't.' Later still, the appeal may be integrated with conscious awareness of what the student herself needs at the time."⁴⁰⁶ If we, as mentors, are able to add layers of various memberships in different social groups the relevance is greater. For example, if an Indo-Canadian adult male can mentor an Indo-Canadian teen male, all the questions of how one participates in three cultures and how one reacts to others as a visible minority become very relevant.

The last way in which Kohlberg writes of helping to move modeling forward is through attachment. In such attachment there is a mutual desire for sharing, communication, cooperation, and reciprocity. A learning spirit will be required on the part of the mentor. To have a reciprocal relationship, one must be open and even eager to learn from the adolescent. Mutual communication relates to what I have written previously in the chapter concerning dialogue. If mutual dialogue is taking place, then

⁴⁰⁶ Laurent A. Daloz, *Mentor: Guiding the Journey of Adult Learners*, (San Francisco, CA:

modeling is much more likely to be effective. This whole concept of mutuality also relates to the chapter on a referent, power-with relationship. As Eldridge writes concerning a power-with relationship, both parties need to be wholly oneself with each other. If this type of mutuality is established, then modeling takes place to a greater degree. In this concept of attachment we can note how all three characteristics of power-with, dialogical relationship and identification modeling symbiotically build on each other to become adolescent mentoring. I will look at this in more detail in the final chapter.

Some degree of modeling takes place in most mentoring relationships, but because it is central to the process and to the goal of identity formation, modeling might well be practiced intentionally. No list of helpful strategies of strengthening modeling can be all-inclusive, but some of the implications might be included: spending time with the adolescents and being noticed; initiating action in difficult situations; participating in their worlds and places they hang out; being vulnerable in thoughts, emotions and actions; creating curiosity and thirst by modeling competent adult lives – ever learning and growing; being aware of reactions as their audience; building common interests; providing appropriate feedback; spending time communicating with and displaying personal warmth; and being willing to learn from them. This is quite a long list. The concept of modeling which is somewhat intuitive can be enhanced by intentional actions such as those listed. Lawrence Richards confirms the validity of this list with his own shorter list of intentional modeling. “A study of the behavioral science literature on modeling and identification reinforce . . . 1. There needs to be frequent, long-term contact

with the model. 2. There needs to be a warm, loving relationship with the model. 3. There needs to be exposure to the inner states of the models. 4. The model needs to be observed in a variety of settings and situations. 5. The model needs to exhibit consistency and clarity in behaviours, values, etc.”⁴⁰⁷

Identification Modeling in Adolescent Relationships

Mentoring has been equated with so many other relationships that it is important in a conceptual analysis to come out the other side, able to distinguish mentoring from other adolescent relationships. Just as I did with respect to power and dialogue, I will examine how this marker of adolescent mentoring sets it apart from other adolescent relationships.

1. Parents

Inevitably, parents are models for adolescents. In fact, they are probably the most significant modeling force for the adolescent beginning with childhood. In most situations, it is likely that the adolescent picked up language, sex roles and moral standards among other things from their parents while they were still small children. The type of modeling practiced by many parents not only is similar but also goes beyond the levels of modeling observed in mentoring. In the long run, an adolescent will more likely possess many more characteristics of their parents than they would of their mentor as they grow into adulthood. The difference in modeling of the two relationships is not in quantity but in kind.

⁴⁰⁷ Lawrence Richards, *A Theology of Christian Education*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan,

The fact that a mentor models a similar yet different enough message from the parents is significant. The mentor, for one thing, possesses different competencies than does the parent. For example, I had known a teen who was a constant gossip. The mentor of this teen was afraid this trait would hold her back in her friendships and was surprised to find in a few home visits that the parents had the same gossiping behaviour. The fact that parents are so close to their children and have modeled so much to them over the years displays the difference in the various competencies that can be learned.

The mentor has a different status than do the parents. With mentors, there is the novelty factor instead of a familiarity status with the parents. For example, some parents have told me, "I have been telling them to do the same thing for years but now they listen to you and do it!" There is also a different type of attachment – one of mutuality between the adult and adolescent. Again the parents have been so close for so long that mutuality may not occur for many families until the teens reach their thirties, where both can come to the relationship as adults. However, a mentor from outside the family can offer a power-with role and learn from the adolescent without the baggage of having raised him from childhood.

2. Coaches

Coaches model to students on a regular basis in schools. In fact, there is some inherent modeling involved with coaching concerning the correct ways of doing things. A tennis coach shows the student how to hold the racket. The football coach demonstrates how to cradle a football. Coaches may model behaviour, attitudes, or values that the

adolescent can adopt as a part of their own repertoire, but this type of modeling is not necessary to the definition of a coach. Some of the great coaches through the ages of sport have not been people we would like to have our adolescents model their lives after, yet they have been or are great coaches. Coaches are expected to model a mastery of skill and comprehensive knowledge concerning a sport. For example, I had a music teacher in high school who was a great influence on many students. In a way he was our music coach. His mastery of music drew us to him. We wanted to model his skill as a musician, but his failing marriage and alcoholic tendencies precluded the desire for us wanting to be like him as an adult. A genuine mentor provides an example, mastery, and status not limited to an area of skill but as a healthy socialized adult. The definition of a healthy, socialized adult will differ from person to person, and as I wrote in Chapter One my intent in this paper is not to define a curriculum of what a healthy adult is like. The point here is that the curriculum of an adult's life needs to be taken into account. Some would not desire to engage an adult mentor in mentoring programs who had severe self-image problems and who wanted to join the program to fulfill some nostalgic lack of high school experience. The modeling in mentoring relationships is different from modeling in coaching in that mentoring modeling is built on modeling adult competencies, and the adolescent chooses the mentor for the purpose of modeling something from the adult's. Coaches are not usually chosen so much as teams are chosen. Moreover, coaches are not primarily chosen for their personality qualities but for their understanding and competence in skill areas.

3. Teachers

Adolescents at times model themselves after teachers in their world. Most of us can remember a popular teacher from whom students picked up various mannerisms or who influenced us in career choice. Modeling also takes place as a teaching method in the classroom. The biology teacher demonstrates how to dissect a frog and the class watches closely in order to learn. The situation is similar to that of the coach. Teachers often become models for students, but a teacher does not need to be a model to be a good teacher. In fact, many teachers after whom I did not want to model myself were very good at giving us the knowledge and processes that were needed; some of whom I did not want to thank until many years afterwards. Adolescents, however, choose their mentors whose influence they seek. The requirements of high school classes create a barrier to students opening up to their teachers. Teachers are less likely to show some vulnerability in a classroom of thirty, where some students might take advantage of vulnerability to challenge classroom management. Modeling in mentoring is different, in that it is essential in the relationship and of a different kind: deeper, informal, vulnerable and entered into freely. It is essential that in an adolescent mentoring relationship with identity formation as the goal adults are modeling what it means to be a healthy adult.

Summary

The review of the mentoring literature revealed the centrality of modeling in mentoring. It would be difficult to imagine any mentoring relationship where modeling was not a part. Modeling becomes even more central as it also aids in the process of identity formation in adolescents. As adolescents are becoming their own persons in an

adult sense, they need various models outside their immediate families to establish a clearer identity. Adolescents, it is to be hoped, will not take on the entire identity of another, but bits and pieces that the adolescent feels are helpful to whom they want to become. An adult mentor is one way in which this model can be provided.

Just as in many other types of educational endeavours, some level of modeling can be accomplished without intentionality, but with a desire to see adolescents grow into healthy adults, mentors can add enhance their modeling situations. Some of the activities and attitudes that I have suggested for the adult mentor are: spending time with the adolescent in his/her world; being noticed as a capable adult through vulnerability in thoughts, emotions and actions; taking action first in difficult situations; creating curiosity and thirst by modeling a competent, ever-learning life (a life worth imitating); being aware of reactions as his/her audience; building common interests; providing feedback; and communicating personal warmth. With this amplified modeling, mentoring becomes even more valuable in the identity formation of the adolescent.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Implications of an Adolescent-Oriented Mentoring Relationship

Mary, a young teacher in her third year of teaching, wanted to make more of a difference. She entered teaching so that she could help teenagers, but she felt as if her heart's reservoir was slowly being drained by the details of classroom management and detailed learning objectives. She just wanted to help, to see a difference in the teens.

Mary gave out the final pieces of art that were hanging around her desk and wished her class a great summer vacation. All the students heard was the ticking of seconds on the clock amplified by the anticipation of the first day of summer holidays. Almost as an afterthought, Mary smiled and added that if any student would like take part in a mentoring relationship with her this summer she would be open to talk about it after class. She quickly described the gift of friendship that would be open to any who would want to take the time. Most students already had their internal motors revving to hit the door. The bell rang and the cheers from the classroom were harmonized by the gallery of classrooms down the hallway as the students bolted for the door. Desks scratched across the floor, boots pounded the linoleum, laughter and talk of summer plans exploded in a cacophony of sound.

With the echoes still hanging in the air Mary noticed two students walking slowly, staying back and looking at each other, vying to take the last "turn" with the teacher. After several moments of hesitation one asked, "Can you tell me more about this mentoring thing?" The other student looked with surprise and whispered, "That's why I am here too."

This was a sacred moment of trust given by the teens. It was in response to the gift of willingness by the teacher to be with the teens. This story is a work of fiction, but such a gift exchange could happen in many classrooms, youth groups, youth hostels, and public recreation programs around our nation if adolescents were allowed to walk beside an adult outside their family on their journey to becoming an adult. Relationships of mentoring could be extended to reintroduce an educational role for extended families. An uncle or a step cousin-in-law could see mentoring as a way to introduce the next generation to the adult world with hope as one with a greater developed identity. This thesis has offered an analysis of such relationships. The more the mentoring relationship centers around the elements of referent power, a dialogical relationship and identification modeling, the more the adolescent will be open to such a relationship and the more the relationship will aid the adolescent in his/her identity formation.

Integration of the Markers

One reason I have not attempted to carve out a definition of mentoring for adolescents is that mentoring is a relationship and as such is not conducive to strict definitions. In some mentoring relationships, there may be skills taught, there may be an expectation to continue - for the protégé to become a mentor, there may be some instruction given. The contexts of the mentoring will shape the relationship. Mentoring adolescents within extended families, group homes, religious youth groups or a school setting will each leave their particular mark on the relationship. My hope in this thesis has been to approach an understanding of what concepts are central to mentoring adolescents in their identity formation.

In summary, I have discovered in general that mentoring relationships with adolescents that approach referent power, a dialogical relationship and identification modeling are helpful for fostering identity formation. In the constellation of mentoring relationships, an adolescent mentoring relationship can be most closely located at the juncture of these three markers. Referent power, where the adolescent freely gives the power of influence to the adult, marks a central assumption of this relationship. The practical working out of this assumption was first established in dialogue, grounded in a relationship. Ideas that assist identity formation are freely exchanged and brought to light through gentle questioning. Identity formation is aided by the mere treatment of the adolescent as one who has worthwhile thoughts with which to interact. However, identity formation is not merely a cognitive event; it looks to real life models that give the fine nuances to ideas. For example, it is one thing to discuss compassion for the poor and quite another to take someone “in need” out to lunch with a protégé. The grounding of the idea in a life fine tunes concepts and brings up other questions. This modeling is central to mentoring adolescents. As I have quoted earlier in this thesis, Erikson sums up adolescents’ desires in this way: “Clearly the adolescent looks most fervently for men [sic] and ideas to have faith in.”⁴⁰⁸ Ideas found in dialogue, people found in modeling, all with the understanding of referent power, locates adolescent mentoring in the constellation of other types of mentoring and other adolescent relationships with adults.

The three qualities of referent power, dialogical relationship and identity modeling complement each other. Relational dialogue needs to have something similar to a referent power base for it to work. The encouragement, hope, affection, respect, trust,

⁴⁰⁸ Erik Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W. W, Norton, 1968), p. 128.

and concern that are a part of a dialogical relationship would be hard to imagine as a central part in a relationship with coercive, reward, expert, or legitimate power bases. Relational dialogue also needs modeling. The qualities of a dialogical relationship may not be present at the beginning, but rely on modeling to build them during the relationship. Burbules notes this in his discussion of relational dialogues: “One acquires virtues [the six qualities of a dialogical relationship] not upon being told to do so, but through association with others who are similarly disposed.”⁴⁰⁹ A dialogical relationship needs to have modeling of the various qualities inherent in a relationship of this type.

The power of a relationship is central to the concept of modeling. Modeling is more likely to happen if the person has power. “Theorists concerned with identification have . . . increasingly converged on a notion of power as the central status attribute in modeling.”⁴¹⁰ Kohlberg discusses identification modeling as containing four qualities of imitation (because of competence), social approval, status and attachment. People who have coercive power may be modeled because of their status or competence. People who have legitimate power may be modeled because of their status and social approval. People who have reward power may have social approval. People with expert power may be modeled after because of their competence, status and social approval. People who have referent power given to them not only are seen to be a master of some area, possess the social approval, have the status of being liked, be seen as similar, but they also have the attachment of a mutual desire for sharing, communication and cooperation. Referent power and identification modeling are well matched. Moreover, dialogue and modeling

⁴⁰⁹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 42.

⁴¹⁰ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of*

fit well together. There needs to be some level of dialogue taking place in order to understand the inner world of the model so that attachment may develop. Kohlberg describes this dialogue as central to role-taking in modeling, “Before one can love the other or can model his or her attitudes, one must take the other’s roles through communicative processes.”⁴¹¹ The three markers are symbiotic and synergistic, feeding each other and helping the whole mentoring relationship to grow.

I am not the first who has seen the fit of these three characteristics. For example, Nel Noddings refers to power, dialogue and modeling as central to her notion of the concept of care. I am not so concerned that she does not write about mentoring, but I am pointing out that these concepts I have chosen for my thesis can coexist. Although she does not name referent power, Noddings describes a relationship with mutuality, reciprocity, engrossment (full attention), and motivational displacement (motivations turned to the other).⁴¹² In chapter four, I examined the connection of French and Raven’s referent power to the feminist’s concepts of mutuality and reciprocity. Noddings goes on to list the characteristics of a caring relationship: “Moral education from the perspective of an ethic of caring has four major components: modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation.”⁴¹³ Noddings describes modeling as showing how to care for others and simply the experience of being cared for, which is certainly a part of identification modeling. She describes dialogue as open- ended; “neither party knows at the outset what

Moral Stages, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 137.

⁴¹¹ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 73.

⁴¹² Nel Noddings, *The Challenge to Care in Schools*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press 1992), pp. 15-17.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.* p. 22.

the outcome or decision will be.”⁴¹⁴ This type of dialogue is not the hidden coercion of the teacher really knowing what the outcome will be – this is similar to a dialogical relationship. Noddings’ component of “practice” is the concept of experience, going and “doing” things together. As I have described earlier, I have included this as a part of modeling. Modeling is best done by being together in various venues, everything from watching movies together to washing cars together. The fourth component Noddings gives to the activity of care is “confirmation,” which is the act of encouragement. Encouragement is one of the qualities of a dialogical relationship. Although I have not used Nel Noddings’ theory as a pattern of mentoring, her ideas of an educational ethic of care mirrors the three components of an adolescent mentoring relationship I have discovered, displaying that they are not at odds with each other, but fit well together.

It is also significant to understand the fit between mentoring adolescents and Noddings’ focus on the ethic of care. At times I have been asked who would ever want to spend the time or the energy to understand adolescents. In North America, time seems to be a scarce commodity. The simple answer is, those who care. Because of the informality of the mentoring relationship, there usually are not any financial rewards to mentoring. The referent power base does not give a sense of position or of force; dialogue takes work and concentration; and modeling requires vulnerability in the presence of an adolescent. These activities are not highly rewarding, in themselves, for the mentor. As mentioned previously, a mentor may receive a friendship, some relearning of youthful characteristics, and a sense of generativity by passing on something of value to the next generation, but at the heart of the matter the mentor needs to care about the personhood

⁴¹⁴ Nel Noddings, *The Challenge to Care in Schools*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press

of the adolescent. Those members of an extended family, cultural center, faith community, halfway house leaders, those teachers and coaches willing to step out of their roles to be mentors, do so because for some reason they care.

Noddings' ethic of care is a demonstration of holding the three qualities of an adolescent mentoring relationship together; however, mentoring is not merely a care ethic. Noddings describes her ethic of care as more of an encounter. "We must keep in mind that the basic caring relation is an encounter. My description of a caring relation does not entail that carer and cared-for are permanent labels for individuals."⁴¹⁵ Mentoring is a relationship with responsibility brackets around it and as such is deeper, more intentional and "messy" than an encounter. Although I would not opt for permanent labels either, for a time, the majority of the care is given by the mentor. For example, many times teens are not home when I drive by to pick them up for our mentoring meetings. Referent power is deeper than the ethic of care, in that there is mutuality; but, also, the protégé looks up to the mentor to such a degree that he/she makes reference in his/her mind to the person. Dialogue is a part of an ethic of care, but dialogue becomes more intentional in that the mentor is asking questions toward a goal of identity formation, not merely an open-ended conversation. Modeling is a part of an ethic of care, but modeling becomes messier in a mentoring relationship. The mentor is vulnerable in sharing inner states of thought and past actions. The mentor intentionally invites the protégé into parts of his/her private life. Noddings' ethic of care is similar but does not need to have such qualities.

1992), p. 23.

⁴¹⁵ Nel Noddings, *The Challenge to Care in Schools*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press 1992), p. 16-17.

Markers as separate concepts

Now that I have demonstrated that the three markers of an adolescent mentoring relationship are consistent, a charge could be leveled that all three markers are essentially the same thing. Was I actually describing the same concept and not three? In other words, how are these three markers different?

First of all, I would like to remind us that concepts within a relationship are not easily compartmentalized. In a relationship between two people the separation of the various concepts which make it a “type” of a relationship are not free from overlap. For example, my role as a teacher is intimately linked with the goal of the relationship. Therefore, the three markers of an adolescent mentoring relationship will have overlap. Because they fit well with each other in this type of relationship, they will look similar. With the proviso that there will be overlap, I will discuss how the three markers of an adolescent mentoring relationship are distinct and display the attitude, the cognitive and the behavioral/thought pattern aspects of the relationship and how each concept can stand separate from the others.

Referent power sets the attitude of the relationship itself. With referent power, the power is given by the protégé to the mentor, and the power is mutual toward growth to some respect. These are attitudes of both the protégé and the mentor. The protégé must look up to the mentor because of who the mentor is, and the mentor must be open to listen and learn from the protégé. These attitudes affect the actions of the relationship and, in a way, are the base of the other two mentoring markers. The other two mentoring markers are areas of active growth. Referent power is not itself an area of active growth,

nothing is actually educationally accomplished yet. If nothing is modeled or dialogued, referent power does not contribute to growth of a person. For example, a teen can anticipate meeting a long lost uncle. The family conversations have given this uncle referent power in which the teen may have attributed to this uncle. The uncle is looking forward to the meeting and what can be learned from the teen. The teen has not yet met the uncle and so no modeling has taken place, nor dialogue, just an attitudinal change of the position of that uncle.

A dialogical relationship flows out of the attitude of referent power but involves the cognitive growth of the relationship. In a dialogical relationship encouragement is given, questions are asked, and ideas and dreams are explored. Because of this, the protégé's mind is stretched and even changed. As the mentor considers points of view from the protégé's mind the mentor is stretched and even changed. This is the growth involved in a dialogical relationship. The more the relationship has a base of referent power the more each will be open to learn from each other through the dialogue. Each participant in the dialogical relationship will model to each other how to dialogue, but dialogue itself stands apart by what it does. Dialogue can stand alone. Two people can have a dialogical relationship of encouragement, trust, concern and affection, sharing ideas, opinions and dreams across the internet, where there is little modeling of behaviours or any understanding in power differences in the relationship.

Lastly, the mentoring marker of modeling is the "picking up" of behaviours and thought patterns. Modeling is influenced by referent power. If the adolescent refers to the adult in his/her mind there is much more likely the opportunity for modeling. However, at the primary level of modeling of which Bandura writes and which Kohlberg calls

imitation, there does not need to be any reference to the person in the minds of the one who models the behaviour. A curious behaviour or one in which there is competence is modeled and the observer copies the behaviour. We model people who hold various types of power with, to or over us. Many employees may find themselves modeling behaviour of a boss simply because he/she the boss or because he/she holds coercive power over them. Referent power is not exclusive to modeling. Modeling and dialogue are separate concepts. Although modeling will be enhanced by vulnerable dialogue, we imitate many people with whom we do not have a conversation, let alone have a dialogical relationship. Although in the following pages the three concepts are will at times overlap with each other (i.e. dialogue in modeling) they are separate concepts.

Implications for the Mentor

In one sense, this thesis is complete, for the conceptual analysis is at an end and my conclusions regarding the three necessary ingredients of a mentoring relationship with respect to the needs of identity formation of adolescents have been located. Yet, I am not satisfied with this conclusion without giving some voice to the practical implications involved for the mentor and for mentoring programs. As I wrote in the first chapter, behind the scenes of this thesis lurks a practical question concerning mentoring adolescents – how does one do it? I chose to pursue an EdD degree because at the end of the day I want to produce something for a practitioner to use. Therefore, I will frame a summary of the conceptual analysis in practical terms by examining the implications for mentors and implications for mentoring programs. Each section will include a short review of a concept that I have described in the body of this paper followed by some

practical suggestions for applying the concept. I am writing this section as if I am giving a mentoring seminar to prospective mentors. This summary is prescriptive, which is not meant to be a summary of mentoring “laws,” but as practical suggestions flowing from analysis. Most educative endeavours present themselves less as a science of law and more as works of art. These prescriptive brush strokes, combined in various ways, will hopefully produce beautiful works of art with the lives of young people.

1. Cultivate an Awareness of the Uniqueness of Adolescence

Just as a geography teacher should know something of the outcomes of geography, so should the mentor of an adolescent have a clear understanding of the goal of adolescent identity formation. As in many relationships, many levels of goals are present. The relationship may have the secondary goals of teaching guitar or driving skills, going to a pottery class together, or reading through great books of the last century. No matter what the activity, the mentor should not lose the focus that more is being accomplished here than the mere activity. A future adult identity is forming.

Every adult has experience in what makes adolescents who they are, because every adult has traveled through some kind of adolescence. I suggest to mentors to remember what they can of their own time of transition: pull out old pictures, read old journals, ask friends and family for stories of their own adolescence. The mentor may start to realize that they may have much in common with their protégé.

Mentors may remember their bodies and emotions changing with memories of the embarrassing pimple before the big date, the first time in a high school locker room or the height of emotion at a rock concert. Mentors should be aware of the growth spurt and

puberty that many adolescents are experiencing. These physical changes are also spread over a long period of time with varying starting times and rates of maturation for each individual. Mentors may remember their own musings about who they were to become and how their perceptions changed with the various people with whom they came in contact. The adolescent life may seem to some adults, who do not remember their own adolescence, as a bizarre time of self-absorption. However, this is a healthy process for these adolescent persons as they stop being primarily the children of their parents and begin to choose their own persona. Hopefully, armed with some level of understanding, mentors should come into relationships with sensitivity. This sensitivity could include such things as curtailing jokes about physical differences, taking seriously their protégé's concern over what friends think of them, and being a voice against some of the market-driven media that accentuates the physical imperfections.

Some memories the mentors may come upon are the hormone-fogged world of the adolescent. Because of the hormonal changes, much of the mental activity of the average adolescent is in the area of romance. An adult mentor must be comfortable talking about sex, rejection, and all the various issues that may arise from these conversations. In mentoring situations I have had adolescents ask me about the details of my sex life.

Moreover, as the mentor builds a relationship of trust, intimacy increases and the adolescent may have difficulty separating out romantic feelings from other great feelings of friendship. Mentors must not be blind to their power in the relationship and therefore not accept any possible romantic advances.

Mentors need to understand the cognitive changes that are taking place inside their protégés. If mentors understand the concept of a “moratorium” that their protégés are traveling through, they will not be shocked with the protégé's rethinking of past values or having levels of despair as they attempt to understand the entire world. Allowing adolescents to think out loud without shutting down the conversation gives them the space to travel through their questions. In fact, mentors could be encouraged to ask questions that will provoke thought in their protégés. The sometime explosive moratoria can have a controlled site of reaction in the mentoring relationship.

Mentors should also be aware of the reflection, generalization and idealization that are fresh, awakening mental skills for many adolescents. These changes in thinking expand many an adolescent's thinking time into the larger questions of life. These changes remove the adolescent from thinking about concrete, observable behaviours and are therefore more susceptible to distortion of future possibilities and present realities. Mentors can help adolescents gain a more realistic picture of the future by taking their protégé to places or introducing them to people who will open the eyes of their idealism. For example, if a teen wants to become a musician, the mentor could take a local musician out to lunch with his/her protégé. The musician has a free lunch and the adolescent just may have a better understanding of life on the road and the struggle for money that musicians face.

Mentors should also be open to be challenged by the idealism of the adolescent. For example, a few years ago my protégé was upset about the urban poor and thought something should be done about the situation. I agreed and asked him questions, helping him think through his ideas. With all idealism of a Joan of Arc, he stood up and said, "We

need to do something, right now. Enough talk!" We hopped on a bus and went downtown to take a couple of our city's homeless out for lunch. To say the least, this was outside my comfort zone, but I came away the richer from allowing his idealism to challenge me.

Mentors should be aware that although adolescents may think of themselves idealistically, they often struggle with feelings of powerlessness. Any significant responsibility that an adult can give an adolescent at this time will give him/her a sense of adult power. Some group homes are open to the possibility of adolescents participating in decision making. Some youth groups have positions of real decision making power. Mentors should be searching out places where their protégés can exercise power and learn in the process. I have regularly steered my protégés in the direction of becoming camp counselors or tutors to younger children. It is almost a mystical transformation to witness a teen who may have had everything done for them in his/her family return from being a camp counselor with a new-held confidence, and a better understanding of those who are "in charge." William Damon agrees as he questions the North American lifestyle of protecting our children against responsibility. He suggests that time and effort giving to the needs of others endows real meaning to an adolescent.⁴¹⁶

2. Cultivate an Understanding of Central Mentoring Concepts

The three concepts central to mentoring adolescents discovered in this thesis include power, dialogue and modeling. They are like three axes that situate an adolescent

⁴¹⁶ William Damon, *Greater Expectations*, (New York, New York:Free Press, 1995).

mentoring relationship. The closer relationship reaches the point of intersection of referent power, dialogical relationship, and identification modeling, the more helpful to the identity formation in the adolescent mentoring. Whereas this thesis does not offer a comprehensive definition, these three concepts locate an adolescent mentoring relationship among the various mentoring relationships that adolescents experience.

a. Referent Power

Often adolescents feel ignored or are seen as nuisance problems. In their idealism, adolescents can picture themselves as equals with adults, yet they are not allowed to have equal input. Referent power means that the adolescent identifies with the adult – he/she “refers” to the adult in their minds and emotions when giving this gift of power. This is a power that the adult has and the adolescent does not have; yet with the understanding of mutuality in a “power-with” relationship both participants are learners and treat each other as equals. It is a symbiotic relationship where both in some small way step away from the relationship a better person. Referent power is the only type of power that will reach the inner world of the adolescent. Adolescents tend to turn off coercive, positional and reward power because these kinds of power make them feel as if they are being treated like a little child. They respect expert power, but will give the gift of influence to those whom they admire to and who treat them with respect. This power base sets the stage for the other characteristics of adolescent mentoring.

How does one initiate a relationship where referent power is the base? My first suggestion would be to spend time with the adolescent. Somehow the adolescent must see the potential mentor in action over time in order to decide whether or not the gift of referent power will be given. Is the adult worthy of his/her time, respect and learning

stance? Would the adolescent want to refer to the adult when thinking of his/her possible futures? With so many adults not treating them as equals, there need to be levels of trust built over time. I suggest to adults to take young people out in informal time and to share some of their thoughts and dreams. In this kind of atmosphere the adolescent may start to identify with some of those dreams and wish to give the gift of referent power to the mentor. It is difficult for adolescents to desire to give the gift unless they know the mentor.

To accomplish a bonding with a protégé the mentor needs to spend time treating him/her as an equal. Some possible strategies would be to listen with attention, ask for an opinion, enjoy the protégé's company, offer encouragement, all of the things a sincere friendship would offer. Affirming the protégé as a significant person is basic to an adolescent mentoring relationship. Just spending time with the adolescent shows him/her their worth. Considering the fast pace of our North American culture, families are not able to spend the time together they once did. A mentor can fill that gap in healthy ways. The mentor also gains from the relationship. Both mentor and protégé gain because of the enjoyment of the relationship and because of the breadth of knowledge and experience received.

Some may ask if the adolescent can still learn from mentors if they are too close. Yes, I believe so, if the mentor remains who she/he is and does not try to act like a teenager her/himself. Adolescents need someone to look up to, not a graying copy of their peers. Is it possible to have a friend that is ten years younger? For most of us the answer is "yes" as long as there are things to be shared in common. Most adolescents I have known understand that adults could do many other things with their time, and so

adolescents recognize the gift of time the adults are giving and honour them not for their positioning, but because of their sacrifice. The mutuality of this relationship just stretches down a few more years with the mutual interest centering around the question, “How is this person going to make it in adulthood?”

Some types of power differences can only be minimized. The power of gender or the power of social location cannot disappear. Because of the centrality of power in mentoring relationships, I recommend that women mentor girls and men mentor boys, and that, as much as possible, social location should be matched, while realizing that cannot always happen. Since the choice of the relationship is in the hands of the protégé, some of the power difference is taken away. Adolescents are the ones in control of the curriculum by virtue of whom they choose as their mentor. If the mentor notices a social location difference that is wide enough to be a hindrance, then the mentor should see one of his/her roles as facilitator to bring his/her protégé into contact with other adult models closer to the social grouping of the protégé. The mentor will also have to take extra steps in building trust in the relationship, since there will be social realities of power-over that will have to be worked against over time and that will never be fully erased.

Although this relationship is mutual, it is also asymmetrical. The mentors have referent power that the protégés do not have. Recognizing this, mentors should also be aware that any suggestion they give might be taken more seriously than the mentors may have meant. Mentors should be careful not to abuse the power of influence that is given to them. This is one of the advantages of a mentoring program; there is usually some accountability built into the structures.

b. Dialogical Relationship

The expanding minds of the adolescents have their outlet in the relational faucet of conversations. They are particularly open to conversations that treat them as significant people – adults in the making, not as children of a bygone era. Adolescents thirst to be treated with a respect owing to their own person with their own opinions. They are open to talking with those who can be patient with their thought experiments as they discover what they think, aloud, in the midst of an active moratorium of “Who am I?” Choosing between alternative beliefs and identities, adolescents will open their wondering minds to others through the medium of discussion.

Studies in mentoring converge with adolescent studies in the area of dialogue. Mentors ask, listen, have input in a dialogue where the relationship is central to the dialogue. As with Henslow and Darwin, questions flow back and forth in unhurried interaction. Mentors of adolescents listen, have input, and challenge with new ideas and problems, inviting the them to examine their own schema of how they see life. Mentors enter the inner world of the adolescent in which simultaneous reflection on self and observation of others is continually taking place. Protégés attach themselves to their mentors in a relationship because they feel as one with their mentors internally. For these reasons, identity formation and mentoring come together at the point of the dialogical relationship marker.

What is a dialogical relationship? First, dialogue is the sharing back and forth of ideas, opinions, dreams and feelings. It is a lively interchange where both can be learners. Each person may not learn the same kind of things as in a symmetrical relationship, but neither is one the holder of the outcomes and all the knowledge. The protégé learns most

about her/himself and some things about the mentor. The mentor learns most things about the protégé and some things about her/himself. The mutuality in mentoring dialogue occurs when both people are truly open to learning from the other. This act of dialogical relationship treats the ideas and feelings of the adolescents as significant in the sense that their ideas and opinions can be truly considered and responded to.

The relational aspects of this dialogical relationship are key to elevating it from mere conversation. From Burbules' work I have noted that there needs to be an aspect of concern; the mentor is important to the protégé and the protégé is important to the mentor.⁴¹⁷ With a clear understanding of referent power, there can be an assumption of concern and feelings that the other is important on the part of the protégé. In other words, the adolescent will probably not freely initiate the relationship if there is no personal concern expressed for the relationship. This is not an assumption with the mentor. Some mentors may not really have a personal concern for relationship or for the growth and maturity of the protégé. If this were a program where a volunteer was needed, or mentoring was merely seen as another way to get ahead in the life of an institution, the relationship would not gel. It is imperative that mentors of adolescents examine why they are entering this relationship. I believe that if concern for the protégé is not present in the relationship then the adolescent will sense the lack of concern and not open up freely in a dialogical relationship.

Just as it is possible to be in love with another and yet still need to demonstrate acts of love, so it is with concern. The mentor must not only ask if his/her basic concern for the protégé is there, but also if he/she demonstrates acts of concern. For example,

⁴¹⁷ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY:

concern produces a state of wishing to be present with the other person. Some acts of concern might include: eye contact; reflecting thoughts and feelings; interaction; thinking along with the protégé; imagining matters from the other's point of view; input on the topic - these are all marks of being fully connected with another person. Any of these acts reaffirms that the mentor really cares about the protégé and about the topic that is being discussed. The mentor's attentiveness itself helps build the teen's sense of identity. In so doing, the mentor displays that the protégé is a person of worth. In these days of busyness, how many adolescents can say that an adult has sat down with them and been fully present?

The next part of a dialogical relationship has to do with the building of trust.⁴¹⁸ There needs to be some level of trust so that if the protégé opens up with a word picture describing his/her inner world there won't be ridicule or reproof and they certainly won't hear it being repeated by a third party. This building of trust is especially important to adolescents, as their self-image is sensitive to the negative comments of others. I suggest to mentors that they tell their protégés that all comments spoken, unless they have to do with safety issues, remain strictly confidential within the relationship. The matters of confidentiality at this age are of supreme importance. Commitment to it will maintain a level of trust, but a level of trust must also be built over time. For this reason, I suggest to mentors that levels of their own vulnerability be explored. As mentors share some stories of life and perhaps their adolescent past, levels of trust usually open up. For example, I still have my grade nine school card with a faded picture of me. The picture clearly

Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 36.

⁴¹⁸ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 37.

shows a huge cold sore on my top lip. During that year at school, I died a thousand deaths because of that picture. Now that picture is a treasure that I can laugh at again and again, for it shows that I am a cold sore "survivor" to many teenagers. As mentors risk various levels of vulnerability, trust is given and many times trust is required in return by the protégé.

Respect is the next ingredient for a successful dialogical relationship.⁴¹⁹ If two people respect each other it is more likely they will disclose their identities to each other. And if I respect someone I am more likely to give him/her the benefit of the doubt when I hear him/her saying something I don't entirely support. I want to wait and listen to him/her and try to understand him/her more fully instead of responding spontaneously with a knee-jerk negative reaction. Mentors and protégés will not always know the same things nor always agree with each other. Both need to be truthful with each other even though they may disagree, because respect does not and cannot force another to come your way. Such respect incorporates the other's perspective into a more complex framework of understanding. Respect leaves ample room for the protégé to be different in many ways from the mentor.

To help mutual respect to grow, mentors can turn the shock of an initial disagreement into a curiosity for the purpose of understanding why the adolescent holds that position. This kind of situation relates to Burbules' analogy of the game, the curiosity and interest in why people think the way they do. In looking back over twenty years of mentoring adolescents, I see a string of people in various backgrounds having various beliefs and values quite different from mine. However, even today, when we get together

⁴¹⁹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY:

again there is a mutual respect that does not make our differences the center of our relationship. In fact these differences form part of the broadening experience for the mentor. The greater number of adolescents the adult mentors, the greater the number of various viewpoints come to be respected because of the dialogical relationships. If inner worlds are opened up within a dialogical relationship, then the mentor too will also learn, be challenged and encouraged by the protégé's sharing of an inner person. It will also likely mean that the mentor will begin to understand him/herself better as he/she opens the inner self to learn from another.

A third quality of a dialogical relationship is affection, that is, liking each other.⁴²⁰ Again, because the choice remains with the protégé, there can be an assumption that the adolescent likes the adult. I suggest that the adult and adolescent spend some time together in some casual, recreational setting before any kind of mentoring relationship begins. "Do the adult and the adolescent simply like each other or can they grow in similar directions?" is an important question. As with the other qualities, the maintenance of affection is needed. Mentor and protégé simply need to have fun together building memories and common interests, doing the things that friends do together.

I have said "No" to some mentoring requests because of time or personality conflicts. I just didn't think I could enjoy being with such and such person. If this is in a community of mentors, there is usually a good opportunity to suggest meeting with someone else. Taking time to think over the possibility of a relationship demonstrates the importance of the quality of the relationship. If a young person were to ask me to mentor

Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 38.

⁴²⁰ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 39.

him (he would understand mentoring because of a prevailing culture of mentoring in our youth program), I would say, “Thank you for the privilege of wanting to start this relationship. I need to think about it and check it out with my family, because it will take some time from them.” In this way, the relationship is given even more value, for it is not entered into lightly.

Another quality of a dialogical relationship is that of appreciation.⁴²¹ The mentoring literature places encouragement as a central aspect of all effective mentoring. Encouragement from the mentor to the protégés is critical for identity formation, as it gives some positive feedback to adolescents, pointing out the strengths in their lives. A good mentor is always ready to catch their protégé doing something right. I suggest to the mentors that the encouragement be specific and observable. Steven Glenn remarked at a youth worker’s gathering that when individuals are given a second chance, they perform better at a behaviour the second time around if they had done poorly the first time. However, given a second chance, those who excelled at a task the first time did less well the second time around.⁴²² The reason is that when we do poorly at a task, the feedback we receive is usually very specific. “You did this wrong for this reason.” However, when we do well at a task the first time, the feedback received is usually is “That was a great job.” Encouragements are helpful if they can be specific and tied to an event in history instead of the nonspecific such as, “You are a really nice person.” Individuals stop believing that they are nice people when all the evidence in their minds starts to pile up against this nonspecific statement. I was walking with a teenager and he told me that he

⁴²¹ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 39.

⁴²² Stephen Glenn, *General Session*, taped in Chicago, IL. at the National Youth Worker’s

had nothing going for him. I corrected him and told him he had a lot going for him. He quickly asked "Like what?" Every second I hesitated was a slap to his self-image. I learned that day to be ready with positive characteristics of the protégé in my mind.

Lastly, I borrowed from Burbules the quality of hope, for hope is central to a dialogical relationship.⁴²³ Hope is that quality which helps us understand that something worthwhile will be learned from the relationship. The protégé chooses a mentor because of the hope he/she will gain a new understanding and a new person to emulate. To be sure, sometimes the adolescent will not be able to separate the appreciation of the adult into components which explain why he/she wishes to spend time with this adult. I suggest to mentors to ask the protégé on their first outing what they would like to learn, and how they would like to grow over the next few months together. Many times adolescents will not know initially how they want to grow, but some will come to understand in a month or two what they want from the relationship, still others will have some very clear ideas as to how they wish to grow; for example, "I wish I had your confidence." "You're such an understanding person. It would be cool to be that way." "When I get married I want to have a marriage like yours. I thought maybe I could hang around and see how it goes." Those mentoring relationships which have hope vocalized in some way can be more intentional. Mentors who can become vulnerable in certain areas, for example sharing about the misunderstandings in their own marriages can help adolescent idealism gain a measure of realism in the midst of hope.

Convention (ElCajon CA: Youth Specialties, 1988).

⁴²³ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 40.

Burbules writes, “These feelings – concern, trust, respect, appreciation, affection, and hope – are crucial in the bond that sustains a dialogical relation over time.”⁴²⁴ If these feelings are so important, there is another crucial component to the dialogical relationship – that of asking questions. Over the years the protégés I have worked with have asked many more questions of me than I have of them. “How can I get along with my dad when he is being such a jerk?” “She had green eyes and she looked right at me! What do I do now!?” “I tried putting my arm around her and she bolted. I don’t think I will ever be able to show my face at school again. What do I do, Dave?” “What do I have going for me? I can’t name one thing.” “What do you think I might be when I grow up?” “What do you do when you get really angry?” The adolescents’ questions are heartfelt and demand honest and supportive interaction.

However, strange and awkward silences can emerge as a mentoring pair may be walking on a forest trail. During these times, I suggest to mentors that they have a few questions handy to ask of their protégé. Asking questions usually comes after the building of the emotional qualities discussed above. For example, asking questions about the protégé’s thoughts before trust is built will be more hurtful to the relationship and the outcome of aiding identity formation. These questions are not those typical of a therapist, for mentors are not trained therapists. In fact, training needs to be given to mentors to know when to refer their protégé if some serious problems emerge. The questions that mentors ask draw out the thoughts, opinions and dreams of the protégé’s inner self in the move toward identity formation.

⁴²⁴ Nicholas Burbules, *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and Practice*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1993), p. 45.

There are obvious dangers in providing any list of questions. A list can easily be turned into a curriculum that overlooks the importance of the dialogical relationship and the other primary markers. In listing any questions I would ask my protégé, I realize that I will be asking my questions out of my set of values which the adolescent would want to grow toward because of his/her choice of me as a mentor. With these dangers in mind, I will carefully step ahead and offer a few examples of questions I have used to aid adolescents in their identity formation. Some questions may have to do with the future, with self-knowledge, with responses to life, with creative thought: “Where do you see yourself in ten years from now?” “What kinds of things cause 80% of your happiness? What causes 80% of your frustrations? Why?” “What three people do you most admire? What qualities of theirs do you wish you had?” “Do you feel more comfortable with closure in life or having life open ended?” “How much are you like each of your parents?” “How are you different from them?” “If you could map out your life, what would be the positive milestones of turning?” “What did you do to help yourself during those times?” “That crisis we just heard about on the radio, what do you think the commentators are missing?” These questions do not have preconceived answers that the mentor really knows. Some questions address identity more head-on and some just allow the protégé to talk and interact with an adult. Therefore in some cases, the mentor is learning about the adolescent and in other cases, just learning about life from another perspective, often sharing mutual discoveries about the subject at hand. The adolescents are learning about themselves and how to interact with an adult.

There is an art to asking questions that stimulate discussion. I have seen adult volunteers beginning a relationship by asking questions that only require a one-word

answer. The typical conversation goes something like this: “How was your day?” “Good” “Who are some of your friends?” “Bob and Shirley.” The silence is deafening. Steven Glenn suggests that inviting dialogue and meaningful interaction requires questions involving the opinions and feelings.⁴²⁵ These types of questions seek deeper responses than those provided by the one-word answer. For example, the question, “What was your perception of what was going on back there?” is inviting deeper dialogue. Effective mentors develop the art of asking good questions.

Sometimes the social locations of the mentor and protégé are different enough that there can be only limited success in dialogue. Since our assumption has been that the protégé chooses the mentor, there should be some kind of openness; however, the mentor may not understand the responses or ask the right questions. In these cases, the mentor can easily bring in another adult from the protégé’s social location to interact as a group of three people. The new person may not be known or respected by the protégé, but since there is a connection to the mentor, some of the referent power can be transferred because of that preexisting relationship between the mentor and the new other adult.

c. Identification Modeling

Adolescents are people who have their eyes on other people as well as on themselves. Erikson described this phenomenon as a simultaneous observation of others and reflection on what that means to the adolescent's identity.⁴²⁶ In various levels of consciousness, the adolescent is piecing together who he/she wants to become. In this

⁴²⁵ Stephen Glenn, *General Session*, taped in Chicago, IL. At the National Youth Worker’s Convention (ElCajon CA: Youth Specialties, 1988).

⁴²⁶ Erik Erikson, *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company,

milieu, a mentor develops a relationship with an adolescent in which parts of his/her adult life are observed, offering a few of many options for the adolescent as he/she makes choices affecting who he/she is becoming. Various traits of the mentor may be highlighted in the mind of the protégé": for example, "she is so articulate; he has a lot of confidence in front of people; she has an awesome amount of sensitivity." Overlaid on the family background, the adolescent may pick up from the mentor some behaviours, some values, some underlining assumptions such as Yamamoto describes as, "a way of seeing life."⁴²⁷ As they look to models, the protégés become all the more fully themselves. The protégés call forth the best in the mentor, and the protégés themselves model to the mentor qualities of youth that may have been forgotten or misplaced. Some imitation may take place throughout the mentoring relationship, but as emotional involvement begins, identification takes place, and that in turn produces modeling results that are more persistent over time.

What things can a mentor do that may inhibit or strengthen the modeling affect of the relationship? Mentors should be reminded that the first concern is for the adolescents' identity formation and it is not to become like the mentor. The adolescents need to be given freedom to choose what bits and parts of the mentor to include in their sense of development. A mentor who has a close relationship with an adolescent is in a powerful place. Within that place, referent power may be freely given, but it is powerful and the adult must be aware of his/her responsibility not to abuse that power, to manipulate.

1968), p. 22-23.

⁴²⁷ Kaoru Yamamoto, "To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188, p. 184.

Eldridge describes the concept of being wholly oneself with another person.⁴²⁸

Mentors need to be reminded at the base level that this is what modeling is all about. Too often, adults feel they must keep an air of authority, position, of being in charge.

Arbuckle, an anthropologist, describes youth culture in North America as an “anti” culture.⁴²⁹ One of the “anti’s” Arbuckle describes is that of “anti-control.” Adolescents do not want to be controlled by anyone. Thus mentors who have an air of being the one in charge and in control will doom most relationships from the start. Adults who insist on not being “wholly themselves” create walls of inaccessibility to the adolescent. Adults are often seen as behaving as one type of person with their peers and yet as another with adolescents. Adolescents can see through this variable behaviour and consider it two-faced; it amplifies the reality that they are not being treated as equals, that they are being merely treated as “children.” Protégés need to see what adults are like when they are being wholly themselves.

Kohlberg describes some ways in which modeling could be enhanced; the first he termed imitation, in a way that was similar to Bandura’s observations on modeling.⁴³⁰ Adolescents will set out on imitating aspects of the modeling process because of curiosity, love for exploration and a desire for mastery. Arbuckle has a helpful insight in what contributes to imitation. One of the other “anti” categories of adolescent culture that Arbuckle describes is “anti-normal.” Adolescents enjoy things that are not normal. This kind of attitude might be thought to put some very “normal” adults at a distinct

⁴²⁸ Natalie S. Eldridge, “Mentoring From a Self-In-Relation Perspective,” *Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association*, 1990, pp. 1 - 12, p. 4.

⁴²⁹ Gerald Al Arbuckle, *Earthing the Gospel*, (Marynoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1990), p. 135.

⁴³⁰ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 125.

disadvantage. I believe that every adult has some unique aspect to his or her life that can be interpreted as anti-normal and pique curiosity in the protégé. For example, when I was a youth worker in upstate New York, a quiet, forty-five year old factory worker had concerns about the area teenagers and wanted to help out somehow. I suggested a small group to meet at his house, but he was unsure that his life would hold any interest for young people. He assured me that he was boring. Armed with the knowledge that most of us have something "anti-normal" in our lives, I began to question him regarding his hobbies. After some time, I discovered that he trained coon dogs to chase after raccoons. I arranged to have several young teen males come over for a night of "coonin'." They all donned lights on their heads, and Steve let the dogs crash through the woods at night with a trail of yelling teens in their wake. After a night of finding raccoons in trees and making the raccoons' eyes "turn on and off" as they reflected back the headlamps, wrestling with the dogs and sipping hot chocolate, there was no problem finding several young men who wanted to spend time with Steve. Curiosity, love of exploration and a desire for mastery is a good starting place for identification modeling. Adult mentors must be reminded not to be shy in sharing their interests with their protégés.

Time must be spent together in informal activities in order for the mentor to model mastery and to stimulate curiosity. Another application of Bandura's work is that the adult needs to be a part of the physical world of the adolescent. The adults need to find themselves in situations where they can confidently go first, provide social prompts to needed action and use objects found in the adolescent's environment. Mentoring relationships need simply to be those that build memories, attend events and spend unhurried time together. I have witnessed some "mentoring" groups that rely on

programming, where the participants are in school-type chairs sitting in a circle looking more like a therapy group than any kind of real-life situation. When the markers of modeling are taken seriously, such situations no longer can be seen as mentoring.

I suggest that mentors have a list of activities as a backdrop to the modeling and dialogue that will take place. Mentors and protégés spend their time having fun together playing miniature golf, riding go-carts, bowling, playing video games, skating, tobogganing or going to an amusement park. Mentors can profitably spend their time with their protégés in everyday activities like washing cars, baking brownies, or shopping. In fact, many adults who have little spare time have found this the best way to spend time with their protégés, just going about the day's activities with someone else – while modeling everyday reactions to life. Mentors can set up impromptu interactions with other people from simply observing people at a mall, to having lunch with another adult whom the protégé would benefit from meeting. Mentors can spend time away from the everyday grind to reflect while hiking on trails, sitting on the beach, or relaxing in a park. Whatever the venue the marker of modeling invites, the mentoring relationship can happily move out of a formal classroom into the informal classroom of life. As Ellsworth discovered with her class, when the guards are let down, adolescents do not speak as students, but as persons.⁴³¹

A second way in which Kohlberg describes the enhancement of modeling is through conformity, based on the need for social approval.⁴³² The adult acts as the audience for the adolescent, giving helpful feedback in various ways to the protégé. As I

⁴³¹ E. Ellsworth, “Why Doesn’t this Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy.” *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, 291-324, p. 315.

⁴³² Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of*

mentioned in chapter six, this feedback is already continually being monitored by the adolescent. Recently I had a teen mention to a mutual friend that when I am talking in a group setting I don't call her by name. All kinds of horrible thoughts of how I must hate her are brewing simply because I forgot her name, one out of the hundreds of teens I met that night. Mentors need to remember names, smile, acknowledge the presence of the adolescent to communicate social approval. I suggest to adult mentors that they guard their humor, particularly of the kind that is at the expense of the adolescent. As an audience being looked to for social approval, adults need to know that every reaction is amplified in the adolescent's mind. Mentors need to be aware of this sensitivity and make sure they do not give feedback that is really unintended. Serving as audience for the adolescent can be proactive, encouraging actions that are beneficial to the protégé. I discussed this under the area of dialogue, but it is important to note that the mentor's spoken observations of the protégé are enhanced by the modeling that is taking place. In a general way, the mentor "sees" the protégé. Yamamoto writes of the protégé as "being seen" by the mentor – providing the mirror to whom they are portraying.

A third quality of modeling that Kohlberg describes has to do with the status of the model.⁴³³ Status relates to the adolescent's perception of the competence, similarity and relevance of the adult model. In order for mentors to model their competencies, they must know in what areas they have some competencies. Mentors need to be students of themselves. A good question for mentors to ask themselves is, "What am I good at?" "What competencies can I pass on to the next generation?" Then model them. For

Moral Stages, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 125.

⁴³³ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of Moral Stages*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 135.

example, it would be a shame if the mentor were a great organizer but never able to model that to the protégé. Part of the solution would be to invite the protégé to take part in organizing an activity with the mentor. That would provide some intentionality to the modeling.

Similarity and relevance are also important modeling factors that can be built with intentionality. Common interests build relationships. The old Dale Carnegie course on how to win friends and influence people trains individuals to develop common interests with those around them. This course tapped into some wisdom concerning similarity and relevance. If you have similar interests as me, then we have something to talk about that “interests” both of us. These common interests make the relationship relevant to both of us. In most cases, the protégés will choose a mentor who already has indicated some similar interests. However, it is important for the mentor to appreciate that fact. The more mentors understand why the protégé chose them, then they can develop those interests. For example, a college student asked me to mentor him. After some time, I discovered that he wanted to work in an international setting because he knew I had some international experience. Being aware of this fact helped me understand that this was the aspect of our common interests to enhance. I set up various lunches with people who worked internationally, and we had great discussions during and after those times of interaction. The similarities and relevance that were intentionally enhanced deepened the relationship and the modeling processes.

A fourth way in which Kohlberg writes of moving modeling forward is through attachment, a way of connecting which he describes as including the mutual desire for

sharing, communication, cooperation, and reciprocity.⁴³⁴ Often the mentor models how much and how deep the sharing, communication, cooperation and reciprocity will be. Mentors who can develop a level of vulnerability are often met with a growing vulnerability on the part of the protégé. As the levels of sharing and communication are deepened, a growing attachment builds in the relationship and the level of modeling deepens as well. In issues of vulnerability, often adults feel that they are there for the adolescent and so should not share their own struggles. To a degree, this may be true in that the goal is to help the adolescent in his/her identity formation, not particularly the aiding of the adult's life. However, identification modeling teaches us that unless there is some degree of reciprocity, the adolescent will not develop much attachment nor grow sufficiently through the modeling experience with the mentor. How can an adolescent see how I, as mentor, handle conflict unless I let him see some of the real conflict in my life. Sharing does not all have to be about negative life experiences. The communication of vulnerability can be on the level of what the mentor has just learned while reading a favorite book or it could be what he/she loved about a movie – the important thing is to allow the adolescent to enter the adult's world.

Sharing, communication and reciprocity all assume that the mentor has developed some skill in listening. Half of the problem is setting the pace of vulnerability – doing the talking. The other half of communication is doing the listening. As I have touched on earlier, active listening is one of the key skills of a good mentor - listening to the ideas and feelings of the adolescent. Adult volunteers do not always practice listening to the feelings of their protégés. When Bill tells his mentor he didn't make the basketball team,

⁴³⁴ Lawrence Kohlberg, *The Psychology of Moral Development: The Nature and Validity of*

the adult will all too often say something like, "Billy. That's OK; it's not the end of the world. I think you're pretty good at it anyway." Active listening for feelings responds to Bill with something like, "Bill, how are you feeling? I would feel pretty rejected by the whole thing." Bill may agree or may help the mentor to get the feeling right. "No, I don't feel rejected. I feel embarrassed! All my friends were on the sidelines when the coach read out the cuts for the team." Active listening interacts, asks, tries out various options until it gets it right. This kind of a relationship produces an attachment that enhances the modeling of another possibility of adult responses.

Implications for Mentoring Programs

The description I have given of mentoring adolescents as analyzed so far lends itself well to informal relationships. Yet many organizations are looking to mentoring as one way to help students through a program. Religious groups are looking to mentoring programs as a rite of passage into adulthood. Schools are looking to mentoring programs as a way to help students gain a foothold in various employment fields. Unfortunately, programming does not always lend itself well to producing effective adolescent relationships. Standardizing relationships of any type is not a very successful practice. Yamamoto noted these downfalls in attempting to program mentoring: "Unfortunately, mentoring has come to mean in many quarters little more than remedial tutorials. . . . In such a context, we must acknowledge that yet another human phenomenon of profundity is being threatened by a misguided attempt at popularization and standardization."⁴³⁵

Moral Stages, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1984), p. 148.

⁴³⁵ Kaoru Yamamoto, "To See Life Grow: The Meaning of Mentorship," *Theory into Practice*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 183 - 188, p. 183.

When leaders realize that relationships do not lend themselves well to an engineering type of mentality, several recommendations will be in order to locate the mentoring relationships among adolescents as closely as possible with helping in their identity formation. One of the recommendations I have for mentoring programs is to give adolescents the power to choose their mentors. In some communities like religious groups, or cultural centres, or classrooms, there are already some acquaintance relationships built between the adults and the adolescents. Because of this, adolescents will be able to understand better who they want to emulate. One example of such a mentoring program is in the Mennonite communities surrounding Winnipeg, Manitoba. Every grade nine student is asked to sign up for an adult mentor outside his/her family. The adolescent and the adult will meet for the four years that the teen is in high school. The students are given a form where they write down the names of three adults in their community with whom they wish to spend time. The mentoring coordinator contacts the adults and begins some training with one of the three adults who are willing to meet monthly with the teenager over a four-year period.

In many cases adults and adolescents do not interact in the world at large, and so the adolescents do not know who they would like to be with. By assigning adults to adolescents that they do not even know, programmers are unwittingly also assigning the adolescents a very specific curriculum, that is, the values, interests and life of the adult. To rectify this I believe mentoring programs should have some kind of mechanism where the adults and adolescents can meet before any mentoring pairing is made.

In Hamilton, we have a mentoring program where we work with volunteers. We also have a high school-aged program called RIOT, Reaching In and Out Together. We

provide a safe place, keep teens busy in positive activities and advocate positive values. During the summer months, the teens often forget what day of the week it is without school and so do not attend program nights. In order to continue to help the teens, we initiated a mentoring program during the summer in which volunteers have one to three teens in their care throughout those months, meeting with them weekly. To encourage the teens to interact with the adults, we invite the adults out to the teens' program nights during the month of May so that both can get to know each other in a zero commitment level. At the beginning of June, we run a retreat where those teens wishing to sign up for a mentor and the mentors can spend a weekend together camping. At the end of the weekend, the teens sign up for the adults with whom they would like to spend some time. Many good matches are made, these last all summer, and some are pursued on into the year.

An advantage that mentoring programs have over personal mentoring involves the possibility for some group training. I have observed many mentoring programs that do not train the mentors. The leaders think that just spending time with the adult will be helpful. While this may be true to some extent, I hope this thesis has demonstrated that mentoring can be hurt by some attitudes and enhanced by other attitudes. I have observed some adults acting as if the relationship were a formal teaching situation. Whenever that happens, the teens start skipping the meetings in order not to have another "school" class. I have observed other adults taking their teens bowling every other week, without becoming vulnerable, asking their opinions, starting conversations or asking any questions. The mentoring becomes just another activity, and so the teen starts to skip meetings because the hope for growing personally was missing, and the observation of

competency was noted. Most mentoring situations are not legislated, and so the adolescent has a choice to take part. Instruction time with the mentors which emphasizes the implications discussed in the previous section would move many mentoring programs one level deeper. In mentoring programs, there is another more formal step for mentors to take. We have a form that protégés fill out which allows them to express what is it they want to learn from their mentoring experience. Some, however, do not know what they want to learn; they just want to have someone with whom to spend time. A few of the older adolescents do express some curiosity about the person they have chosen for a mentor. By expressing those questions up front, the protégé takes charge of much of the curriculum and the mentor gains a better understanding of what competencies to model and some feasible jump-off points for dialogue. Although mentoring programs are not usually as ideal as one would like, with some planning the three markers of an effective adolescent mentoring relationship can remain intact.

In my twenty years of working with adolescents, from Chicago to New York State, from suburban Toronto to a depressed river town in Iowa, the greatest source of positive, behavioural and attitudinal change both for me and my protégés has been found through mentoring relationships. Students from both healthy and dysfunctional backgrounds have grown beyond their personal histories to become healthy individuals, leaders and peer-counselors.

In this extended conceptual analysis of mentoring, I have endeavored to clarify the importance of mentoring adolescents toward identity formation. I have located such a relationship around the concepts of referent power, a dialogical relation and identity modeling. By writing this thesis, I trust I have not only brought a greater clarity to the

activity of mentoring adolescents, but also some help towards the pragmatics of youth work in North America.

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