THE LIFE OF STEVE JOBS:

A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

Ruvé du Plessis

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

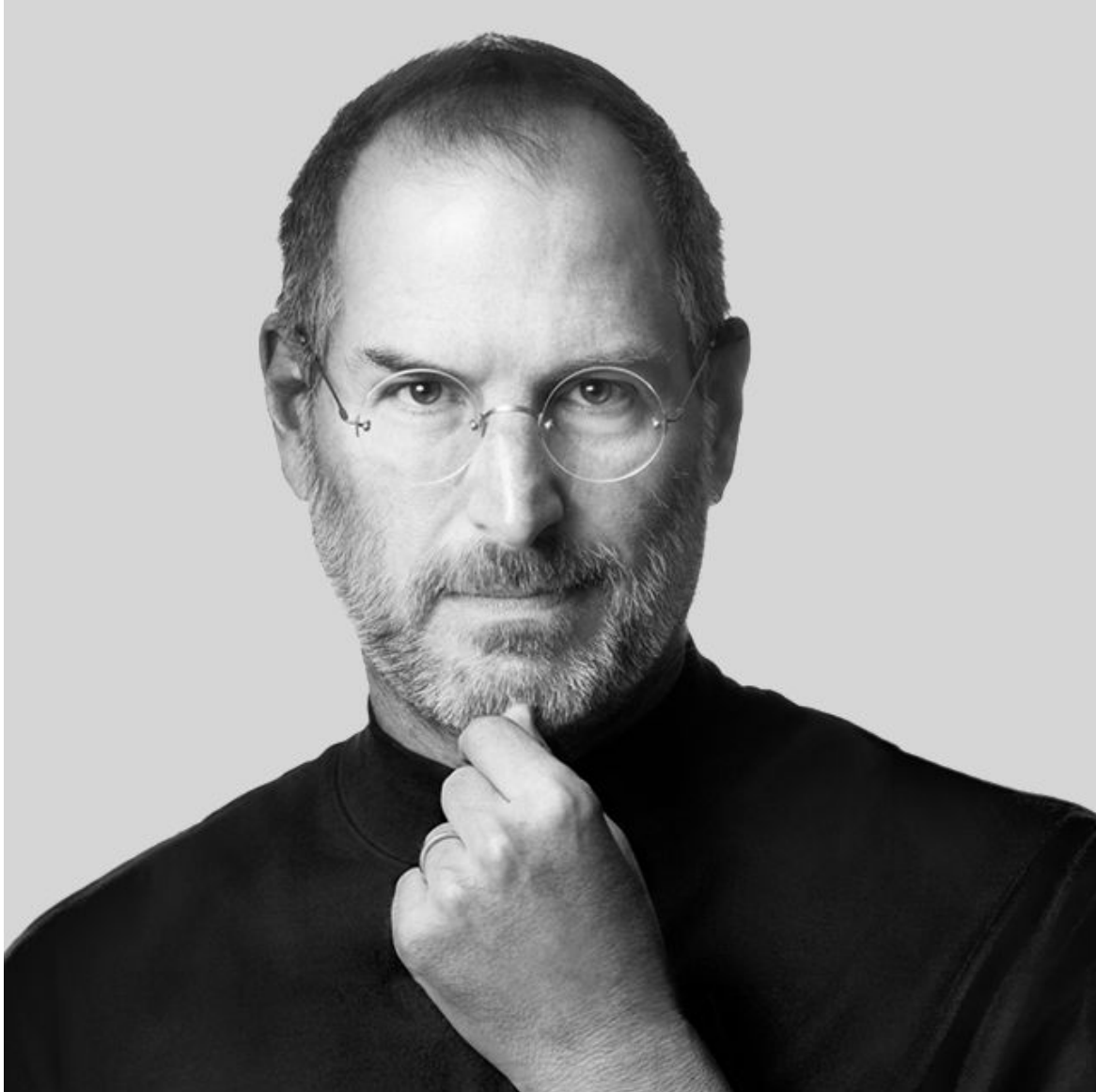# MAGISTER ARTIUM IN PSYCHOLOGY

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PHOTOGRAPH OF STEVE JOBS[1]

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Sincerely

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ABSTRACT

This study constitutes a psychobiography of the late businessman and entrepreneur, Steve Jobs (1955-2011). The primary aim was to explore and describe the psychosocial development of Steve Jobs across his lifespan in terms of Levinson's (1996) theory. This objective demonstrates an inductive approach and reflects the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study. The secondary aim of this study was to test the relevance of the content and eras of Levinson's (1996) theory, demonstrating the deductive approach and reflecting the descriptive-dialogic nature of the research. The study employed a single case psychobiographical research design, which utilised psychological theory in a systematic fashion in order to illuminate the life of Steve Jobs. Steve Jobs was the co-founder of the Apple Inc. company and the founder of Pixar and NeXT. He was selected for this study by means of a non-probability sampling procedure, known as purposive sampling. The researcher found one existing psychobiography on Jobs by Ndoro (2014), with the emphasis falling on the way in which Jobs's personality influenced his career, and *vice versa*. This study, however, made use of Levinson's (1996) theory to study the psychosocial lifespan development of Jobs. Jobs's life history was uncovered through the systematic and consistent collection, analysis and interpretation of the available biographical and historical data. The data were collected from both primary and secondary sources and it consisted mainly of published materials. Alexander's (1988, 1990) model was used to identify and extract salient themes for analysis from the collected biographical data. Furthermore, data were organised and integrated in a conceptual matrix which also guided the categorisation, analyses and the presentation and discussion of the findings. The findings of this study supported the applicability and relevance of Levinson's (1996) theory to gain psychological understanding of Jobs as an individual. There was a 'fit' between Jobs's life and the eras and transitional periods as proposed by Levinson et al. (1978). The findings also confirmed the assertion by

Levinson et al. (1978) that the central components of an individual's life have a significant impact on life structure development. Jobs developed through the on-going process of individuation, as proposed by Levinson et al. (1978), which guided his development as a man, entrepreneur, businessman, creator, innovator, Chief Executive Officer (CEO), husband and father. Furthermore, recommendations are made future psychobiographical research.

Keywords: Psychobiography; Steve Jobs; Levinson; psychosocial development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter serves as an introduction to the study. A general orientation is presented and the problem statement and aim discussed. A documented reflection on the researcher's personal passage is also included. Finally, an overview of the chapters in the study is given.

1.2. General Orientation to the Research Study

Ponterotto (2015) described psychobiography as "the intensive life-span study of an individual of historic significance in socio-cultural context using psychological or historiographic research methods and interpreted from established theories in psychology" (p. 379). A psychobiography can thus be described as longitudinal life history research into the personality development of the "finished" lives of exemplary or contentious individuals (Carlson, 1988, p. 106; Gronn, 1993; Schultz, 2005).

This study constitutes a psychobiography of the late businessman and entrepreneur, Steve Jobs (1955-2011). The psychological framework used to investigate Jobs's development was Levinson's (1996) psychosocial development theory of The Human Life Cycle. This was chosen because of its focus on the entire lifespan development of an individual and because it is an amalgamation of other theories (e.g., Freud's psychoanalysis, Jung's analytical psychology, Piaget's cognitive development theory, and Erikson's psychosocial theory) while extending the notion of development into adulthood. Levinson's theory thus provides an integrated approach to understanding human development and is comprehensively discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3. Problem Statement

In psychobiographical research, it is the researcher's task to transform the research subject's life into a coherent and illuminating story by using psychological theory in a systemic way (McAdams, 2006). As Elms (1994) asserted, psychobiography has proven to be an invaluable method to investigate aspects related to individual development in a holistic fashion. Levinson's (1996) theory of The Human Life Cycle also adopts a holistic approach to understanding human development. Levinson, Darrow, Klein, and McKee (1978) described the life cycle as a whole by examining the engagement of the individual in society, considering both the individual and the world, as well as the relationships between them. Physiological, psychological, social, historical and evolutionary factors interact both mutually and independently to influence human development at different stages of the developmental process (Featherman, Hogan, & Sorenson, 1984). Levinson's theory is a psychosocially integrated approach to development, while being beneficial to use because it is comprehensive, holistic and aims to consider the nature of the person within society (Levinson et al., 1978).

Many scholars have emphasised the value of studying individual lives (Alexander, 1988; Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; Roberts, 2002; Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005). Ponterotto, Reynolds, Morel, and Cheung (2015) have found it surprising that psychobiography does not draw more attention as both a topic and a method as this approach has made influential contributions to the fields of personality psychology, human development and psychological theory development. Psychobiography as both a research focus and speciality is experiencing an upswing internationally and it is predicted that a growing number of students and scholars will engage in this process (Ponterotto, 2015).

Fouché (2015) noted: "psychobiography in Africa and South Africa in particular, has metaphorically seen the 'coming of age'" (p. 376). Since the emergence of academic institutionalised psychobiography, its significance has been recognised and pursued by promoters, supervisors and postgraduate students at various Departments of Psychology in South Africa (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). However, there is still a need to continue to pursue and further develop postgraduate psychobiographical research at universities in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

This study emerged from the researcher's interest in understanding people and gaining insight into their experiences, motivations and behaviour. She also had a personal interest in Steve Jobs, the co-founder of the Apple Inc. company (an American multinational corporation that designs, develops and sells consumer electronics, computer software, and personal computers), which was founded in his parents' garage during 1976 (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was also the founder of Pixar and NeXT (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was later also appointed as the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Apple and helped to transform Apple into one of the world's most prosperous companies (Isaacson, 2011). He personally helped to successfully transform seven industries, including: personal computing, animated motion pictures, music, mobile phones, tablet computing, retail stores, and digital publishing (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Isaacson (2011), the author of Steve Jobs's biography, believed that his personality was integral to his way of doing business. It was characterised by extreme passion, intensity, vision, emotionalism, impatience, moodiness, and perfectionism (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Despite his frequent rudeness and roughness with others, he was a truly inspirational business leader and innovator (Trusko, 2011). Isaacson (2011) and the editors of TIME (2011) agreed

that Jobs belongs in the pantheon of America's great innovators, alongside Thomas Edison, Henry Ford and Walter Disney. He was clearly a remarkable individual with a distinctive personality, whose inspiration and tenacity transformed technology into what it is today (Hoerr, 2012). The researcher selected Jobs as the subject for this psychobiography due to her personal interest in, and the effects of, his personality that aided him in becoming a great innovator and entrepreneur.

The study of a "finished" life enables the psychologist to trace human development in ways not always possible through other longitudinal methods (Carlson, 1988, p. 106). The psychobiographical approach or method struck the researcher as a means to explore and describe Jobs's psychosocial development over his lifespan. The study also examines the relevance and applicability of Levinson's (1996) psychosocial development theory when studying an exemplary individual's development. This study will, hopefully, contribute to both the current knowledge base of psychobiographies as well as the growing field of academic psychobiography in South Africa. Finally, the researcher also hopes to contribute to a better psychological understanding of Jobs.

It is important to note that there is one existing psychobiographical study on Steve Jobs. This study, by Ndoro (2014), was done in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a Master of Business Administration (MBA) at Rhodes University Business School. While the focus of the study was on the way in which Jobs's personality influenced his career and *vice versa*, Ndoro used the trait approach to entrepreneurship as the theory for his study. For this study, however, as mentioned above, the researcher made use of Levinson's theory (detailed in Chapter 3) so that the emphasis included Jobs's psychosocial lifespan development as well as his career. The following section details the aim of the study.

1.4. Aim of the Study

The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the psychosocial development of Jobs across his lifespan in terms of Levinson's (1996) theory, which views human development according to four eras and three cross-era transitions. The nature of this study is both exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic (Edwards, 1990). The exploratory-descriptive aspect alludes to the accurate and detailed description of a single case, with the purpose of providing an in-depth understanding of the individual within his/her socio-historical context (Edwards, 1990; Fouché & De Vos, 2005; Gilgun, 1994; Neuman, 2003). The purpose was thus to provide a rich and in-depth description of Jobs's Levinsonian development over his lifespan. The descriptive-dialogic component concerns the faithful description and portrayal of a phenomenon and the testing and clarification of the content of applied theories (Edwards, 1990; Martin, 1996; McLeod, 1994), specifically Levinson's in this study. Furthermore, the study employed analytical generalisation, which aimed to generalise the results of the research to the theory. The intention was not to generalise the findings to the larger population (i.e., to offer any statistical generalisation) (Yin, 2009).

1.5. The Researcher's Personal Passage

Producing a psychobiography is a highly personal endeavour for the researcher (Ponterotto, 2014). It is thus important to understand the researcher's personal motivation for undertaking the study. According to Willig (2008), the researcher needs to make use of personal reflexivity in order to reflect on the ways in which his or her own values, interests, experiences, beliefs, identities, political commitments and wider aims in life have shaped the research. He or she also needs to reflect on the way in which the research might have affected, and possibly changed, the researcher himself or herself (Willig, 2008).

The researcher chose a career in psychology because of her personal interest in understanding people, unique personalities and the motivating factors that influence decisions and behaviour. This study was conducted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a master's degree in Clinical Psychology. The researcher was introduced to the field of psychobiographical research by Prof. Paul Fouché. This field of research resonated with the researcher because of the focus on a significant individual and the use of psychological theory to gain an in-depth understanding of that person's personality, motivations, experiences, and behaviour. After reading *Steve Jobs*, by Walter Isaacson (2011), the researcher became fascinated with the life of Jobs and his personality. She was intrigued by the fact that a person who was perceived by many people as critical, tyrannical, harsh and demeaning, could still convince people to follow him and achieve great success. The researcher specifically chose Jobs as the subject because of her personal interest in his life and personality; due to the diversity of opinions concerning him and the controversy surrounding his persona. She was motivated to understand him in a psychosocial and holistic way.

The researcher was still at the beginning of her master's degree in psychology when the study was conducted. She was interested in learning how to fully conceptualise an individual's actions, motivations, experiences, and behaviour holistically over the person's lifespan. The conceptualisation of an individual's lifespan is an important part of one's training as a psychotherapist. During her studies in this field, psychobiography contributed to the researcher's ability to better conceptualise an individual's life and, ultimately, to her growth as a psychotherapist.

It is necessary to note that the researcher has a preference for Apple products and uses various Apple devices in her daily life. Her liking for these products stems from the fact that

they are easy to use, integrate well with each other and are creative and innovative. The researcher's appreciation of Apple devices also prompted her to better understand the man behind the creation and development of these products, namely Steve Jobs. Throughout the research process, the researcher was conscious of her personal admiration of Apple products and had to guard against possible bias. In order to remain objective, the researcher kept an open mind, focusing on Jobs as an individual, not the company and its products. As there is considerable controversy surrounding Jobs's personality, with people tending to regard him as either good or bad (Isaacson, 2011) the researcher made a constant, conscious effort to investigate both his good and negative qualities in order to maintain a balanced perspective.

1.6. Overview of the Study

This study consists of 8 Chapters. Chapter 1 is introductory, while Chapter 2 furnishes a historical overview of the life of Steve Jobs. Chapter 3 offers a detailed discussion of Levinson's (1996) theory of psychosocial development, followed by a theoretical overview of psychobiography and case study research in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 discusses the preliminary methodological and ethical considerations related to psychobiographical research. The research design and methodology are discussed in Chapter 6, while the findings are presented and discussed in Chapter 7. Finally, the study concludes in Chapter 8 with a discussion of the limitations and value of the study, as well as recommendations for future research. The researcher's general reflective remarks are also included in the final chapter.

1.7. Conclusion

This introductory chapter endeavoured to provide the reader with a general orientation to the study. The researcher discussed the problem statement and the aim of the study. A documented reflection of her personal passage is also included in this chapter, which

concludes with an overview of the study. A historical overview of the life of Steve Jobs is presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE LIFE OF STEVE JOBS

2.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter provides a historical overview of the life of Steve Jobs, which spans approximately 56 years, from his birth in 1955 to his death in 2011. The literature review on his life revealed six distinct, yet interrelated, periods of development throughout his lifespan. The researcher organised these historical periods in such a way as to allow a certain amount of transition between the significant developmental stages and the salient aspects and events in Jobs's life. These periods are: (a) Childhood and school years: The prankster (1955-1972), (b) Enlightenment period: The hippie (1972-1977), (c) Fame and fortune: The entrepreneur (1977-1988), (d) New beginnings: The family man and saviour (1988-2000), (e) Changing the face of technology: The CEO (2000-2005), and (f) Fighting cancer: The legacy (2005-2011). This chapter provides a historical discussion of Jobs's life according to these periods.

2.2. Childhood and School Years: The Prankster (1955 - 1972)

2.2.1. Birth and Adoption

Steven Paul Jobs was born on 24 February 1955 in San Francisco, California (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). After his birth, Paul and Clara Jobs adopted him. Paul Reinhold Jobs grew up on a dairy farm in Germantown, Wisconsin. He dropped out of high school and joined the coast guard at the age of 19. After the war ended, he obtained a position as a machinist and restored old cars in his spare time (Isaacson, 2011; Pollack & Belviso; 2012). It was during this time that he met Clara. Clara Jobs was born in New Jersey, where her parents settled after fleeing from the

Turks in Armenia. She was brought up in San Francisco. She had previously been married, but her husband had died in the war (Isaacson, 2011). When she met Paul Jobs she was ready to start a new life. Eventually, he left his trade as a machinist and became a full-time used car salesman. After the couple moved to San Francisco, he started working for a finance company where his occupation entailed picking the locks of cars whose owners had not paid their loans and repossessing them (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Paul and Clara Jobs wanted children, but Clara had suffered an ectopic pregnancy and was unable to bear children. In 1955, after nine years of marriage, they decided to adopt a child (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Pollack & Belviso, 2012).

Steve Jobs's biological parents were Abdulfattah John Jandali (father) and Joanne Schieble (mother) (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Pollack & Belviso, 2012; Ziller, 2011). Jandali was from a prominent Syrian family, which placed a high premium on education (Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015). Despite being Muslim, Jandali went to a Jesuit boarding school. He obtained an undergraduate degree at the American University of Beirut and thereafter pursued a doctoral degree in political science at the University of Wisconsin (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011), where he met Joanne Schieble. Schieble was from a rural Wisconsin family with a German heritage, which also accorded a high priority to education. Her father was very strict, especially regarding her relationships. He did not approve of that with Jandali (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015). In 1954 the couple travelled to Syria for two months; upon their return, Schieble discovered that she was pregnant. They were both 23 years old and made the decision not to marry because Schieble's father threatened to disown her if they did (Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015). Schieble decided to put the baby up for adoption after the birth (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Ziller, 2011). She requested that college graduates adopt the child. Jobs was originally

placed with a lawyer and his wife; however, they decided they wanted a girl instead (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005). Steve Jobs was already living with the Jobs family when Schieble eventually made the decision that he could stay there if they signed a pledge, promising to pay for the boy's college education (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jandali and Schieble eventually married and had another baby, a girl named Mona (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

From an early age Jobs knew he had been adopted. His adoptive parents were very open about it, and emphasised that they had picked him and that he was special (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). When Jobs was two years old, his adoptive parents adopted a girl named Patty. When he was five, the Jobs family moved to Mountain View, a suburb in Silicon Valley (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Paul Jobs had a calm and gentle nature. He was passionate about rebuilding old cars and sectioned off a small piece of his workbench for young Jobs (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Pollack & Belviso, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Paul believed in good craftsmanship and doing things right. He also taught Jobs to work in this way. Paul's passion for cars also gave Jobs his first exposure to electronics. Many electronics engineers also resided in Mountain View, which made the environment ideal for exposing Jobs to this field (Isaacson, 2011; Pollack & Belviso, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

At a young age Jobs already realised that he was brighter than his parents (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). He recalled feeling ashamed about it; this, "along with the fact that he was adopted, made him feel apart - detached and separate – from both his family and the world" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 11). He also realised that his parents knew that he was more intelligent than them and that they were willing to adapt their lives to suit him. Jobs thus grew up not only with a feeling of abandonment stemming from

the adoption, but also with a sense that he was special (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This belief contributed to his deep sense of entitlement, which was prominent from the start (Isaacson, 2011). Throughout his school years, Jobs's father also nurtured his sense of perfectionism, especially when it came to the rigour that underlies great craftsmanship (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.2.2. School Years

When he entered Monta Loma Elementary School, Jobs already knew how to read because his mother had taught him (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). He was bored there, so he began to occupy his time by getting into trouble and playing pranks with his friend, Rick Ferrentino (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). Initially the pranks were innocent; however, by third grade they had become somewhat more dangerous (e.g., the use of an explosive under a teacher's chair) (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Ziller, 2011).

Jobs was not disposed to accept authority, which made his life at school difficult (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Young, 1988). Before he finished third grade, he had been sent home two or three times. His father did not punish him, but instead treated him as special and expected the school to do the same (Isaacson, 2011). In fourth grade, Jobs was placed in the advanced class. His teacher, Imogene Hill, knew how to handle him. She initially bribed him to complete maths problems at home, but later this was not necessary because he simply wanted to learn to please her. Jobs described her as one of the "saints" in his life and was of the opinion that he would probably have ended up in jail if it had not been for her (Isaacson, 2011, p. 13). The fact that she treated him differently from other children reinforced the notion that he was special. At the end of fourth grade Jobs was tested; the results indicated

that he was functioning at the high school sophomore level. The school recommended that he skip two grades; however his parents decided to let him skip just one (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Young, 1988; Ziller, 2011).

According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs's transition to sixth grade was difficult. He was at a different school, Crittenden Middle, and a "socially awkward loner" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 13). The school was situated in a neighbourhood filled with ethnic gangs and violence (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). Jobs was often bullied, so that by the middle of seventh grade he insisted if his parents did not put him in a different school, he would drop out (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This was financially hard on his parents; however they bent to his will and moved to a pleasanter district, an area known as Sunnyvale, California, which was amongst the first neighbourhoods to become part of Silicon Valley (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). After the move, Jobs attended Cupertino Junior School, which was situated in one of the better public school district areas in Silicon Valley (Lakin, 2015; Young & Simon, 2005).

Although Jobs's parents were not fervent about their faith, they wanted him to have a religious upbringing (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). On most Sundays they took him to the Lutheran church, but this came to an end when he was 13 years old. Jobs confronted the pastor about whether God knew about the suffering children on the cover of *Life* magazine. When the pastor confirmed that God did, Jobs decided that he did not want to worship such a God and never returned to church (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs started ninth grade at Homestead High and walked 15 blocks to school each day (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). This was where he developed a love for walking. His friends were mostly seniors, who were part of the counterculture of the late 1960s (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). They were also intelligent

children and shared Jobs's interest in maths, science, and electronics. He had few friends his own age (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs's pranks at this stage typically involved electronics. He also spent many evenings visiting Larry Lang, an engineer who lived down the street (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Lang got Jobs into the Hewlett-Packard Explorers Club, where he eventually saw his first desktop computer and "fell in love with it" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 17). Jobs liked to work; the first summer after his freshman year, he did so at the Hewlett-Packard plant which made frequency counters (Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). He also had a newspaper route, while during his sophomore year he worked as a stock clerk at an electronics store. With his father's help, Jobs was able to purchase his first car when he was 15. Within a year he had saved enough money from his various jobs to upgrade his car (Isaacson, 2011).

It was at the age of 15, between his sophomore and junior years at Homestead, that Jobs began smoking marijuana (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). The only real clash he ever had with his father was over his marijuana use (Isaacson, 2011). By his senior year, he was also occasionally using LSD and hash (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). During his last two years in high school, he excelled intellectually and also became interested in music, literature, and poetry. Jobs also took an electronics class that was taught by John McCollum, who believed in strict discipline and respect for authority (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). However, since Jobs had an "aversion to authority" this affected his attitude towards the class (Isaacson, 2011, p. 19) and he ended up taking McCollum's class only for one year, rather than the three years it was offered (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011).

In 1971, when Jobs was 16, he became friends with a graduate, Steve Wozniak, who was five years his senior (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Lakin,

2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). While Wozniak knew more about electronics than Jobs, they were nevertheless on the same level emotionally and socially (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Wozniak and Jobs not only shared a love for electronics, but also for music (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Together, they hunted down Bob Dylan tapes and also started pranking. Jobs was suspended from high school on a number of occasions, usually with the help of Wozniak. The prank that sealed their friendship was when they devised a rope and pulley system that lowered a bedsheet, which they painted with a huge hand flipping the middle-finger salute, as the school's graduating class walked by the balcony (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Wozniak also constructed a device that could interfere with TV signals, and they would use this to prank people too (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006).

Jobs and Wozniak's ultimate combination of electronics and pranks was their *Blue Box* that allowed them to make free long distance calls (Isaacson, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Wozniak made the device while Jobs came up with the idea that they could sell it (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In the end they sold almost a hundred Blue Boxes. According to Jobs there would not have been an Apple if it had not been for the Blue Boxes. In this way Jobs and Wozniak learned how to work together, and realised what they could achieve with Wozniak's engineering skills and Jobs's vision (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006).

2.3. Enlightenment Period: The Hippie (1972 - 1977)

2.3.1. First Intimate Relationship

In 1972, at the end of his senior year, Jobs started a relationship with a girl named Chrisann Brennan, who, although his age, was however still a junior (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). She was his first real girlfriend. During this time Jobs was using LSD; he introduced Brennan to it as well (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). After Jobs graduated, he announced to his parents that he and Brennan were moving into a cabin in the hills above Los Altos. His father forbade it but Jobs merely imposed his own will, said farewell, and walked out. Brennan described Jobs as "an enlightened being who was cruel" because he would write poetry and play the guitar, but he could also be brutally cold and rude towards her (Isaacson, 2011, p. 32). Jobs and Brennan continued to have a relationship while he was studying at Reed, but it faded after he dropped out and she could no longer visit him (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). According to Brennan (2013) neither of them ever ended the relationship or said it was over; this just happened naturally. Jobs and Brennan were sporadically involved in each other's lives after his college years (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011).

2.3.2. Reed College

After adopting him, as has been mentioned Jobs's parents made a promise to send him to college (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). At first he considered not going there at all, but his parents pushed him to do so. Jobs responded in a passive-aggressive manner, by refusing to go to a state school; instead, he looked for one that was "more artistic and interesting" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 33). He applied to just one college, a private liberal arts school in Portland, Oregon, named Reed College, which was one of the

most expensive in the United States (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). His parents attempted to talk him out of it because they could not afford the fees, yet Jobs once again responded with an ultimatum, that he would not attend college if he could not go to Reed (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). As usual, they acceded to his demands. When they dropped him off at Reed, he refused to allow them to come on campus and did not say good-bye or thank them. Jobs recalled this incident as one of the behaviours that he felt ashamed of, and regretted hurting their feelings (Isaacson, 2011).

In late 1972, there was a fundamental shift in American campus life because the nation's involvement in the Vietnam War was winding down and political activism in colleges receded. Instead, students took an interest in pathways leading to personal fulfilment (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs read a variety of books on enlightenment and spirituality, most notably *Be Here Now*, a book on meditation and psychedelic drugs, written by Baba Ram Dass (Blumenthal, 2012; Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). During his first week at Reed, Jobs became friends with Daniel Kottke, who shared his interest in Zen, Bob Dylan, and acid (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs spent much of his time with Kottke and Elizabeth Holmes (Kottke's girlfriend). They attended love festivals at the Hare Krishna temple, talked about the meaning of life and ate free vegetarian meals at the Zen centre (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015). Jobs was serious about Eastern spirituality, especially Zen Buddhism; "he embraced it with his typical intensity, and it became deeply ingrained in his personality" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 35). It was this same intensity that made it difficult for him to achieve inner peace (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015).

During his freshman year, Jobs read a book on vegetarianism named *Diet for a Small Planet* by Frances Moore Lappé, after which he stopped eating meat. This book reinforced his tendency to adopt extreme diets, which would include fasts, purges or eating only one or two foods (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs and Kottke became serious vegetarians. His eating habits continued to become more obsessive, intense, and extreme. Jobs embraced the enlightenment-seeking campus subculture of the era, which was evident in his meditation, spirituality, Zen Buddhism, vegetarianism, acid use, walking barefoot and his love for rock music (Blumenthal, 2012; Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015).

At Reed, Jobs also became friends with Robert Friedland, who was four years his senior but still an undergraduate student. Jobs was initially mesmerised by Friedland and treated him as a guru for a few years, until he came to see the latter as a charlatan (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). He adopted some of Friedland's charismatic traits (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) and would spend many weekends on the All One Farm, a commune created by Friedland on an apple farm owned by his rich uncle (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011) where he (Jobs) was in charge of pruning the apple trees. Jobs eventually became tired of Friedland's "cult leader style" and came to regard him as a con man because of the materialistic way in which he ran the commune, which was supposed to be a refuge from materialism (Isaacson, 2011, p. 39).

Jobs became bored with college fairly quickly. He refused to go to the classes assigned to him and instead attended the ones that he wished to (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs also began to feel guilty about spending so much of his parents' money on an education that seemed like a waste of time (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015). He dropped out of Reed, but continued to

attend classes that interested him, like a calligraphy course that would become iconic in his life (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs hung around Reed for 18 months, and it was remarkable that the Dean of students, Jack Dudman, allowed this. Dudman found Jobs's inquiring mind attractive; he allowed him to stay at Reed and sit in on classes, even after he stopped paying tuition (Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013).

2.3.3. Atari and India

In 1974, at the age of 19, Jobs moved back into his parents' home in Los Altos and began looking for a job (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs saw an Atari advertisement in the classifieds, and made the decision that he wanted to work there. He walked into this company, a video game manufacturer, and declared that he would not leave until Atari gave him a job (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). The chief engineer, Al Alcorn, hired him as a technician, so that he became one of the first fifty employees of Atari (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011).

According to Isaacson (2011), some of the employees at Atari found it difficult to work with Jobs. He did not shower regularly and did not use any deodorant because he was following a fruit-heavy vegetarian diet, which he believed prevented mucus and body odour. This bothered some employees because he was starting to smell (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). His honest and harsh criticisms of some of the products also offended some of the employees (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The founder and boss of Atari, Nolan Bushnell, was nonetheless impressed with Jobs and did not want to lose him as an employee (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011); he moved Jobs to the nightshift in order to avoid conflict with other employees (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013).

When Jobs felt that he had saved enough money, he left Atari and headed to India, with his friend Daniel Kottke, in search of spiritual enlightenment (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013; Ziller, 2011). Kottke felt that Jobs's search for enlightenment was driven by his not knowing his birth parents and by trying to fill a hole inside of himself (Isaacson, 2011). Despite his seven months in India not helping him to achieve inner calm, he did however learn how to use his intuition. He returned home and continued his search for enlightenment and inner peace. His search was not a passing phase, since throughout his life he would seek to follow many of the basic precepts of Eastern religions (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs managed to find a religious teacher, Kobun Chino Otowaga, at the Zen centre in Los Altos (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs demonstrated an intense devotion and he would become unbearable at times; by demanding to see Otowaga on a daily basis. Jobs's relationship with the latter turned out to be deep and lasting (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs also underwent primal scream therapy as part of his compulsive search for self-awareness (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs disclosed to his close friends that he needed it for the pain he was feeling, due to the fact that he did not know his birth parents and because he was adopted. His desire to know his biological parents was merely to better understand himself (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). He felt that the scream therapy and extreme diets would cleanse him and allow him to obtain deeper insight into the frustration and anger he felt about his birth. Jobs later claimed, though, that the primal scream therapy was not very useful (Isaacson, 2011).

One day early in 1975, after returning to America, Jobs walked into Atari barefoot, wearing a saffron robe, and asked for his job back (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Alcorn hired him and he started working the nightshift again. During that

summer, Nolan Bushnell, the owner of Atari, asked Jobs to design a single-player version of the company's most popular game, Pong. Jobs recruited Wozniak to help him; they achieved this task in four days (Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Apparently Jobs gave Wozniak only his share of the payment and did not tell him about, or share, the bonus with him, though Jobs later denied this (Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013; Wozniak & Smith, 2006; Young & Simon, 2005).

2.3.4. The Birth of Apple

In 1975, Wozniak began designing a desktop terminal and monitor that could communicate with a computer (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Wozniak envisioned a personal computer, so he developed software that would allow a microprocessor to display images on a screen (Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Wozniak shared his work with Jobs, who was impressed and proceeded to help him to obtain additional components for the project (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Both Jobs and Wozniak were members of the Homebrew Computer Club, an electronic hobbyist group (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013). Wozniak showed the product to the other engineers at the group, wanting to share the software and design with them for free. Jobs, however, convinced him that they should sell the software instead (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013).

In 1976, at the age of 21, Jobs persuaded Wozniak to establish a computer company with him (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In order to raise capital, Jobs was obliged to sell his Volkswagen bus and Wozniak his HP 65 calculator (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). After returning from a visit to the All One Farm, where he helped to prune the apple trees, Jobs proposed the

name *Apple Computer* (Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013). Jobs and Wozniak agreed on the name because it signalled friendliness and simplicity (Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006).

Wozniak was still working at HP and was not ready to commit himself to Apple full-time (Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Jobs realised that he needed an ally to help adjudicate if there was a disagreement between him and Wozniak; hence he enlisted his friend Ron Wayne, a middle-aged engineer at Atari who had previously founded a slot machine company (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He offered Wayne a 10% stake in the company. On 1 April 1976, Jobs, Wozniak and Wayne drew up the partnership agreement, which indicated the division of shares and profits, and the responsibilities of each stakeholder (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). However, Wayne became alarmed when Jobs wanted to borrow and spend more money. After two weeks, Wayne sold his 10% to Jobs and Wozniak for $800 (Editors of TIME, 2011, Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

The first personal computer that Wozniak developed was called Apple I (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Paul Terrell, a computer store owner, was their first client; he ordered 50 computers (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). After borrowing money for the parts, Jobs and Wozniak built 50 Apple I computers in the Jobses' house and garage (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015; Pollack & Belviso, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). They obtained help from some friends and, under Jobs's watchful eye, they completed the order in 30 days (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). This was the first time that Jobs had rallied a group of people to deliver something that was innovative and

seemingly miraculous, and that they were not even sure they could create (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). It would also not be the last time that he did this. Finally, they sold almost 200 Apple I computers. While they were busy building these, Wozniak was already working on a new and improved design (Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006).

In 1977, the new design created by Wozniak and Jobs came to be known as Apple II (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). It was the first fully packaged all-in-one personal computer and offered colour graphics, which no other personal computer did at the time (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Jobs felt that appealing packaging was just as important as a good product. He had a passion for perfection and desired a minimalistic approach, which stemmed from his Zen teachings (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). He hired a designer for the computer casings and also employed Rod Holt to develop a power supply that would avoid the need for a constantly running fan (which prevented the computer from overheating). Holt succeeded in changing the way power was supplied to the computer, thus eliminating the need for a fan (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013).

Jobs and Wozniak soon realised that they would require significant capital to buy the parts needed to produce the volumes of computers they had anticipated selling each month (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). They did not have sufficient funds, so they approached Commodore and Atari, two well established companies, to invest in Apple. Both companies declined. Bushnell suggested that Jobs try Don Valentine, the founder of a pioneering venture capital firm named Sequoia Capital (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Valentine agreed to invest if Jobs would hire a partner who could

write a business plan and who understood marketing and distribution (Isaacson, 2011, Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). Valentine suggested three people: Jobs developed a good rapport with one of them, Mike Markkula and hired him; he gained a third of the ownership stake of the company (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). This investment allowed the company to produce the Apple II computers at higher volumes (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011).

At first, as mentioned, Wozniak wanted to continue working for HP and did not wish to join Apple full-time (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Jobs became very distraught over this; he cried, yelled, threw fits, and even sent friends to try to convince Wozniak (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013). Eventually, Wozniak agreed to join Apple as long as he could continue being an engineer and was not obliged to go into management (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). On 3 January 1977, the new corporation, *Apple Computer Co.*, was officially created; it bought out the old partnership that Jobs and Wozniak had created nine months earlier (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). The company was also able to move out of the Jobses' garage and into real offices on Stevens Creek Boulevard in Cupertino (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015)

Markkula became a father figure and mentor to Jobs (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). He taught Jobs how to understand the needs and desires of customers (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs learned to care about marketing and image and sometimes even became obsessive about these (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs convinced Regis McKenna, the Valley's premier publicist, to take on Apple as a client and to create brochures for Apple II.

McKenna assigned art director, Rob Janoff, to create a new logo for Apple. Janoff designed a simple apple shape in two versions, one whole apple and the other with a bite taken out of it (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs chose the one with the bite. On top of the brochure, McKenna put a maxim that would eventually become Jobs's design philosophy, namely "Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 80; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015, p. 57).

2.4. Fame and Fortune: The Entrepreneur (1977 - 1988)

2.4.1. Apple's First Launch and First President

In April 1977, Apple II held its first launch event at the West Coast Computer Fair (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs took great care to perfect their display, while Markkula ensured that Jobs and Wozniak looked professional in three-piece suits. Apple received 300 orders at the show (Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). Apple was now a real company with employees, a line of credit, customers and suppliers (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs had always been obnoxious and temperamental and did not adjust gracefully to his growing responsibilities (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). According to Markkula, "he became increasingly tyrannical and sharp in his criticism" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 81). The editors of TIME (2011) also described him as "controlling and tyrannical" (p. 20). Jobs's hygiene also became more of an issue and Markkula had to tell him to take showers. Since Markkula did not like confrontation, he hired Mike Scott as the president of Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Scott's primary purpose was to manage Jobs. Wozniak accepted the concept easily, but Jobs experienced conflicted emotions because he did not want to lose

control of Apple (Isaacson, 2011; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Eventually he gave in. Scott would not bend to Jobs's will; it became clear that Jobs's disdain for authority and his desire for control would become problematic (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs and Scott frequently argued; Jobs usually threw a tantrum and sobbed (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Despite all the arguments, Apple II was a success (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Over the next 16 years, various models of the Apple II were marketed; over six million were sold (Isaacson, 2011).

2.4.2. The Birth and Abandonment of Lisa Brennan

Ever since Jobs and Chrisann Brennan had lived together, in the summer after he graduated from high school, she had sporadically been part of Jobs's life (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). In 1974, after Jobs returned from India, they spent some time together on Friedland's farm. At that time they were just friends and Brennan had another boyfriend from 1975, with whom she moved to India. After they split up, in 1977, she returned to Los Altos (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). At the time, Jobs was living with Daniel Kottke in a suburban ranch house that they were renting in Cupertino. Brennan soon moved in with them and the physical relationship between Jobs and Brennan would occasionally be rekindled (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). A few months after moving in, Brennan fell pregnant. Jobs disconnected himself from Brennan and the pregnancy, denied paternity and simply shut it out of his mind (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013): "When Jobs did not want to deal with a distraction, he sometimes just ignored it, as if he could will it out of existence" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 88). Brennan stated that Jobs did not push for an abortion, but made it clear that he would prefer an abortion to an adoption (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). Brennan decided to keep the

baby. It was ironic that both Jobs and Brennan were twenty-three years old; the same age that Jobs's biological parents had been when they gave birth to him (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The relationship between Jobs and Brennan rapidly deteriorated from this point in time (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011).

On 17 May 1978, Brennan gave birth to a baby girl on Friedland's farm (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Three days later Jobs arrived to help name the baby. They decided to call her Lisa Nicole Brennan. Afterwards, Jobs returned home and did not want anything to do with Brennan or Lisa (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). He continued to deny paternity and refused to pay child support (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Brennan and Lisa survived on welfare but eventually Brennan sued for child support (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Initially, Jobs wanted to fight the case; however, a year after Lisa's birth he agreed to take a paternity test. The probability of paternity was 94,41%, so that Jobs was obliged to start paying child support and reimburse the county for the welfare payments (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Young & Simon, 2005). He was allowed visitation rights, but did not use them for a long time (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). Years later, Jobs was remorseful about the way that he had behaved and wished that he had handled this differently (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

After the case was resolved, Jobs started to mature in certain ways. He stopped taking drugs, he eased up on his strict vegan diet, he cut back on the time he spent at Zen retreats, and he started grooming himself more effectively by having haircuts and buying suits and shirts (Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). He also started dating a Polynesian-Polish woman named Barbara Jasinksi (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs still behaved boorishly in many ways while

his personality revealed some quirks (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He bought a house in the Los Gatos hills, but because of his obsessive nature, found it difficult to select furniture; the house remained mostly barren without chairs, beds and couches. His bedroom only had a mattress and an Apple II on the floor, and framed pictures of Maharaj-ji and Einstein on the walls (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011).

2.4.3. The Lisa Project

The Apple II sales and Apple's employees rose dramatically from 1977 to 1981 (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs remained restless because the Apple II was Wozniak's masterpiece while Jobs felt that he needed his own machine. He wanted to make a product that would "make a dent in the universe" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 92). He had hoped that the Apple III would be that product; however it was a failure after it started shipping in May 1980 (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs distanced himself from the project and instead started focusing on creating a totally new computer, which he named the Lisa (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). It was ironic that Jobs would name his new computer after the daughter that he had abandoned and had not yet fully admitted was his (Isaacson, 2011).

Markkula and Scott became increasingly concerned about Jobs's disruptive behaviour and decided to bring some order to Apple (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was ejected from the Lisa project in September 1980 and was also stripped of his role as vice president for research and development (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The two men made him the non-executive chairman of the board, which allowed him to remain Apple's public face; however he would have no operating control. Jobs felt hurt and abandoned by Markkula, who had been a father figure to him (Isaacson, 2011).

2.4.4. Jobs and Money

In 1980, Apple made its first public offering of stock; by the end of the year it was worth $1.79 billion. At the age of 25, Jobs was worth $256 million (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) but was rarely showy about his newfound wealth (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) His biggest personal gift was the $750 000 worth of stock that he gave to his parents, Paul and Clara Jobs (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs's relationship with wealth and money was complex (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015): "He was an antimaterialistic hippie who capitalized on the inventions of a friend who wanted to give them away for free", while also being a devoted Zen Buddhist, who undertook a pilgrimage to India, and later decided that his calling was to start a business (Isaacson, 2011, p. 105). These contrasting attitudes seemed to weave together, instead of conflicting. For Jobs, his purpose was never about making money; it was about leaving behind a legacy by creating products that would change the world (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In October 1981, *Inc.* became the first magazine to put Jobs on the cover, describing him as the man who changed business forever (Isaacson, 2011). *TIME* magazine followed in 1982 and described him as the man who singlehandedly created the personal computer industry (Editors of TIME, 2011). Despite his fame and fortune, Jobs still saw himself as a child of the counterculture (Isaacson, 2011, Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.4.5. Xerox

In 1980, Jobs visited Xerox Corporation's Palo Alto Research Centre (Xerox PARC) and saw the recent technologies developed there (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011;

Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs made an agreement with Xerox to use some of its technology in return for $1 million of Apple shares (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He incorporated the graphical interface (GUI) of Xerox into the Apple Macintosh, in order to create a computer that any person could use simply by pointing and clicking a mouse (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lashinsky, 2012). The Apple raid on Xerox is sometimes described as "one of the biggest heists in the chronicles of the industry" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 98). Jobs had always been shameless about stealing ideas; he concurred with Picasso's saying: "good artists copy, great artists steal" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 98; Stern & Hume, 2013).

2.4.6. The Macintosh

The Macintosh was originally Jef Raskin's project. Raskin's personality clashed with that of Jobs who then took over the Mac team in 1981 (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Scott, the president of Apple, allowed this shift because he intended to keep Jobs busy. Jobs recruited people for the team based on their passion for the product (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Early in 1981, the Mac team had grown to 20 people; Jobs decided they needed more space to work. He moved the team to a building three blocks away from Apple's main offices. This was next to a Texaco station and became known as Texaco Towers (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

The 25th February 1981 was termed Black Wednesday because Apple's CEO, Mike Scott, laid off 50 employees without notice (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Shortly afterward, the board asked him to leave; Mike Markkula took over as interim president and CEO. Markkula was rather passive, which gave Jobs the latitude to do whatever he wanted (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs pressed the Mac team to complete the project by the expected date, even when this seemed impossible (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs often laid down unrealistic deadlines and expectations, which later became labelled as his reality distortion field (Blumenthal, 2012; Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011, Lakin, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Nonetheless he had the ability to convince anyone of practically anything. According to Andy Hertzfield, who worked in the Mac team, Jobs's "reality distortion field was a confounding mélange of a charismatic rhetorical style, indomitable will, and eagerness to bend any fact to fit the purpose at hand" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 118). Jobs could con others into believing his vision because he personally internalised it and even deceived himself at times (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). "At the root of this reality distortion field was Jobs's belief that the rules did not apply to him" because he had a sense that he was special, chosen and enlightened (Isaacson, 2011, p. 118). If reality did not match his will, he would distort it or ignore it (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Employees found it difficult to work for Jobs because, as intimated, he could be controlling, demeaning and was obsessed with perfection (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He drove the Mac team so relentlessly that some members even reached a state of burnt out (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs also held a binary worldview (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), categorising people as being either "enlightened" or "an asshole" and their work as being either "the best" or "totally shitty" (Isaacson, 2011, p.118). These categories were not fixed and could change overnight. Jobs insisted on working only with "A players" and would dismiss anyone he thought of as a "B player" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 181; Stern & Hume, 2013). It was accepted, and even encouraged, to challenge Jobs;

however, he could be demeaning, harsh and critical, even to the point of making some employees cry, while he would readily fire them if they did not seem useful to him (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013). Jobs's style could be demoralising, but also inspirational. He believed that people would do great things if one expected them to (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

As noted, Jobs also tended to steal other people's ideas (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013). When someone told him about a concept he would say that it was stupid but after a week or so he would propose the idea back to the person, as if he had thought of it himself (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was also very good at reading people, identifying their strengths and vulnerabilities and manipulating them (Isaacson, 2011) and as mentioned, was able to convince people to do what he wanted them to (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013).

As previously mentioned, Jobs was obsessive and perfectionistic when it came to the aesthetics of the products Apple created. He wanted a simple, minimalist design, which stemmed from his Zen devotion (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He also wished the products to be fun and playful. Ever since Jobs had attended the calligraphy class at Reed, he had developed a love for typefaces and insisted on different fonts for the Macintosh (Blumenthal, 2012; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015). He cared about what the product looked like, inside and out. He learned this from his father, who believed that even a product's hidden aspects should be made beautifully (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

At the end of 1982, Jobs believed that he was going to be named *TIME*'s Man of the Year (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). This did not happen; instead the magazine

chose "The Computer" as the topic for the year-end issue and named it "The Machine of the Year" (Editors of TIME, 2011, p. 6; Isaacson, 2011, p. 139). Jobs was devastated (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011), considered the article horrible and wept after reading it. It hurt him, but he also felt that it taught him a good lesson. He learned "to never get too excited about things like that, since the media is a circus anyway" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 140).

The Lisa was launched in January 1983, a full year ahead of Macintosh (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). Jobs was not supposed to say anything about the Mac at the Lisa's launch, but could not resist doing so (Isaacson, 2011). By promoting the Macintosh, he doomed the Lisa to failure. The latter was too expensive and was discontinued within two years (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011).

Mike Markkula had never wanted to be Apple's CEO, whereas Jobs also knew that he was not ready to run the company himself, even though a part of him desired to try (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015); although arrogant, he could also be self-aware at times (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). He set his sights on the president of the Pepsi-Cola division of PepsiCo, John Sculley (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). It took Jobs some time to woo Sculley, but eventually, in 1983, he convinced him to become Apple's new CEO (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). According to Sculley, Jobs had an uncanny ability always to achieve what he wanted because he knew exactly what to say to convince someone. He persuaded Sculley by asking, "Do you want to spend the rest of your life selling sugared

water, or do you want a chance to change the world?" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 154; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015, p. 77).

Initially, Jobs and Sculley were very close. However, a few months after Sculley arrived, Jobs began to sense that they had different values and different ways of looking at the world (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Schlender & Tetzeli (2015) described them as "two men who saw exactly what they wanted to see in the other, [and] who salivated at the thought of how pairing up might transform their lives, and who both wound up sorely disappointed" (p. 76). Their first serious disagreement was over the pricing of the Macintosh. Jobs felt that they were overpricing it, but Sculley ended up winning the battle (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was beginning to feel as if he was losing control of his product and company, which was "as dangerous as making a tiger feel cornered" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 158).

In the spring of 1983, Jobs began to plan the launch of the Macintosh. Lee Clow, from Chiat/Day advertising agency, helped Jobs to create the *1984* advertisement (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The ad portrayed the Macintosh as a tool for personal empowerment, with Apple as a rebellious, cool, and heroic company that was the only hindrance standing in the path of the big, evil corporation's plan for total mind control and world domination (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Many of Apple's board members considered it as a terrible ad, yet when Jobs showed it to Wozniak, the latter thought it was incredible (Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). The ad was shown during the third quarter of the Super Bowl XVIII; more than 96 million people watched it (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Both *TV Guide* and *Advertising Age* would later select it as the greatest commercial of all time (Isaacson, 2011).

According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs was the grand master of product launches: he had a way of "making the introduction of a new product seem like an epochal moment in world history" (p. 167). The Macintosh was launched at the annual stockholders' meeting on 24 January 1984 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 1984; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs had a flair for the dramatic and played *Chariots of Fire*, while revealing the Mac from under the cloth bag that was covering it. He also let the Mac introduce itself by saying, "Hello. I'm Macintosh. It sure is great to get out of that bag" (Isaacson, 2011, p.170; Jobs, 1984; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015, p. 84). The crowd loved this; their ovation continued for five minutes. This launch made Jobs even more of a celebrity than he already was (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

It was also during this time that Jobs bought a top-floor duplex apartment in San Remo on Manhattan's Central Park West (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). He hired James Freed to renovate it, but never moved in. He also purchased an old Spanish colonial-style fourteen-bedroom mansion in Woodside, in the hills above Palo Alto, which he moved into but never furnished (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Due to his obsession with perfection, Jobs once again found it difficult to pick out furniture (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011).

2.4.7. Turning 30

In February 1985, Jobs celebrated his 30th birthday by hosting a lavish party for one thousand guests at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco (Al about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). The invitation read, "In the first 30 years of your life, you make your habits. For the last 30 years of your life, your habits make you. Come help me celebrate mine" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 188). The event was a grand, yet playful affair. Ella Fitzgerald provided the entertainment (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs received many gifts, but left all of them in

his hotel room. This was odd, but not out of character for him, since he usually did so (Isaacson, 2011).

2.4.8. Leaving Apple

In 1985, Wozniak grew tired of his purely symbolic role at the company; he chose to resign from Apple and establish his own company (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). In the same year, the rift between Jobs and Sculley, then CEO of Apple, was widening. Sculley informed Jobs that he had lost confidence in him and that he was going to recommend to the board that Jobs step down from the Macintosh division (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs felt betrayed by Sculley and proceeded to weep (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013).

Over the next few weeks Jobs's behaviour fluctuated wildly. He refused to relinquish control of the division and attempted to convince Sculley to give him one more chance (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). When this failed, Jobs started planning a coup to oust Sculley. On 24 May 1985, Sculley became aware of Jobs's plans and called for a vote at the executive committee meeting. The board sided unanimously with Sculley so that Jobs was stripped of all executive duties (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). On 31 May 1985, Jobs sat in the back of the Apple auditorium listening as Sculley announced the reorganisation that left Jobs only with a nonexecutive role (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). This act was specifically designed to humiliate Jobs and sealed his exile from Apple (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was distraught and felt hurt by his abandonment by Sculley, Markkula, and Arthur Rock, who had all once been father figures to him (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs resigned from Apple on 17 September 1985, at the age of 30 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Deutschman, 2000; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He felt as if he needed to move on with his life and start something fresh. Jobs disclosed to the Apple board that he was going to found a new company, which would create computers for the higher education market (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He assured the board that the new company would not be competitive with Apple and that he would only take a few low-level employees with him (Deutschman, 2000; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs, however, took five of Apple's senior level employees to establish the new company (Editors of TIME, 2011). Apple's board was furious and elected to sue Jobs "for breaches of fiduciary obligations" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 217).

At that time, he owned 6,5 million shares of Apple stock and 11% of the company, which was worth more than $100 million (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Within five months, Jobs sold all his shares, retaining only one share so that he could attend shareholder meetings if he wanted to (Beahm, 2011; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). In an interview with *Newsweek*, Jobs said, "I'll always remember Apple, like any man remembers the first woman he's fallen in love with" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 218).

2.4.9. NeXT

Jobs established his new company in September 1985, choosing the name Next (Blumenthal, 2012; Deutschman, 2000; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Pollack & Belviso, 2012; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was used to utilising Apple's resources and adopted the same extravagant approach with his new company (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs hired Paul Rand to develop a logo for the new company; he paid $100

000 for one design (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The company acquired a new logo, while its name was changed to NeXT. For Jobs, the logo meant that NeXT would start out with a "world-class feel and identity" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 219).

Jobs felt that he was in full control of the company; as indicated, one aim was to produce computers for the higher education market (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lashinsky, 2012; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Another focus of NeXT was software development, mainly operating systems (OS). NeXT developed a new OS, which Jobs called NeXTstep (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993). In the spring of 1986, Jobs made an offer to Oxford Publishers, where he obtained the rights to Oxford's edition of Shakespeare. When it launched, NeXT also included a dictionary, a thesaurus and the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, which made it one of the pioneers of the concept of searchable electronic books (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993). Jobs also built an extravagant, fully automated and futuristic factory for his new company (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

By September 1986, it looked as if NeXT had hit a financial wall; Jobs therefore sent out a proposal to venture capital firms, offering a 10% stake in NeXT for $3 million. Ross Perot, the founder of Electronic Data Systems, invested in the company (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs launched the NeXT computer in the San Francisco Symphony Hall on 12 October 1988 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He once again put on a theatrical production (Isaacson, 2011; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). After the launch, the *New York Times* referred to him as "the Andrew Lloyd Webber of product introductions, a master of stage flair and special effects" while the *Chicago Tribune* stated

that the launch "was to product demonstrations what Vatican II was to church meetings" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 233). The NeXT computer finally went on sale mid-1989. The sales were far less than expected, though, and the company continued to haemorrhage money (Blumenthal, 2012; Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Ross, 1993; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.4.10. Pixar

In January 1986, due to his love for computer graphics, Jobs also made a $10 million investment in the Lucasfilm computer division (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Pollack & Belviso, 2012; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This investment allowed him to become the owner of 70% of the company (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The division's most important piece of hardware was called the Pixar Image Computer, which integrated hardware and software, and also produced creative content such as graphics and animated films (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs changed the company's name to Pixar. Initially, he wanted to sell the Pixar Image Computer to the mass market; however, it became apparent that it was too costly and there were not many software programs for it. Instead he focused on Pixar's software, which contained a program for making 3-D graphics and images (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Pixar gained a contract at Disney to help the latter to computerise the process of making animated movies (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) and created a package of customised hardware and software known as Computer Animation Production System (CAPS). This was first used during 1988 in the final scene of *The Little Mermaid*. Disney subsequently bought dozens of Pixar Image Computers, while CAPS became an integral part of its production (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Pixar's digital animation business, run by John Lasseter, was initially simply a side-line for Jobs (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Lasseter and Steve bonded due to their shared love for design (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 1986, Jobs decided that Lasseter should produce a short animated film for the annual computer graphics conference (SIGGRAPH), in order to show off Pixar's hardware and software. The film, *Luxo Jr.*, was nominated for an Academy Award and although it did not win, this motivated Jobs to make an animated short film each year (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). However, Pixar was by this time in financial trouble and Jobs ordered a round of deep layoffs. In 1988, the cash was running so short that Jobs called a meeting to decree deep spending cuts across the board (Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Nevertheless, he continued paying for the short films out of his own pocket (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The short film, *Tin Toy*, won the Academy Award for animated short films in 1988 (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.4.11. Personal Life

In 1982, while he was still working on the Macintosh, Jobs met the renowned folk singer, Joan Baez (Armstrong, 2014; Greene, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). At the time, his relationship with Barbara Jasinski was nearing its end. Despite Jobs being 27 and Baez 41, their relationship quickly became serious. They were together for almost three years, after which they ended their romance and chose to be simply friends instead (Armstrong, 2014; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs knew that he wanted children but Baez already had a son and did not want any more offspring (Isaacson, 2011).

In 1983, Jobs met Jennifer Egan at a small dinner party that he was attending with Baez. At this stage Jobs and Baez had already realised that they were not destined to be together permanently. Jobs was fascinated by Egan and took her on a date. They dated for a year (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Egan lived in Philadelphia, and Jobs would often fly east to visit her. They also spoke for hours on the phone at night. By the autumn of 1984 their relationship had ended because Egan felt that she was too young to be married (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

In 1985, shortly after this relationship with Egan had terminated and just as the trouble with Sculley was beginning at Apple, Jobs met Tina Redse (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Although Redse was in a relationship at the time, Jobs managed to persuade her to go out with him. They fell in love quickly and within a few months she had moved in to his unfurnished mansion in Woodside (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). According to Jobs, Redse was the first person he had truly been in love with. He said, "We had a very deep connection. I don't know that anyone will ever understand me better than she did" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 263). They travelled to Europe in 1985, after Jobs left Apple; Redse tried to convince him that they should stay there indefinitely and settle down (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs did not want to do so because even though he felt hurt by Apple, he was still ambitious (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The relationship continued for five years, with many ups and downs. The two would clash regularly and Redse would often move out after a conflict (Isaacson, 2011). She felt neglected, and stated that it was very painful to be in love with someone who was so self-centred. In the summer of 1989, Jobs asked her to marry him; however she could not accept his proposal and the relationship ended (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

Clara Jobs, Jobs's adoptive mother, was diagnosed with lung cancer a year after Jobs had left Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). At the time he was 31, and he spent time by her deathbed, asking her questions about her youth. Soon after his mother's death, in 1986, he was able to track down his biological mother, Joanne Schieble (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs found out that his biological parents had married and produced a daughter, Mona. He also discovered that Abdulfattah Jandali, his biological father, had abandoned Schieble and Mona five years later (Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015). Schieble thereafter married an ice-skating instructor, George Simpson. Both Schieble and Mona took the last name Simpson; this marriage also did not endure. Jobs decided to contact Joanne Simpson to meet her and to thank her for bearing him rather than aborting him as a baby. Simpson was very apologetic during the meeting from which it was clear that she felt much guilt about having put Jobs up for adoption. Jobs kept reassuring her that he understood and that everything had turned out well (Isaacson, 2011).

Shortly after meeting his biological mother, Jobs also met his sister, Mona Simpson. She was a writer and was very similar to Jobs (Isaacson, 2011; Rumsey, 2010). They were both "intense in their artistry, observant of their surroundings, and sensitive yet strong-willed" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 255). They grew very close and Jobs later regarded her as his family (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Rumsey, 2010). Simpson also tracked down their biological father, Jandali (Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015). Jobs, nonetheless, did not want to meet him because he was irate about the way in which Jandali had abandoned Mona Simpson (Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015). This was ironic because Jobs had similarly abandoned his own daughter, Lisa Brennan (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). At that time, Jobs was trying to restore his relationship with Lisa (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs never met his biological father (Isaacson, 2011; Jary, 2015), but continued to have a friendly relationship with his biological mother (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs was notably absent from his daughter's life (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He explained, "I did not want to be a father, so I wasn't" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 259). When Lisa was three, Jobs would occasionally stop by the house he had bought for her and Brennan. These visits became more frequent after Lisa turned eight in 1986 (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He started taking her out to dinners, talking walks with her, and even rollerblading with her. However, Jobs was mercurial towards Lisa, as he was with everyone in his life, alternating between embrace and abandonment (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). She always felt unsure about their relationship (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). She was also similar to Jobs in some ways; she was bright, artistic, temperamental, stubborn, and a little defiant. Due to their similarities, their relationship would also be a roller coaster and they could go for months without talking after a falling-out (Isaacson, 2011).

2.5. New Beginnings: The Family Man and Saviour (1988 - 2000)

2.5.1. Marriage

In October 1989, after his split from Tina Redse, Jobs met Laurene Powell when she attended one of his lectures (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). They went out for dinner that night, fell in love and were continually together thereafter (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005). Jobs later said that he had only loved two women in his life: the first was Tina Redse and the second Laurene Powell. Jobs became "enraptured" with Powell, and their relationship was very passionate (Isaacson, 2011, p. 270). Powell's best friend, Kathryn Smith, stated that the relationship was confusing for Powell because Jobs would fluctuate between an intense focus on her, where she was the centre of the universe, whereas at other times he would be distant, cold, and focused on work (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs proposed to Powell on 1 January 1990; she accepted (All about Steve

Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Afterwards, he did not mention this event again for several months. In December 1990, Jobs took Powell to Hawaii, where she fell pregnant and Jobs again began doubting the idea of marriage. Powell moved out, while Jobs ignored the situation for a while because he did not know what he wanted (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). At the time, Jobs thought he might still be in love with Redse (Isaacson, 2011) but nonetheless chose to be with Laurene Powell. At 36 he married Powell (27) on 18 March 1991 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). About 50 people attended the wedding, including his adoptive father, Paul Jobs and his sister, Mona Simpson. Jobs's long-time Zen teacher, Kobun Chino Otowaga, conducted the ceremony (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

After getting married, Jobs and Powell decided against living in the unfurnished Woodside mansion and moved into an unpretentious and charming family home in Palo Alto (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). They began some renovations, which were supposed to take four months but took 16 due to Jobs's perfectionism (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs kept the Woodside mansion but would use it only for family parties because it had a pool (Isaacson, 2011).

2.5.2. Children

Reed Paul Jobs was born in 1991, shortly after Jobs and Powell were married (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Reed possessed some of his father's characteristics: he was intelligent, creative and incisive, had intense eyes and a mesmerizing charm. He also differed from his father because he evidenced a self-effacing grace and sweet manners (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs and Powell's second child, a girl named Erin Siena Jobs, was born in 1995 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). She was quiet and interested in design and architecture. She often felt hurt due to her

father's lack of attention to her and learned to keep some emotional distance from him, to protect herself from his detachment (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs and Powell's youngest child, a girl named Eve Jobs, was born in 1998 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). She turned out to be strong-willed and humorous, knowing how to negotiate with her father, who did not intimidate her. Jobs joked that if Eve did not become president of the United States, she would probably run Apple someday (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs had a strong relationship with his son, Reed, but, as intimated, was more distant from his daughters (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

Lisa Brennan, Jobs's daughter, moved in with him and Powell when she was 14 years old (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). This was in the middle of her eighth-grade year when she was experiencing serious problems at school. The teachers consequently phoned Jobs and recommended that Lisa move out of her mother's house (Isaacson, 2011). Lisa lived with Jobs and Powell for all four of her years at Palo Alto High School (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Even though Jobs attempted to be a good father, he was distant and cold at times (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). Lisa flourished as a senior, being accepted into Harvard after school. Her relationship with her father continued to be tumultuous throughout her college years (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Whenever they clashed, they would not speak for long periods of time; occasionally Jobs even stopped supporting her. Lisa did not invite Jobs to her Harvard graduation in 2000 and he did not attend (Isaacson, 2011).

2.5.3. Pixar and Disney

In 1991, Pixar was hoping to make a movie but was on the verge of bankruptcy (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009). Jobs then arranged an agreement between Pixar and Disney, where Disney would own the picture and the characters, exercise creative control and pay Pixar

12,5% of ticket revenues (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Disney was also given the option to make Pixar's next two films and the right to make sequels using the characters in the film. Disney could also stop a film at any time by paying only a small penalty (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Lasseter mooted a concept for a film called *Toy Story* (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs did not insert himself into the creative process much because he trusted and respected Lasseter and the other artists at Pixar. His role was to help manage the relationship between Pixar and Disney (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). When Disney put a halt on the production of *Toy Story*, Jobs kept the project going with his own money (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Three months later, the Pixar team presented a new script, which Disney approved. The film was back in production in February 1994. *Toy Story* was released in November 1995 by means of two premieres, one organised by Disney and one by Pixar (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The Pixar premiere was Jobs's show and he even introduced the movie at this premiere. *Toy Story* was a major success, becoming the top-grossing film of the year (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lashinsky, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

One week after the release of *Toy Story*, Jobs organised a public offering (IPO) of Pixar shares (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Deutschman, 2000; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), because he intended Pixar to be on an equal financial footing with Disney. The IPO was very successful (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). At the end of the day, Jobs's shares (which comprised 80% of the company and were initially worth $50 million) were worth $1,2 billion (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He made five times more money than when Apple had gone public in 1980 (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). The successful IPO meant that

Pixar would no longer be dependent on Disney to finance its movies. Pixar entered a new agreement with Disney, which allowed the latter to fund half of the ensuing movies and take half of the profits. Disney also agreed to co-brand the movies as both Disney and Pixar movies (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Pixar became a successful company and would produce ten blockbusters in a row, including such movies as *Toy Story*, *A Bug's Life*, *Monsters Inc.*, *Finding Nemo*, *Toy Story 2*, *The Incredibles*, *Cars*, *Ratatouille*, *Wall-E*, and *Up* (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). To reiterate, Jobs possessed not only the ability to create excellent products, but also to create great companies, like Pixar, with valuable brands (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.5.4. NeXT and Apple

In 1991, Ross Perot decided to leave NeXT because his investment was still not paying off (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012). In 1992, Jobs was forced to do something that went against his belief that hardware and software should be integrally linked; he agreed to licence the NeXTSTEP operating system to run on other computers (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). A year later, in 1993, Jobs was obliged to abandon making the NeXT hardware altogether. By this time he had laid off half of the workforce and had been forced to sell his beloved factory to Canon (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He decided to focus less on NeXT and instead concentrate more on Pixar (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He also despaired about the personal computer industry, which seemed to be in its dark ages (Isaacson, 2011).

By 1996, Apple's share of the market had fallen to 4% (it was at a high of 16% in the late 1980s) (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The CEO of

Apple at the time, Gil Amelio, knew that the company needed a partner which could manufacture a stable operating system, such as NeXT (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Apple and NeXT entered into negotiations. On 2 December 1996, Jobs held a meeting with Amelio to suggest that Apple purchase NeXT (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This was the first occasion Jobs had set foot on the Apple campus since he had left 11 years earlier. At that time, since NeXT was failing, the prospect of being bought by Apple was like a lifeline (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs, his usual persuasive, energetic and enthusiastic self, convinced Amelio that Apple should acquire NeXT (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In December 1996, Apple did so, for $427 million, despite the company having generated just $50 million in sales revenue (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011).

2.5.5. Rejoining Apple

A few days before the NeXT purchase was due to be announced, Amelio asked Jobs to rejoin Apple full-time (Deutschman, 2000; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Since Jobs experienced conflicting feelings about returning to Apple he decided he would take the role of informal advisor to the CEO and officially returned to Apple in January 1997 as a part-time advisor (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs also informed the Pixar employees and assured them that he would still be president and remain deeply involved (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

The final quarter of 1996 showed a 30% drop in sales for Apple from the previous year (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Ed Woolard, the chair of Apple's board, was appalled. In June 1997, he proposed that the board bring back

Steve Jobs as CEO because this was the company's only certain chance of avoiding bankruptcy (Blumenthal, 2012, Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The board accorded him the authority to ask Jobs to return. At first Jobs did not accept, simply offering to assist Apple as an advisor (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013), but then made the strategic decision of forcing the whole board to resign and appointed an entirely new Apple board, which included strong leaders such as Larry Ellison and Bill Campbell (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). At the MacWorld in Boston, in August 1997, Jobs stated that he would help Apple; he introduced the new Apple board and also announced a truce and partnership with Microsoft (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). At the end of that day, Apple's stock had increased by 33%, which added $830 million to Apple's stock market capitalisation (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs had managed to bring Apple "back from the edge of the grave" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 326).

According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs decided that Apple needed to prove that it was still alive and that it still stood for something special. In July 1997, he hired Lee Clow, creative director of Chiat/Day, to create an advertisement for Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Clow is the same person who had previously created the memorable *1984* advertisement for the launch of the Macintosh (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Clow and his team came up with the *Think Different* campaign, which would become one of the most memorable ones in history (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The team, with input from Jobs, devised a tone poem that would be used in all the campaign's television and printed advertisements. It reads as follows:

Here's to the crazy ones. The misfits. The rebels. The troublemakers. The round pegs in the square holes. The ones who see things differently. They're not fond of rules. And they have no respect for the status quo. You can quote them, disagree with them, glorify or vilify them. About the only thing you can't do is ignore them. Because they change things. They push the human race forward. And while some may see them as the crazy ones, we see genius. Because the people who are crazy enough to think they can change the world are the ones who do. (Isaacson, 2011, p. 329)

After finishing the work on the Think Different campaign, Jobs decided that he would officially take over running the company as interim CEO (iCEO) (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He announced this on 16 September 1997 but did not sign any contract or take any salary (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). By December it had become clear that Apple was not going to appoint another CEO and that Jobs's iCEO status had changed from "interim" to "indefinite" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 333). Jobs was under a great deal of pressure as he was then running two major companies (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was very exhausted and began developing kidney stones (Isaacson, 2011).

At the MacWorld in January 1998, Jobs took the stage to discuss Apple's new simplified and focused product strategy (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 1998; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). For the first time, he ended the presentation with his signature coda, "Oh, and one more thing…", [which was to] "Think Profit" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 339; Jobs, 1998). Jobs's more deliberate approach, his vision, and his ability to focus saved Apple (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). After two years of losses, Apple experienced a profitable quarter, making $45 million (Isaacson, 2011;

Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). According to Isaacson (2011), "Jobs was back and so was Apple" (p. 339).

On his return to Apple, Jobs met Jonathan Ive, the sensitive, creative, passionate 30-year-old who was the head of Apple's design team (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Jobs and Ive developed a direct and unusually strong bond. According to Powell, Ive occupied a special status and although most people in Jobs's life were replaceable, Ive was not (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs and Ive shared the same sense of creativity; they both saw the bigger picture and believed in the fundamental principle of simplicity (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). They each believed that in order to be truly simple, one needs to go really deep. According to Ive, "You have to deeply understand the essence of a product in order to be able to get rid of the parts that are not essential" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 343). Jobs had lunch with Ive almost every day, and would visit his studio in the afternoons to see the products in the pipeline (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Ive would occasionally become upset when Jobs would take credit for his designs; nevertheless he still felt that those designs might have gone unnoticed had it not been for Jobs (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs emphasised that design was essential to Apple products because this would be what made them great (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In May 1998, the iMac was "the first great design triumph to come from the Jobs-Ive collaboration" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 348). The "i" in the Apple products was intended to indicate that the device(s) would be seamlessly integrated with the Internet (Isaacson, 2011, p. 338). The iMac was a desktop computer aimed at the home consumer market (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). With its sea-green blue, translucent plastic casing, the iMac symbolised that Apple did indeed think differently

(Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). It also allowed the world to see that Apple products were just as beautiful on the inside as they were on the outside, an aspect that had always been important to Jobs (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Apple launched the iMac on 6 May 1998 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 1998; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs, knowing how to attract people's attention, once again put on an effective show for the unveiling of the iMac (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 1998; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). It was a cool, friendly and spunky appliance; many people who had previously been afraid of computers now wanted one (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). The iMac sold 278 000 units in its first six weeks and would sell 800 000 by the end of the year, making it Apple's fastest-selling computer of all time (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). By using the same intensity, focus and obsessive perfectionism that he always possessed, Jobs was able to help create the product that saved Apple (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

When Jobs returned to Apple, everyone already knew that he was a creative visionary, but they were not convinced of his ability to run a company (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs managed to get rid of excess inventory sitting in Apple's warehouses, eliminated excess product lines, and cut extraneous features in the development of the new operating system software (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). However, he was still not very diplomatic in his approach and Apple's head of operations resigned after three months of working under him. Jobs then continued to run the operations himself (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

In 1998, Jobs met Tim Cook, whom he soon appointed as the new operations manager (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). By employing his usual charisma and persuasiveness, Jobs induced Cook to join Apple. Together, Jobs and Cook brought the perfect balance to the company (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015): "In a company that was led by a CEO prone to tantrums and withering blasts, Cook commanded situations with a calm demeanour, a soothing Alabama accent, and silent stares" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 360).

According to Isaacson (2011) as well as Schlender and Tetzeli (2015), Jobs was very particular in the people that he hired to work for Apple. He opted for a collaborative approach, where potential candidates were required to meet all the top leaders, not only the managers of the departments where they were going to work (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). While it was clear that Jobs's experiences at NeXT had matured him, he still evidenced many of his old habits. His Mercedes still did not display number plates and he would still park in the parking spaces for the handicapped next to the front door (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013). This was part of his belief that the rules did not apply to him. As previously mentioned, people were allowed, and even encouraged, to challenge him, however they had to be prepared to be either respected or attacked for doing so (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.6. Changing the Face of Technology: The CEO (2000 - 2005)

2.6.1. The CEO

In 2000, it became clear that Apple had rebounded, owing to Jobs (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). For the previous two years, Ed Woolard had

been trying to convince Jobs to drop the interim CEO title and become Apple's CEO (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). After a long walk and a discussion with his wife, Jobs decided to do so (Isaacson, 2011). At the Macworld in San Francisco, in January 2000, Jobs introduced the new Macintosh operating system, OSX, which used some of the software that Apple had bought from NeXT three years earlier (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2000; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs ended off with his signature coda "Oh, and one more thing"; then he announced that he would be dropping the interim title and would become Apple's CEO (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2000; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The crowd was pleased, screamed and cheered. Jobs responded to the applause with a graceful show of humility by saying,

> You guys are making me feel funny now. I get to come to work every day and work with the most talented people on the planet, at Apple and Pixar. But these jobs are team sports. I accept your thanks on behalf of everybody at Apple. (Isaacson, 2011, p. 367)

2.6.2. Apple Stores

As noted, Jobs was obsessed with perfection and with being in control (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). One part of the process that he had no control over was the customer's experience when buying an Apple product in a store. Jobs thus came up with the concept of developing a string of Apple retail stores (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs approached this project with the same passion, perfectionism and intensity that he devoted to all his projects with (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was involved in every detail of how the store would look, because, as he predicted, "The store will become the most powerful physical expression of the brand" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 370).

Jobs created a prototype of the Apple store in a vacant warehouse in Cupertino (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was fixated on every detail of the aesthetic and service experience (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Once again, his aim was simplicity (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The prototype was revised once and was completed in January 2001 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). When Jobs demonstrated it to the board, they unanimously approved the project. The first Apple store opened on 19 May 2001 in Virginia and was a huge success (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). By 2004, Apple stores were flourishing, with Jobs remaining involved in every aspect of them. Apple fans became very excited about store openings because Jobs approached these in the same way that he did product releases (Isaacson, 2011). In July, 2011, there were 326 Apple stores, with the average annual revenue per store being $34 million (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.6.3. iTunes

In 2001, at the regular Apple staff retreat, Jobs introduced the concept that the personal computer would become a digital hub that coordinated a variety of devices (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). The notion was for a person to synchronise different devices with the computer, which would then allow that person to manage music, pictures, video, text, and all aspects of that person's digital lifestyle (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This was the ideal for Jobs because, as usual, he wanted to be in control, and this would enable Apple to take full responsibility for the user experience (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Early in 2000, Jobs also realised that music was the way forward. Apple thus developed iTunes as part of its digital hub strategy (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson,

2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Jobs revealed iTunes at MacWorld in January 2001, stating that it would be free to all Mac users (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.6.4. The iPod

The next step in Apple's digital hub strategy was to create a portable music player; thus the iPod was born (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs had a special passion for this project because he had always greatly appreciated music and was involved in all aspects of the development of the iPod, especially the style and design (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Due to the influence of Zen in his life, Jobs once again insisted on simplicity, which led to the fact that the iPod does not even have an on-off switch (Isaacson, 2011): "The concept became so beautifully simple: a thousand songs in your pocket" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 390). At times, Jobs would even use his role as CEO to drive certain ideas through (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). On 23 October 2001, Jobs unveiled the iPod at one of his signature product launch events (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2001; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Consumers were delighted and it became "the essence of everything Apple was destined to be: poetry connected to engineering, arts and creativity intersecting with technology, design that's bold and simple" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 393).

2.6.5. The iTunes Store

In 2002, Apple faced a challenge: there was no easy way for users to buy new music to put onto their iPods (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs wanted to offer iPod users a simple, safe and legal way to download songs onto their devices and thus came up with the concept of an iTunes Store (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011;

Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). At the time, piracy was a major problem in the music industry; Jobs used this as his motivation when he approached the executives and music companies. After many negotiations with various such companies, Jobs eventually persuaded Universal Music Group and Sony to agree to sell their music on the iTunes Store (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs also needed to meet with various top musicians to convince them to sell their music on iTunes, being as persuasive and charismatic as ever. He unveiled the iTunes store on 28 April 2003 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). iTunes was a roaring success and sold a million songs in six days. Jobs declared that it would go down in history as the turning point for the music industry (Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In January 2007, iPod sales made up half of Apple's revenues (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.6.6. The Diagnosis

In October 2003, doctors discovered a tumour in Jobs's pancreas (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). They established that it was an islet cell or pancreatic neuroendocrine tumour, which is rare but grows at a slower rate and is therefore more likely to be successfully treated (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The early detection was a positive sign since the tumour could be surgically removed. To the dismay of his doctors, wife and friends, Jobs decided not to undergo surgery to remove the tumour. He intended to try less invasive, alternative approaches such as a strict vegan diet, acupuncture, herbal remedies, and occasionally a few other treatments he found on the Internet (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Schlender and Tetzeli (2015) hypothesised that, apart from the intellectual component, there must have

been a psychological component to his decision (i.e., that he would not have control when the surgeons opened his body up). Jobs's reality distortion field also allowed him to ignore the diagnosis; it was almost as if he willed the tumour not to be there (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs's stubbornness and denial continued for nine months after the diagnosis. As mentioned, it was typical for him to ignore issues he did not want to confront, as he had done previously with the birth of his daughter Lisa, and [now] again with his cancer diagnosis (Isaacson, 2011).

He was forced to face reality in July 2004, when a computerised axial tomography (CAT) scan indicated that the tumour had grown and possibly spread (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). On 31 July 2004, Jobs underwent surgery where a part of his pancreas was removed (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). A side effect of the operation was that removing a part of the pancreas, made it difficult for his body to ingest enough protein. He was instructed to eat plenty of meat and fish proteins as well as full-fat milk products. This proved problematic due to Jobs's history of obsessive dieting; he would not follow the prescribed protein diet (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). During the surgery, the doctors found three liver metastases, which meant that the cancer had spread. The day after the surgery, Jobs wrote a letter to the Apple team, where he explained that he had undergone surgery and arranged for Cook to oversee his duties at Apple for the month of August (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs stated that he would be back in September but he still withheld some information (i.e., that the cancer had spread and that he would need chemotherapy) (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He eventually started chemotherapy, which made his eating challenges even more complicated (Isaacson, 2011).

2.6.7. Disney Purchases Pixar

According to Isaacson (2011) as well as Schlender and Tetzeli (2015), Pixar had been doing well. It produced A *Bug's Life* in 1998, *Toy Story 2* in 1999, and *Finding Nemo* in 2003 (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). *Finding Nemo* was the biggest hit thus far; it became the most successful animated movie in history (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009). At this time, Jobs was attempting to renegotiate the contract between Pixar and Disney, but Eisner (Disney's CEO) threatened to use the characters from previous movies in sequels because Disney owned the rights to these characters (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 2004, Jobs decided that he did not want to work with Eisner any longer; accordingly he publicly announced that he was cutting off negotiations with Disney (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs felt that Pixar was producing "hits" but Disney was making "embarrassing duds" (Isaacson, 2011, p.435).

In March 2005, Bob Iger replaced Eisner as Disney's new CEO (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). As Iger and Jobs related well, they were able to begin negotiations again. Disney realised that Pixar was the future of the company and purchased Pixar for $7,4 billion in stock (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs consequently became Disney's largest shareholder. He made sure that Lasseter and Catmull (the people responsible for Pixar's success) were comfortable with the agreement before he accepted it (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Catmull became the head of Disney animation while Lasseter became its chief creative officer (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was very proud of this arrangement because he had managed to build a successful company and was also able to help Disney to remain a great one (Isaacson, 2011).

2.7. Fighting Cancer: The Legacy (2005 - 2011)

2.7.1. Turning 50

In February 2005, Jobs celebrated his 50th birthday, which was a warm and intimate affair that he shared with his closest friends and professional colleagues (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). This was different from his 30th and 40th, which he had celebrated with the stars of Silicon Valley and other celebrities (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

2.7.2. Stanford Commencement Address

Jobs also accepted Stanford's invitation to give its June 2005 commencement address (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He usually did not make speeches other than his staged product demonstrations; however, being in a reflective mood after his health scare and having turned 50, he accepted (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He wrote the speech himself, which took the form of three stories (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The first concerned his dropping out of Reed College. Its message was always to follow one's heart. The second was about love and loss. Jobs explained that being fired from Apple was the best event that had ever happened to him and that by this means he had discovered what he really loved. The third story dealt with death and his cancer diagnosis and was especially compelling for the audience. Jobs spoke about how the realisation that he would soon be dead assisted him to make the major choices in life. He explained that the best way to avoid thinking that you have something to lose is by remembering that you are going to die (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs ended the speech with one of his favourite quotes from the *Whole Earth Catalog*; "Stay foolish. Stay hungry" (Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015, p. 322).

2.7.3. Full Speed Ahead

As he had emphasised, Jobs's illness reminded him that he had nothing to lose. Hence he was motivated to continue working and create more innovative products (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Despite running a large company, he still made bold moves that other people probably would not have attempted (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs's personality and rough edges were not altered by the cancer or by turning 50. Ive, who was very close to Jobs, asserted that Jobs was a very sensitive man, which was why it was so difficult to understand his "antisocial behaviour" and "rudeness" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 462). According to Ive, Jobs felt and acted as if the normal rules of social engagement did not apply to him (Isaacson, 2011).

One issue that did change was Jobs's attitude towards Bill Gates, and he put the longstanding rivalry to bed (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In May 2007, Jobs and Gates even agreed to a joint interview at the All Things Digital conference (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011). The result of this interview "was a fascinating duet, in which each wunderkind of the digital age spoke warily, and then warmly, about the other" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 463).

2.7.4. The iPhone

According to Schlender and Tetzeli (2015), Jobs had been ranting about "stupid carriers" since 1997 (p. 350). In 2005, Jobs grew tired of dealing with companies that made phones of which he did not approve (Isaacson, 2011), and took the decision that Apple needed to make its own phone (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The Apple employees were excited and motivated by the prospect of creating a phone that they would want to use (Isaacson, 2011). At the same time, there was also a secret project underway: an effort to

manufacture a tablet computer. These projects intersected, so that the concepts for a tablet helped to shape the phone (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Apple bought a company, FingerWorks, which made multi-touch trackpads, in order to help with the development of the touchscreen that the phone and tablet needed to have (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs's constant need for perfection also made him insist on using glass instead of plastic for the phone's screen (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In looking for glass that would be strong and resistant to scratches, Jobs found out about the "gorilla glass" that Corning had developed in the 1960s, but discontinued because there was no market for it (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs convinced Corning to begin manufacturing this glass for Apple. As with other major projects (i.e., *Toy Story* and the Apple Stores), Jobs paused the production of the phone when it was almost completed, and chose to make major revisions (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The fact that the phone was so tightly sealed also reflected Jobs's perfectionism and his need for control (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs launched the iPhone on 9 January 2007 at MacWorld in San Francisco (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2007; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He also invited Hertzfield, Atkinson, Wozniak, and the 1984 Mac team back, as he had done with the launch of the iMac (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). This may have been Jobs's most dazzling product presentation. He also announced that the company's name would be changed from *Apple Computer Inc*. to *Apple Inc.* (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2007; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) The iPhone went on sale five months later in June 2007 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). By the end of 2010, Apple had sold 90 million iPhones; this proved to be the most successful, most profitable consumer electronics product ever (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.7.5. Cancer

By 2008, it had become clear to Jobs and his doctors that his cancer was spreading (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was in considerable pain, being treated by morphine-based analgesics. He also experienced eating problems and continued losing weight (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). His body was not ingesting enough protein; in addition, both the cancer and the morphine further reduced his appetite. Jobs, as mentioned, had always been on obsessive and restrictive diets and fasts, so there could have been a psychological component to his weight loss as well (Isaacson, 2011). He lost 40 pounds during the spring of 2008, to the worry of his family (Isaacson, 2011). According to Schlender and Tetzeli (2015), Jobs was obliged to attend to his health; he cancelled some events he had been going to attend (i.e., the roundtable discussion he had organised with Brent Schlender and his scheduled appearance at MacWorld).

At the launch of the iPhone 3G in June 2008, Jobs was so thin that his condition almost overshadowed the product announcement (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2008), but he continued to lie to the media about his health (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Apple made an untruthful statement that Jobs's weight loss was due to a "common bug", but later asserted that it was a "private matter" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 478). In December 2008, Apple announced that Jobs had cancelled his scheduled appearance at MacWorld for January 2009 (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). There was a great deal of speculation in the media about his health which made Jobs feel violated; he was furious (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs was in personal denial about his illness and wished to be in public denial as well.

On 14 January 2009, Jobs wrote an open letter to the Apple staff to inform them that he would be going on medical leave for six months and that Tim Cook would once again take

over daily operations at Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was very secretive about his illness, insisting that his privacy be respected (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He would become very emotional, ranting and crying, whenever people suggested that he be less secretive (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011).

According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs's tumour metastasised into his liver, causing his body to devour itself. At this point, Jobs was so ill that his doctors were able to persuade him that he needed a liver transplant (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was put on the transplant list in California. In February 2009, he was also placed on the list in Tennessee (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015); his health was declining rapidly. On 21 March 2009, a liver became available in Tennessee: Jobs and his wife immediately flew to Memphis. While the transplant surgery was a success, the doctors established that the cancer had spread even further (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Even as a patient, Jobs's strong personality and obsession with perfection came through. He complained about the design of the hospital masks and the oxygen monitor (Isaacson, 2011). Two of the nurses became Jobs's favourites and they were assigned to him alone. Jobs would become frustrated and became angry because he could not be in control. As Jobs's health improved, his feisty personality would return completely (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Over the years, Jobs's relationship with his daughter, Lisa Brennan, had frayed (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). They rarely communicated with each other. Lisa, however, did fly down to Memphis twice, to visit her father in the hospital. According to Isaacson

(2011), Jobs appreciated this and it meant a great deal to him even though he did not tell her at the time.

Jobs's mood invariably improved when he had visitors from Apple. Cook would often visit to inform Jobs about the progress of new products (Isaacson, 2011). At the end of May 2009, Jobs, his wife, and his sister flew back from Memphis (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Tim Cook and Jonathan Ive, from Apple, met them at the airport. Jobs moved into a dark mental state when he realised that Apple was doing well without him, and had to start coming to terms with the fact that he might not be indispensable to the company (Isaacson, 2011). This motivated him to return to work (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.7.6. Return to Apple

In early June 2009, Jobs was holding daily meetings at his house while by the end of June he was back at work (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs threw a series of tantrums on his first day back, from which it became apparent that he had retained his feistiness (Isaacson, 2011). On 9 September 2009, Jobs made his public return when he took the stage at Apple's regular autumn music event, where he introduced the new line of iPod Nanos (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). By January 2010, Jobs had regained most of his strength and "threw himself back into work for what would be one of his, and Apple's, most productive years" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 489).

2.7.7. The iPad

Jobs unveiled the iPad on 27 January 2010, even though it would only go on sale in April 2010 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2010; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

There was much excitement about the event and Jobs once again invited his colleagues from the early days of Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). He placed the iPad in context and once again situated Apple at the intersection of technology and the liberal arts (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2010; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The reaction was not what he had expected; some people were confused as to what exactly the iPad was (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was annoyed and depressed on the night after the announcement. He had received many emails from people who complained about the iPad (Isaacson, 2011). This negative reaction subsided when the iPad went on sale and people were able to experiment with it themselves (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Daniel Lyons from *Newsweek* described this as Jobs's "uncanny ability to cook up gadgets that we didn't know we needed, but then suddenly can't live without" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 496). The iPad was a success: Apple had sold one million devices in less than a month. Nine months later, in March 2011, 15 million iPads had been purchased (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs had transformed the computer industry by means of the Apple II and the iMac and also transformed the music industry with the iPod. Now, with the iPad and its App Store, he began to transform the media industry, from publishing to journalism to television and movies (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Apple also created iBooks as a way to sell electronic books. Jobs aimed to persuade newspapers to start creating digital versions and selling them on the App Store. In April 2011, the *Times* began selling its digital editions and subscriptions through Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

2.7.8. Google and Android

In January 2010, shortly after launching the iPad, Jobs called for a meeting with employees at Apple's campus. He went on a tirade against Google for producing the rival Android operating system. Jobs felt personally betrayed by Eric Schmidt, Google's CEO, who had been on Apple's board during the development of the iPhone and iPad (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs felt that Android's touchscreen interface was using more and more of the features that Apple had created. As a result, Apple filed a lawsuit for infringement of 20 of its patents (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs was incensed because he felt that Google had stolen from Apple and declared, "I will spend my last dying breath if I need to, and I will spend every penny of Apple's $40 billion in the bank, to right this wrong" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 512).

2.7.9. Medical Leave

In January 2011, Jobs announced his second medical leave, with no end date this time (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Because he was on leave, he was not expected to attend the launch of the iPad 2 in March 2011; however Jobs showed up to introduce the device (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2011). At this stage, he was very emaciated and it was evident to everyone that he was extremely sick (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2011). In an interview with Isaacson, Jobs stated that the pain of a disease such as cancer is a constant reminder of one's own immortality and that it can do strange things to a person's brain. Jobs emphasised the importance of planning ahead by saying, "You need to force yourself to plan as if you will live many years" (Isaacson, 2011, p 528).

2.7.10. 20th Wedding Anniversary

A few days later, Jobs and Powell celebrated their 20th wedding anniversary (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). He considered himself fortunate because Powell was not only intelligent and beautiful but was also a really good person (Isaacson, 2011). At this point, he had enough insight to know that he was not easy to live with because he could be very selfish and demanding (Isaacson, 2011). In this interview with Isaacson, Jobs also read out the letter that he wrote to Powell for their anniversary. He would include the letter with some photographs that he had printed for her. He read:

> We didn't know much about each other twenty years ago. We were guided by our intuition; you swept me off my feet. It was snowing when we got married at Ahwahnee. Years passed, kids came, good times, hard times, but never bad times. Our love and respect has endured and grown. We've been through so much together and here we are right back where we started 20 years ago – older, wiser – with wrinkles on our faces and hearts. We now know many of life's joys, sufferings, secrets and wonders and we're still here together. My feet have never returned to the ground. (Isaacson, 2011, p. 530)

By the end of the recitation Jobs was crying uncontrollably. He had also printed photos for his kids because he thought they might like to see that he had also been young once (Isaacson, 2011).

2.7.11. The iCloud

In June 2011, Jobs unveiled the iCloud in his keynote address to Apple's Worldwide Developers Conference (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2011). He was very frail and looked more gaunt than ever (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2011). In the same month,

Jobs also unveiled his plans for the new Apple campus, a four-story, three-million-square-foot building, which would hold more than 12 000 employees (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He had thrown himself into the project and was involved in planning both the vision and the details of this building, which would become his legacy project (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.7.12. Family

According to Isaacson (2011), Jobs had an intense desire to attend Reed's high school graduation in June 2010. Reed resembled his father with his dark hair, intense eyes, and rebellious smile. He had also inherited his mother's sweetness and empathy, which his father lacked (Isaacson, 2011). Reed adored his father and, as noted, they enjoyed a good relationship (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs stated that Reed's graduation day was one of the happiest days of his life and that he was glad that he had lived long enough to attend it (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs's relationship with his two daughters, Erin and Eve, was more distant, as mentioned previously (Isaacson, 2011). He paid less attention to Erin, who was the quiet, introspective one, but he took her on a trip to Kyoto in 2010 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Powell was thankful for this trip because it helped to improve the relationship between their daughter and her father. Jobs had previously also taken Reed to Kyoto and Lisa to Japan (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs's relationship with Eve, his youngest daughter, was different. He appreciated her spirit because he saw a lot of himself in her. Eve was not intimidated by him, as noted earlier, and he described her as spunky, self-assured, strong-willed and a good negotiator (Isaacson, 2011). In February 2010, Jobs celebrated his 55th birthday, again with only his family (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011).

2.7.13. The Final Act

In November 2010, it became clear that Jobs's cancer had reappeared (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was in pain and stopped eating because he had lost his appetite. A nurse had to come to his house to feed him intravenously. He became increasingly emotional and depressed (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), being sad because he thought he was going to die and would never be able to celebrate one of his children's birthdays with them again (Isaacson, 2011). He became extremely ill: by January 2011 it was evident that this was not simply a bad patch and that recovery was unlikely (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs thus announced his third medical leave to Apple, leaving Tim Cook at the helm once again (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

After his medical leave was announced, Jobs received a few visitors who helped him to settle some of his unfinished business (Isaacson, 2011). His daughter, Lisa Brennan, made contact after a year of not seeing him. She visited him and despite all her resentment, they were able to reconcile their relationship. Other visitors included: Larry Page (Google's co-founder), Bill Clinton, John Markoff, Steven Levy, and Bill Gates (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

By July 2011, the cancer had spread to Jobs's bones and other parts of his body. The pain was unbearable; he slept erratically and had little energy (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In August 2011, he requested that Isaacson, who was writing his biography, come to visit him. Jobs disclosed that he had spent a lot of time worrying about the book and whether it was a good idea. Isaacson asked why Jobs had requested him to write it. Jobs replied:

I wanted my kids to know me. I wasn't always there for them, and I wanted

them to know why and understand what I did. Also, when I got sick, I realized

other people would write about me if I died, and they wouldn't know

anything. They'd get it all wrong. So I wanted to make sure someone heard

what I had to say. (Isaacson, 2011, p. 556)

Jobs's health deteriorated throughout the summer, and he came to the realisation that

he would not be returning to Apple as CEO. He therefore resigned at Apple's board meeting

on 24 August 2011 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

He suggested that Cook replace him and that he (Jobs) could serve as chairman of the board.

Jobs stated that he believed that Apple's brightest and most innovative days were still ahead

of it and that he was looking forward to watching and contributing to its success in a new role

(Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). That evening, Jobs

spoke to Isaacson and said that he hoped to remain as active in the company as his health

allowed. When Isaacson asked how Jobs really felt about relinquishing control of the

company he had built, his tone became more wistful and he answered using the past tense;

"I've had a very lucky career, a very lucky life. I've done all that I can do" (Isaacson, 2011,

p.559).

One afternoon, when Jobs was not feeling well, he sat in his garden and reflected on

death (Isaacson, 2011). He reflected on his trip to India, his study of Buddhism, and his view

on reincarnation and spiritual transcendence. Jobs declared that he was "fifty-fifty" on

whether he believed in God (Isaacson, 2011, p. 571). He expressed his desire to believe in an

afterlife because he wanted to feel that something survives even after a person dies. He also

considered the possibility that life and death was like an on-off switch, which is simply

turned off with one click when one dies. He smiled and said, "Maybe that's why I never liked

to put on-off switches on Apple devices" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 571). He passed away at his home on 5 October 2011 at the age of 56 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the life history of Jobs, from his birth to his death, over a period of 56 years. His life history was organised into specific historical periods, namely: (a) Childhood and school years: The prankster (1955-1972), (b) Enlightenment period: The hippie (1972-1977), (c) Fame and fortune: The entrepreneur (1977-1988), (d) New beginnings: The family man and saviour (1988-2000), (e) Changing the face of technology: The CEO (2000-2005), and (f) Fighting cancer: The legacy (2005-2011) which were then discussed. The following chapter provides a discussion of Levinson's theory of lifespan development, which was employed in this study.

CHAPTER 3

LEVINSON'S THEORY OF LIFESPAN DEVELOPMENT

3.1. Chapter Preview

Lifespan development may be defined as systematic changes and continuities in the individual that occur between conception and death, or from "womb to tomb" (Sigelman & Rider, 2006, p. 14). According to Sheehy (1997), Levinson investigated the belief that the individual grows through times or phases of change as well as stability during his or her adult years. Levinson (1986) endeavoured to develop a theory of adult development as up until the 1950s, little had been done to conceptualise the nature of such development and the central issues in this field. He and his team studied 40 educated male participants by means of intensive biographical interviews (Levinson et al., 1978). He also conducted a follow-up study, which entailed intensive biographical interviews with women (Levinson, 1996). These studies enabled him to formulate a well-described record of normal development, known as the Human Life Cycle (Levinson, 1996). Levinson's theory on adult development illuminated many, and important, changes in the human development processes by studying the life in progress (Levinson, 1996).

Levinson's (1996) theory of development was a useful concept for exploring Jobs's development from birth until death as the abovementioned theory does not end at adolescence but also investigates adulthood. It is discussed in the following sections and thus serves as a theoretical basis for this study because it is defined and the constructs of lifespan and life cycle are discussed. The eras, transitions and developmental periods of the life cycle are also considered. Furthermore, the discussion includes gender similarities and differences with regard to Levinson's theory of development as well as an evaluation of the same.

3.2. An Introduction to Theories of Development

Developmental psychology explores the changes and continuities in the individual during each phase of his or her life, from birth to death (Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Earlier developmental theorists, such as Freud and Piaget, focused mainly on childhood development, therefore assuming that development primarily stops when the individual enters adulthood (Gerdes, Ochse, Stander, & Van Ede, 1981). Sigmund Freud (1933) advanced a theory of personality development, encompassing conscious and unconscious aspects that, according to him, illustrated how personality development in childhood greatly influences the individual's life in adulthood. Freud viewed adulthood as a time in which early unconscious conflicts were re-enacted, rather than a time of further development (Levinson et al., 1978). Piaget's theory of cognitive development is similar to Freud's theory to the extent that he saw development as a process of becoming an adult, therefore denying any further development once the individual has passed adolescence (Levinson, 1996; Sigelman & Rider, 2006).

According to Levinson and associates (1978), Carl Jung may justly be considered as the father of the modern study of adult development, which was his main interest. He was of the opinion that personality could not reach its full growth by the age of 20 (Jung, 1960). Jung (1960) used the term "individuation" to describe the developmental process that extends over the last half of the life cycle (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 5). The theorist, Erik Erikson also devoted himself to the study of adult development after his initial studies on childhood development (Levinson et al., 1978). While Erikson (1968) proposed that personality evolves through systematic stages, he placed greater emphasis on social influences than the above-mentioned theorists. Levinson, like Erikson, also focused not only on development during childhood and adolescence, but also on adult development (Kittrell, 1998). Levinson's theory pivots on his expansion of Erikson's conception of the "life course" that refers to the

patterning of events and relationships which distinguish each person's life and the interaction between the individual and the world (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 6). Sigelman and Rider (2006) are more recent theorists concerning development across the whole life span. They described development as changes and continuities which are systematic, orderly, patterned and relatively enduring, and stated that developmental change implies gains and losses (Sigelman & Rider, 2006).

3.3. Levinson's Theory of Development

Levinson's theory of development integrates other theories, such as those of Freud, Jung, Piaget, and Erikson, but, as previously indicated, it differs from Freud and Piaget in the sense that for Levinson, development does not stop at adolescence but continues throughout adulthood (Levinson, 1996). Levinson's theory takes a psychosocially integrated approach to development, making it beneficial to use this theory because it is comprehensive and attempts to consider the nature of the person as well as the nature of society (Levinson et al., 1978) and can thus be considered as a good account, and valuable source, of normal development (Stroud, 2004).

Levinson's study on development was focused mainly on exploring adult development and developing a more integrative approach by studying life in progress (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). He undertook an attempt to describe the uniqueness of each individual life, while simultaneously describing developmental principles that shape individuals' lives in general (Levinson et al., 1978). He proposed that each individual life has its own special character that will follow its own course, while simultaneously following a predetermined life structure or pattern (Bentley, 2007). Levinson described the life cycle as a whole, aiming to present a more detailed picture of development in early and middle adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978).

Levinson regarded adult development as a process of stability and change, continuity and discontinuity, orderly progression and stasis, regression and flux (Levinson, 1996). His lifespan-based developmental theory asserts that changes occur throughout the lifespan and that they are part of the normal developmental process. Changes describe and bring meaning to the individual's history of reactions and actions during that particular point in time (Papalia, Olds, & Feldman, 1998). Physiological, psychological, social, historical and evolutionary factors interact both mutually and independently to influence human development at different stages of the developmental process; these factors also influence the changes that occur (Featherman, Hogan, & Sorenson, 1984).

Levinson used the metaphor of various seasons to describe the qualitatively different stages of an individual's life (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). This metaphor can be found in various contexts such as the seasons in nature (i.e., spring, summer, autumn, and winter), the seasons in a day (i.e., dawn, noon, twilight, and night-time); each season has an equivalent in the individual's life course. This image suggests that the life course evolves through a sequence of definable seasons or segments (Stroud, 2004).

3.4. Life Structure

Life structure refers to "the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at a given time" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 41). An individual's life contains many components (i.e., relationships, occupation, relation to the self, the use of solitude and the individual's roles in various social contexts): his or her personality influences these components and is influenced by them (Levinson et al., 1978). The individual's life structure has been found to be one of the most inclusive notions in personality theory (McAdams, 2006). With regard to the concept of life structure, Levinson made an attempt to better understand the nature of an individual's life and the general development of that life over time (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.4.1. The Concept of the Life Structure

The concept of life structure enables one to look at the engagement of the individual in society by considering both the individual and the world as well as the relationships between them (Levinson et al., 1978). Life structure can thus be regarded as a tool for analysing "the fabric of one's life" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 42). Levinson and his associates (1978) found that this structure covers three domains:

1. The individual's socio-cultural world: has certain meanings and consequences for the individual, and it is therefore important to take society into account when attempting to understand an individual's life. The various social contexts (e.g., class, religion, ethnicity, family, political system, occupational structure) and their relevance for the individual should be investigated (Levinson et al., 1978).

2. The aspects of the self that are lived out: the self is an intrinsic element of the life structure and an individual lives out certain parts of himself or herself and inhibits or neglects other parts (Levinson et al., 1978). The self encompasses a complex pattern of wishes, anxieties, conflicts and ways of resolving or controlling them. Part of the self is conscious but much is unconscious, and it is important to consider both parts (Levinson et al., 1978).

3. The individual's participation in the world: entails transactions between the self and the world; an individual selectively uses and is used by his/her world, through his/her evolving relationships and the different roles he or she plays in different contexts (Levinson et al., 1978).

Levinson (1996) further believed that the individual's relationships with various others in the external world give shape and substance to the life course. The "other" may refer to a person, a group, an institution or culture, or an object or place (Levinson, 1986, p.

6). The significance of a relationship is determined by the investment of self (i.e., values, desires, commitment, skill and energy), a reciprocal investment by the other, and one or more social contexts that support the relationship (Levinson, 1986). Each relationship displays both stability and change as it evolves over time and plays different functions in the person's life as the life structure itself changes (Levinson, 1986). Essentially, the said structure mediates the relationship between the individual (i.e., the personality structure) and the environment (i.e., the social structure). Participation is reflected in the number of components present in the individual's world (Levinson, 1986). Levinson (1996) proposed that the life structure consists of three possible components: central, peripheral and unfulfilled components.

1. Central components: the components which have "the greatest significance for the self and for the evolving life course" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 44). These receive the largest share of the individual's time and energy and strongly influence the choices made in other aspects of life (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). According to Levinson et al. (1978), the central components of an individual's life are most likely to be occupation, marriage, family, friendships and peer relationships, ethnicity and religion. The first three are generally regarded as the most central (Levinson et al., 1978).

As mentioned above, occupation is a major part of an individual's life and their social structure. According to Levinson et al. (1978) a man's occupation primarily determines his income, his prestige, and his place in society and is often the primary medium through which a young man's dreams for the future are defined and pursued. On the other hand, the meaning of occupation and work for a woman can only be understood by examining the relationships within her work environment and the interrelation of these relationships with other components of her life structure (Levinson, 1996). Occupation has important consequences

for the self; it is thus important to understand the meaning of work for the individual and the ways in which it may fulfil, barely sustain, or destroy the self (Levinson et al., 1978).

Marriage and family are usually also central components in an individual's life. Individuals are generally expected to marry and to shoulder certain responsibilities within the familial system (Levinson et al., 1978). Marriage creates a new home base for the individual, establishing his or her place in the community and his or her changing relationships with friends, parents, and extended family (Levinson, 1996). The relationship of the individual to the family is generally influenced by the person's ethnic group, race, occupation and culture (Levinson, 1996). In Levinson's (1996) biographical interviews with women, he found that there are vast differences in the conception, handling, and impact of these central components by women, as opposed to the men in his earlier study.

2. Peripheral components: these components are "easier to detach and change; they involve less investment of the self and are less crucial to the fabric of one's life" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 44). Changes to these components will minimally alter the overall life of the person (Levinson, 1996). Examples include cutting down on playing sports or outings with friends, after getting married (Levinson et al, 1978; Welman, 2009).

3. Unfulfilled components: this phrase refers to important things that the person desires, such as a career, marriage or family, but which for some reason are absent and or lacking (Levinson, 1996). The absence of these components significantly impacts on the individual's life structure (Levinson et al., 1978).

Life structure is formed by the interaction between the self and the external world (McAdams, 2006). According to Levinson (1996) it is important to consider both the internal aspects of the individual (i.e., personal characteristics, subjective meanings, conflicts,

aspirations and driving forces) and the external aspects of the environment (i.e., the social context, roles, and events) in order to understand this structure. Understanding a person's relationship to the self is crucial because it underlies and permeates all relationships with the external world (Stroud, 2004). In order to fully understand the individual's life structure, it is important to focus on the outlines of this structure as well as the details thereof (Levinson, 1996).

3.4.2. The Purpose of Life Structure Building

Building a life structure entails making of important decisions, building a structure around these decisions, and trying to realise the aims and values important to the person (Levinson et al., 1978; McAdams, 2006). It is a dynamic process; consequently there is no permanency in life structure at any time (Levinson et al., 1978). This process is rarely a smooth one and usually consists of a number of changes (McAdams, 2006). During the structure-building periods, which last about five to seven years, the individual will question and possibly modify their life structure, which in turn will also provide a sense of stability (Levinson, 1996). The structure-building period then ends the existing life structure and makes it possible to create a new one by evaluating, looking at changes available and negotiating choices, making it a dynamic process (Levinson, 1996). These transitional periods in structure building reflect the termination of a time in one's life and frequently cause crises or profound inner conflict (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.5. The Lifespan, Life Course and Life Cycle

"Life span" and "life course" are often used as synonyms for the term "life cycle"; however, according to Levinson et al. (1978), they convey quite different meanings (p. 6). The term "life span" is a category that refers to the interval from birth to death (Levinson et al., 1978,

p. 6). "Life course" has more content because it refers to the flow of the individual life over time: the patterning of specific events (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 6). It is important to note that Levinson's developmental theory serves as a means to understand the life course of the individual (Levinson, 1996).

The term "life cycle" conveys a more distinctive meaning as it suggests that the life course has a particular character and follows a basic sequence (Levinson et al., 1978). Firstly, there is the notion of a journey or a process from starting point (i.e., birth, origin) to termination point (i.e., death, conclusion). Secondly, there is the concept of seasons, which refer to a series of stages or periods within the life cycle (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson et al. (1978) posited that each "season" of development is important even though they are qualitatively different from one another, while also having much in common (p. 6). Change occurs in each season and a transition is required to shift from one season to the next. Therefore, even though the seasons are distinctly different from one another, they remain stable segments of the total cycle (Bentley, 2007; Green, 2006).

3.6. Eras in the Life Cycle

Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that the life cycle of an individual moves through a basic succession of eras, each lasting about 25 years, and that their sequence constitutes the macro-structure of the life cycle. Each era has its own distinctive biopsychosocial character which influences the development of the individual (Levinson, 1986; Levinson et al., 1978). Each also requires major changes and adjustments by the individual (Levinson, 1996). Levinson et al. (1978) identified four eras in adult development:

1. Era of Pre-Adulthood (age 0-22).
2. Era of Early Adulthood (age 17-45).

3.   Era of Middle Adulthood (age 40-65).

4.   Era of Late Adulthood (age 60 onwards).

The eras are also partially overlapping, with a transitional period that terminates the existing era and creates the possibility of a new one (Levinson et al., 1978). This is termed the cross-era transition, which captures the ending of one era and the beginning of another (Levinson, 1996). Levinson (1996) identified three cross-era transitions, namely:

1.   Early Adult Transition (age 17-22).

2.   Mid-Life Transition (age 40-45).

3.   Late Adult Transition (age 60-65).

The eras and cross-era transitions form the structure of the life cycle that accepts the fundamental order in the succession of human lives; however, room is also allowed for individual diversity in this succession (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson's research (1996) also identified age linkages and developmental periods. Each developmental period begins and ends at an identified age, while allowing for two years above and below this average (Green, 2006; Levinson, 1996). The four eras of adulthood are presented in the section that follows. Thereafter, the developmental periods and cross-era transitions within the four eras are discussed in section 3.7.

3.6.1. Era of Pre-Adulthood (age 0-22)

The era of Pre-Adulthood includes Early Childhood, Middle Childhood, Adolescence, and the Early Adult Transition (Levinson et al., 1978). It is the era with the most rapid biopsychosocial growth, where the individual grows from a highly dependent, undifferentiated infant into a more independent, responsible adult (Stroud, 2004). The

individual usually lives within the family during this era; the latter provides protection, support of growth, and socialisation (Levinson et al., 1978).

Various transitions are made in this era, with the first being the transition into childhood, which starts at birth and continues for the first two to three years. During this period the infant learns to distinguish the "me" from the "not-me", therefore developing into a separate person, and he/she also comes to realise that other persons have an enduring existence and character (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 20). According to Stroud (2004), Levinson (1996) identified this as the first step in an ongoing process of individuation. The concept of individuation is discussed in more detail in section 3.9.2.

The transition from Early to Middle Childhood occurs at the age of five or six. In this period the child expands his/her social world from the immediate family to a larger sphere, which includes school, peer groups, and neighbourhood (Levinson et al., 1978). During this period he/she becomes more skilled, disciplined and industrious (Levinson et al., 1978). The transition from Middle Childhood to Adolescence usually begins at the age of 12 or 13. This is when puberty and bodily changes that lead to sexual maturity start. Adolescence can be regarded as the conclusion of the Pre-Adult era (Levinson et al., 1978). The Early Adult Transition then takes place from the age of 17 to 22 years and serves as a bridge between Adolescence and Early Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.6.2. Era of Early Adulthood (age 17-45)

Early Adulthood is the second era in the life cycle: it starts off with the Early Adult Transition and is terminated by the Mid-Life Transition. This era may be the most dramatic of all the eras because it is the one of greatest biological abundance and also of the greatest contradiction and stress (Stroud, 2004). It can be characterised by its fullness of energy,

capability and potential, as well as by external pressure (Levinson et al., 1978). Important decisions regarding marriage, occupation, residence and lifestyle need to be made, so as to define the individual's place in the adult world (Levinson, 1996; Smuts, 2009). The individual begins as an apprentice in all of these areas but as the era progresses he/she develops into an expert (Levinson, 1996).

The demands made by the outside world can be stressful and crushing during this time. However, the satisfaction of the individual's passions and ambitions, from within, may be rewarding (Levinson, 1996). Stressors during this era could include: establishing a career, choosing a life partner, lifestyle and a family suitable to his/her choice, parenthood and handling financial and other obligations (Levinson et al., 1978). It may be especially stressful when the demands and expectations from the family, community and society are in strong contradiction with the individual's personal wants and needs (Levinson, 1996). These aspects of possible stress may be handled successfully but, if not, they might cause problems or maladjustment (Levinson et al., 1978).

There is a basic sequence of change in the era of Early Adulthood, where the individual moves from being a novice adult to the point where he/she assumes a more senior position in the family, work, and community (Levinson et al, 1978). As the era comes to an end, the individual may be perceived as a "senior" member providing leadership for the younger generation and taking on responsibility for the older generation (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 22; McAdams, 2006). The Mid-Life Transition terminates the era of Early Adulthood and initiates the era of Middle Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.6.3. Era of Middle Adulthood (age 40-65)

The era of Middle Adulthood marks the end of Early Adulthood and lasts from the age of 45 until 60 (Levinson et al., 1978). According to Levinson (1996) this era begins with the Mid-Life Transition and ends with the Late Adult Transition. During this era the individual becomes a "senior" member of his/her own particular world, which enables him/her to become responsible for and encourage the development of young adults, which further enhances his/her quality of life (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 22; Stroud, 2004). The character of one's life changes with regard to biological and psychological functioning, the sequence of generations, and the evolution of careers and enterprises (Levinson et al, 1978).

The biological capacities of the individual are less than those of Early Adulthood but still sufficient for a personally satisfying, energetic, and socially valuable life (Levinson, 1986). One also develops a greater capacity for intimacy, which may improve the quality of love relationships (Levinson et al., 1978). Changes can also be noticed in the occupational domain. Early Adulthood produced qualities such as strength, quickness, endurance, and output, whereas Middle Adulthood is a season for developing such qualities as wisdom, judiciousness, nobility, unsentimental compassion, fairness, and breadth of perspective (Levinson et al, 1978). It is during Middle Adulthood that a man/woman can make his/her most effective contribution to politics, diplomacy, and philosophy. In this era, the individual is not only responsible for his/her own work and the work of others, but also for the development of the current generation of young adults who will soon enter the dominant generation (Levinson, 1986). Stroud (2004) and Smuts (2009) agreed with Levinson (1996) that it is unfortunate that many people experience middle adulthood as a time of gradual decline, growing emptiness and a loss of energy and vitality.

3.6.4. Era of Late Adulthood (age 60 onwards)

The era of Late Adulthood typically starts with the Late Adult Transition at the age of 60 (Levinson, 1996). The character of living is fundamentally altered in Late Adulthood due to numerous biological, psychological, and social changes (Levinson et al., 1978). The transition into Late Adulthood may be influenced by challenges such as health issues and retirement (Levinson et al., 1978). This era needs to be recognised as a distinctive and fulfilling season in life (Levinson et al., 1978; Smuts, 2009). The primary developmental task of this era is to overcome the splitting of youth and age, to find an appropriate balance of the two, and to find a new balance of involvement with society and with the self (Stroud, 2004). According to Stroud (2004), the individual can no longer carry the heavy responsibilities of Middle Adulthood and is thus called upon to live in a changed relationship with society and himself or herself. This can be a traumatic experience because the individual then receives less recognition and has less authority and power (Levinson et al., 1978).

Serious difficulties may also arise in the occupational domain if an individual holds a position of formal authority beyond the age of 65 or 70 (Levinson et al., 1978). This has the effect that the continuity of the generations is disrupted because the person is out of phase with his or her own generation and is also in conflict with the generation in Middle Adulthood who need to assume greater responsibilities. However, it is important that the age when an individual retires from formal employment should reflect his or her own needs, capabilities, and life circumstances (Levinson et al., 1978).

Despite the challenges of this era, it can also be a time of great intellectual and artistic creativity in the person's life (Welman, 2009). If the individual is able to create a new form of "self-in-world" and make peace with the possibility of dying, which may come in a few months or years, this may be a rich and fulfilling season (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 36; Stroud,

2004). At the end of the life cycle there is the final sense of what life is about (Stroud, 2004); by contemplating this, the person is reaching the ultimate involvement with the self (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.7. Developmental Periods and Cross-Era Transitions in Early and Middle Adulthood

The sequence of eras, discussed in section 3.6, forms the gross scaffolding of the life cycle (Levinson et al., 1978). As discussed, the shift from one era to the next is a major developmental change, known as a cross-era transition, which is a developmental period that normally lasts about four to five years (Levinson et al., 1978). No life structure is permanent and change (developmental periods) can be seen as the ultimate evolution of the life structure (Levinson, 1996). The developmental periods are discussed in the following section.

3.7.1. Early Adult Transition (age 17-22)

The Early Adult Transition takes place from the age of 17 to 22 (Levinson et al., 1978). It is part of both Childhood and Early Adulthood, while not fully situated in either (Stroud, 2004). Stroud (2004) summarised Levinson's (1996) Early Adult Transition as a stage during which "we (a) change or adapt our relationships with family and the external world; (b) begin to form an adult identity; and (c) take our place as adults in the adult world" (p. 49).

This transition can be perceived as a bridge from Adolescence to Early Adulthood, and it is part of both. There are two tasks: to terminate Pre-Adulthood and begin Early Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). Firstly, the individual starts to question the world, modifies important relationships, and takes a new step towards individuation by reappraising the individual self (Levinson, 1986). Secondly, the person takes a step into the adult world by exploring its possibilities, so as to imagine oneself in it, to establish an initial adult identity, and to test some choices for adult living (Levinson et al., 1978). During this transition the

individual terminates his pre-adult self and starts to form his first adult self, which is an immature and still vulnerable individual entering the adult world (Levinson et al., 1978). During this period the individual tries to handle the full maturity of Childhood plus the infancy of Early Adulthood (McAdams, 2006).

3.7.2. Entry Life Structure for Early Adulthood (age 22-28)

The individual has two prime (yet contrasting) tasks during this period (Levinson et al., 1978). The first is to explore the possibilities of adult life by keeping his/her options open, maximising alternatives, and avoiding strong commitments. The second and contrasting one is to create a stable life structure and to become more responsible. It is important for the person to find a balance between exploring the new adult world, while simultaneously building a stable life within it (Levinson et al., 1978). This is a stressful time and could be a painful process because decisions need to be made; however, possibilities may be left open for a later stage (Bentley, 2007). Important life choices and decisions ought to be made during this period, such as the choice of a person to love, a spouse, family, occupation, lifestyle, values, and separating from the family of origin (Levinson, 1996; Smuts, 2009).

3.7.3. The Age 30 Transition (age 28-33)

The Age 30 Transition provides an opportunity for the individual to work on the limitations and flaws of the first adult life structure (entry life structure) and to create the basis for a more satisfactory structure to end off the era of Early Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). During this period he/she continues to individuate as a person and explore new possibilities and available avenues (Levinson et al., 1978). For some individuals this transition is smooth, but for most people it takes a more stressful form - the age thirty crisis (Levinson, 1996). This developmental crisis occurs when the individual finds his/her current life structure

unbearable, yet is unable to form a better one (Levinson et al., 1978). A moderate or severe crisis is common in this period, which might be marked by the fear of chaos and dissolution, and loss of hope for the future (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.7.4. Culminating Life Structure for Early Adulthood – Settling Down (age 33-40)

This period presents two major tasks to the individual. Firstly, he or she has to try to establish a niche in society by developing competence in his or her chosen craft, anchoring his or her life more firmly, and becoming a valued member of the world (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). Secondly, the individual has to work to build a better life and gain affirmation from others (Levinson et al., 1978). The person is no longer a novice adult, but is becoming a fully-fledged adult within his/her world, defining a personal enterprise, which provides a direction in which to strive and a sense of the future (Levinson et al., 1978). The individual's sense of well-being during this period depends on his/her own and others' evaluation of his/her progress towards these goals (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

The period of age 36 to 40 is distinctively known as "Becoming One's Own Man [sic]", where the individual becomes a senior member in his/her own world, speaks more strongly with his/her own voice, and has a greater measure of authority (Levinson et al., 1978, p.60). The junior thus moves to a senior position where dreams and childhood ambitions serve as the drive and motivation (Levinson, 1996; Stroud, 2004). This period is accompanied by new rewards; however, it also contains greater responsibilities and pressures (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.7.5. Mid-Life Transition (age 40-45)

The late thirties mark the culmination of Early Adulthood; the Mid-Life Transition serves as a bridge from Early to Middle Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). This is a time of moderate or severe crisis, depending on the individual, who yearns for a life in which his or her actual values, desires, talents and aspirations can be expressed (Levinson, 1996). During this transition, the neglected parts of the self seek expression more urgently, which stimulates the modification of the existing life structure (Levinson et al., 1978). One of the most important tasks in this period is to take a new step in individuation (Levinson, 1986) because an adjusted sense of self and life structure becomes progressively more dynamic over the rest of this period (Levinson, 1996; McAdams, 2006). The concept of individuation is discussed in section 3.9.2.

3.7.6. Entering Middle Adulthood (age 45-50)

The main challenge of this stage is to create a new structure from which Middle Adulthood can develop or unfold (Stroud, 2004). The end of the Mid-Life Transition is usually marked by a series of changes, rather than by one dramatic event (Levinson et al., 1978). In some lives the shift may be signalled by a crucial marker event, such as a change in job or occupation, a divorce or love affair, a serious illness, the death of a loved one, or a move to a new location (Smuts, 2009). Other lives show no conspicuous change; however, minor changes that make a considerable difference can be seen (Levinson et al., 1978).

It is clear that an individual's life structure crucially changes in the course of the Mid-Life Transition and that it is dramatically different from that of the late thirties (Levinson, 1996). Smuts (2009) agrees with Levinson (1996) that this stage may seem similar to the

previous one. Nevertheless, there are noteworthy differences in the central relationships, as the person establishes "a new generation and a new season of life" (Smuts, 2009, p. 26).

3.7.7. The Age 50 Transition (age 50-55)

It is very rare for an individual to go through Middle Adulthood without experiencing a crisis in either the Mid-Life Transition or the Age 50 Transition (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). According to Levinson (1996), this period can be regarded as a time to modify the life structure formed in the mid-forties as well as to explore the concept of self and the world (i.e., further or consolidate the process of individuation) (Stroud, 2004). It could serve as a time of crisis for individuals who have changed too little during their Mid-Life Transition and then built an unsatisfactory life structure in the previous 10 to 15 years (Levinson et al., 1978).

3.7.8. The Culmination of Middle Adulthood (age 55-60)

According to Levinson et al. (1978) this is a relatively stable period that is devoted to building a second middle adult structure, which enables individuals to rejuvenate themselves and enrich their lives. The second middle adult structure provides a vehicle for completing Middle Adulthood and serves as a tool for the evaluation of all aspirations or goals nurtured or developed during the era (Levinson et al, 1978; Stroud, 2004). This period is similar to settling down in Early Adulthood and may be a time of great fulfilment (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

3.7.9. Late Adult Transition (age 60-65)

The Late Adult Transition terminates Middle Adulthood and creates a basis for entering Late Adulthood (Levinson, 1996). The main task of this period is to conclude the efforts of Middle

Adulthood, reappraise the past and to prepare oneself for the era to come in order to build the first Late Adulthood life structure (Levinson, 1996). During this period the individual becomes more aware of bodily decline; mental and physical changes intensify the experience of ageing (Levinson et al., 1978). The individual thus attempts to sustain youthfulness in a new form appropriate to Late Adulthood (Stroud, 2004).

The eras, transitions and developmental periods discussed are graphically displayed in Figure 1 below.

(Late Adulthood)

65

LATE ADULT TRANSITION

60

Culmination of Middle Adulthood

55

Age 50 Transition

Middle Adulthood

50

Entering Middle Adulthood

45

MID-LIFE TRANSITION

40

Settling Down

33

Age 30 Transition

Early Adulthood

28

Entering the adult world

22

EARLY ADULT TRANSITION

17

(Childhood and Adolescence)
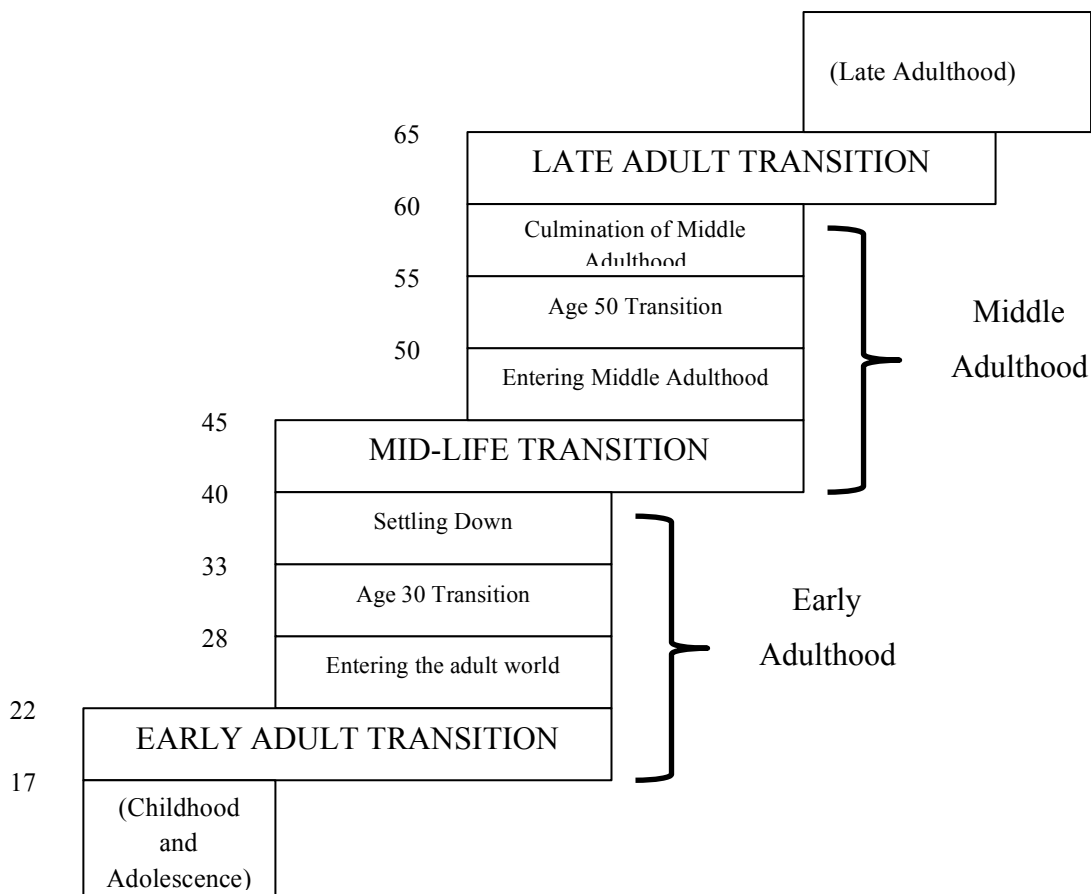
Figure 1: *Levinson's Developmental Periods in the Eras of Early and Middle Adulthood* (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 57).

3.8. Satisfactoriness of Life Structure Development

The satisfactoriness of life structure development is determined by how effective the life structure is in terms of providing the person with successes, rather than failures, and rewards and advantages, rather than shortfalls and disadvantages (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). Evaluating the satisfactoriness of the life structure is an intricate task which does not simply refer to answering questions about behaviour (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson (1996) stated that it is of great importance to consider personal characteristics and the support of the individual's sense of self (i.e., individuation) when examining her or his life course (Stroud, 2004). It is thus extremely important to distinguish between the development of the life structure and the development of the self when examining the life course (Levinson, 1996; McAdams, 2006; Stroud, 2004; Welman, 2009).

3.9. Transitional Periods in Life Structure Development

A transitional period terminates the existing life structure and creates the possibility of a new one (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson and his colleagues (1978) found that:

> Each transitional period aims to question and reappraise the existing structure, to explore various possibilities for change in self and world, and to move toward commitment to the crucial choices that form the basis for a new life structure in the ensuing stable period. (p. 49)

Transitional periods in life structure development form boundary regions in which "giving up" the existing life structure leads to separation and loss, whereas the "preparing to enter" the new era leads to promise and hope for the future (Levinson, 1996, p. 29). There are three main developmental tasks in each transitional period (Levinson, 1996): the ending or

termination of the existing life structure, individuation and the starting or initiation of a new structure (Levinson et al, 1978; Stroud, 2004). These are discussed in the section below.

3.9.1. The Termination of an Existing Life Structure

The termination of an existing life structure is an ending, a process of separation and loss (Levinson et al., 1978). The separation may be either complete or partial, depending on the meaning of the relationship for the individual (Levinson et al., 1978). Each meaningful relationship has high value for the individual and his or her development because the individual puts a lot of him/herself into a relationship (Levinson, 1996). The partial termination of a relationship changes the quality of a relationship because one aspect of the relationship ends while a new aspect is started (i.e., when a romantic love relationship ends and becomes a friendship or when a marriage ends in divorce and the relationship goes on in new forms, such as friendly co-parenting or continuing hostility) (Levinson, 1996; Welman, 2009). Even with the death of a loved one, where the other is physically not available anymore, the relationship does not simply vanish but continues because it becomes more internalised (Levinson, 1996; McAdams, 2006).

3.9.2. Individuation

Individuation refers to "the changes in a person's relationship to himself [sic] and to the external world" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 195). While individuation is an ongoing developmental process throughout the life cycle, it is especially prominent during key transition periods such as infancy, pubescence and the Mid-Life Transition (Levinson et al., 1978). As the process of individuation continues, the individual forms a clearer boundary between the self and the world. The person forms a stronger sense of who they are and what they want, and as this becomes clearer, they will individuate more (Levinson et al., 1978;

Stroud, 2004). Greater individuation allows an individual to be more separate from the world and more independent and self-generating, but it also gives him or her the confidence and understanding to have more intense attachments to the world and be more fully a part of it (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004).

Stroud (2004, p. 57) concurred with Levinson (1996) that individuation is "a developmental effort toward the resolution of four polarities, which are of fundamental importance in human evolution and in the individual life cycle (i.e., young/old, creation/destruction, masculine/feminine, and engagement/separateness)". These polarities represent opposites in life; the individual travels on a continuum between the two poles throughout his or her life (Gerdes, 1989; Levinson, 1996; Stroud, 2004). It is especially during transitional periods that the opportunity and the need to achieve greater integration are the strongest (Levinson et al., 1978). Individuation is thus the underlying process that links termination and initiation during a transition period.

3.9.3. Initiation of a New Structure

Every termination or ending of a life structure also brings about a new beginning or initiation of a new life structure (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson (1996, p. 34) referred to initiation as a "thinking-feeling-exploring process" within which the individual makes choices. It is during a transitional period that he/she explores and tests provisional choices, around which the life structure is then built (Levinson, 1996; Stroud, 2004).

3.9.4. Crises in Life Structure Development

A developmental crisis occurs when an individual has difficulty in meeting any or all of the developmental or transitional tasks needed in a certain developmental period (Levinson, 1996). The developmental tasks refer to the building and maintaining of a life structure while

the transitional tasks refer to termination, individuation and initiation (Levinson et al., 1978). Crises usually occur during transitional periods; however, they might also take place during structure-building periods if a person feels caught between the ending of one life structure and the beginning of another (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004). A developmental crisis may result in positive outcomes if the individual is able to build a more suitable and viable life structure for the self. Nonetheless, the person may also experience feelings of helplessness, pain, anguish and loss if he or she is unable to do so (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004). In order to resolve a crisis, the person needs coping skills to reduce the level of stress caused by the stressful event (Levinson, 1996).

3.10. Gender Similarities and Differences

As previously mentioned (see section 3.1), Levinson's initial study of human development was based on intensive biographical interviews with 40 men (Levinson et al., 1978). Later, he (Levinson, 1996) followed up on his initial study on men by conducting extensive biographical interviews with women. He (Levinson, 1996) discovered a basic sequence common to both genders because both generally go through the same periods of life structure development, and therefore he proposed a general framework of human development. Within this framework, men and women differ greatly in life courses, life circumstances and in ways of negotiating and going through each developmental period (Levinson, 1996). For example, women's dreams tend to be more complex and conflicting than men's, incorporating competing demands and aspirations for family and career success (Roberts & Newton, 1987). Bard (1996) and Cohn (1997) also reported that women form life structures which are different from those of men, and that women work on the developmental tasks of every period with different internal and external resources and restrictions.

Levinson (1996) also recognised that society places restrictions on people according to their gender; he refers to this as gender splitting, in which traditional roles are created for men and women. In this regard, women are typically the homemakers in marriage and men are the providers. It is thus of great importance for the developmental perspective of life structure to be considered within a gender specific perspective (Stroud, 2004).

3.11. Evaluation of Levinson's Theory

Levinson's theory has been criticised for its research methodology, ignoring differences in socio-cultural aspects and the issue of gender (Louw & Louw, 2009). Levinson based his initial theory on a small sample size of 40 participants, specifically white educated males (Levinson et al., 1978). This causes difficulties with generalising the findings to the rest of the population, as regards socio-cultural factors and gender (Bentley, 2007; Louw & Louw, 2009).

Levinson's original study was conducted solely on men because of the intensive exploratory nature of the research; he felt that a study conducted on 20 men and 20 women would do justice to neither group, and he also wanted to understand his own development better (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson applied the findings of this study to women because he believed that both genders go through the same adult developmental periods, only in somewhat different ways, which leads to androgenic bias: a bias that is in favour of male individuals, which is not an uncommon theme in psychology (Bentley, 2007).

Despite criticisms of this theory, its simplicity makes it appealing (Schulz & Ewen, 1993). Levinson's theory provides a valuable framework of human development within which we can study the lives of individuals of all classes, cultures and genders (Sheehy,

1997; Stroud, 2004). Levinson's theory thus enabled the researcher to chronologically track the life of Jobs by studying his eras, transitions and stages.

3.12. Previous Use of Levinson's Theory in South African Psychobiography

In a systematic review of psychobiographical research in South Africa from 1995 to 2004, it was found that Levinson's model was the most widely used theory in this type of research during this period (Fouché, Smit, Watson & Van Niekerk, 2007). From 2004 to the present, South African researchers have continued to use Levinson's theory in their psychobiographical studies. The following list includes some of these studies:

- *Karen Horney: A psychobiographical study* (2006) by S. Green

- *Melanie Klein: A psychobiographical study* (2008) by M. J. Espinosa

- *The life of Emily Hobhouse: A psychobiographical study* (2009) by C. Welman

- *A psychobiographical study of Isie Smuts* (2009) by C. Smuts

- *A psychobiographical study of Hellen Keller* (2009) by D. M. van Genechten

- *Alan Paton: A psychobiographical study* (2010) by M. Briar Greeff

- *Psychobiographical study of Ellen Kuzwayo* (2013) by Z. Arosi.

3.13. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the description of Levinson's theory of development. The life structure, life cycle, eras and transitions were explained and discussed. Furthermore, gender similarities and differences were also considered. Lastly, an evaluation of Levinson's theory was provided and the previous use of Levinson's theory in psychobiography mentioned. This chapter therefore reflected on the evolution of human lives over time, as understood by Levinson. The concepts and eras of development reflected on in this chapter, were used to conceptualise the life of Jobs.

CHAPTER 4

PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

4.1. Chapter Preview

The aim of this chapter is to define and describe psychobiography as a method of case study research. Firstly, the relationship between psychology and biography is discussed. Secondly, psychobiography is defined. Thirdly, concepts related to psychobiography, but not identical to it, are discussed in order to distinguish them from it. These include: autobiography, biography, life histories, life stories, psychohistories, historical psychology, historiographies, personality assessment, a psychological case study and the single-case experiment. A section on psychobiography as case study research follows, where case method, case research epistemology, case research objective, case research design, and case research methods are discussed. Furthermore, the history and trends in psychobiography, psychobiography in the South African context as well as the value of psychobiographical case studies are presented. Lastly, the criticisms of psychobiography are addressed, followed by guidelines for writing a good psychobiography.

4.2. Psychology and Biography

Psychobiography is intrinsically interdisciplinary since the term is derived from two separate words: psychology and biography (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Both psychologists and biographers are interested in life history and life stories and utilise biographical data in their research (Roberts, 2002). However, the difference between these two disciplines is the extent to which psychological theories are applied in the interpretation of biographical data (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The term psychology refers to a scientific discipline that makes use of conceptual models to describe behaviour, personality and development; it traditionally

emphasises the necessity of reliable evidence (Howe, 1997). Biography, on the other hand, is more subjective and intuitive because it accentuates the uniqueness of individuals rather than the commonalities amongst them (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Where psychology uses conceptual paradigms to trace the course of an individual's development, biography utilises intellectual tools of history, literature and the arts (Howe, 1997).

Elms (1994) referred to the interdisciplinary relationship between psychology and biography as an uneasy alliance. This uneasiness is reflected in the seemingly different methodological approaches employed by these disciplines (Elms, 1994). The boundary between them is blurred by this uneasy alliance, since biography often contains psychology and *vice versa* (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005). Although psychobiographical research has often been criticised for not being scientific enough, valuable life history research has emerged due to the perseverance of social scientists and personality psychologists (Elms, 1994; McAdams & Ochenberg, 1988). Over the years, the field of psychobiographical research has gained greater recognition, respect and appraisal due to the number of psychobiographical studies that have been conducted (Schultz, 2005). To this day, psychobiography is continuing to attract the interest of scientific and lay audiences alike (Ponterotto, 2013a, 2015).

4.3. Defining Psychobiography

Psychobiography combines psychology and biography to study an individual's life from birth until death (McAdams, 2006). Carlson (1988) described psychobiography as longitudinal life history research into the personality development of the "finished" lives of exemplary or contentious individuals (p.106). Psychobiography can also be described as a way of undertaking psychological research by making extensive use of biographical data to examine the growth of original thinking, creativity and productivity in unusual individuals (Howe, 1997). Schultz (2012) offered a more expansive description:

Psychobiography is the analysis of historically significant lives through the use of psychological theory and research. Its aim is to understand persons, and to uncover the private motives behind public acts, whether those acts involve the making of art or the creation of scientific theories, or the adoption of political decisions. (p. 2)

Essentially, psychobiography is the study of the entire lifespan, with the aim being "to discern, discover, or formulate the central story of the entire life, a story structured according to psychological theory" (McAdams, 1994, p.12). It is not merely a biographical sketch of who a person is and what that person has accomplished in their particular field (Ponterotto, 2013b). It also reveals the inner life of the subject as well as the psychology and motivations that underlie the subject's thoughts, feelings, and actions (Ponterotto, 2012).

4.4. Psychobiography and Related Concepts

In addition to defining psychobiography, as mentioned it is important to discuss various related concepts such as: autobiography, biography, life histories, life stories, psychohistories, historiography, historical psychology and personality assessment.

4.4.1. Autobiography

Autobiography is the story of a person's life as interpreted and written or told by the person himself or herself (Bromley, 1986). It can thus be regarded as the documentation of an individual's life by the same person (Biggs, 2007). The author should incorporate events, consequences, recurrent themes and characters so that the reader of the autobiography will find himself or herself collecting life narratives told in the person's own words (McAdams, 2000). Despite the fact that the author may incorporate objective facts and use objective

records (Roberts, 2002), the autobiography has a predominantly subjective perspective and is therefore necessarily selective and biased (Bromley, 1986).

4.4.2. Biography

A biography is a structured account of a person's life-history, written by someone other than the subject themselves (Cole & Knowles, 2001). A good biography depends on a variety of sources and types of information, such as history, art and literature, in order to illuminate the life of an individual and outline his or her progress through life (Howe, 1997). It does not necessarily involve the cooperation of the person studied and may or may not be scientifically accurate (Bromley, 1986). According to Runyan (1984), a biography lacks the structure needed to classify it as a scientific study. It also lacks the psychological understanding of the individual, which can be found in psychobiography (Schultz, 2003).

4.4.3. Life Histories and Life Stories

Life history research is usually conducted by social scientists (i.e., anthropologists or sociologists) who adopt biographical methods to test hypotheses and examine relationships across many lives (McAdams, 1994). The emphasis is to search for common patterns in order to better understand the particular group, society or subculture of which the subjects are members. Bromley (1986) described life history as, "A scientific reconstruction and interpretation, based on the best evidence available, of the major formative, critical and culminative episodes in a person's life" (p. 8). Life histories are based on both objective data (i.e., observation, independent factual records, testimony of informants) and subjective data (i.e., life story evidence) which are obtained from a number of sources (Bromley, 1986; Bujold, 1990; Yin, 2009). Life history studies may help us to understand individual lives better (Van Os, 2007).

Bujold (1990) described life stories as biographical stories that are limited to the material provided by the narrator. A life story can also be described as an oral or written account by a person of the circumstances, events and relationships in his or her life, with its essential feature being the subjective aspect, which refers to the personal thoughts, feelings and motives expressed by the author (Bromley, 1986, Cole & Knowles, 2001). Life stories are less about facts and more about meanings (Howard, 1991).

4.4.4. Psychohistories, Historical Psychology and Historiographies

Psychobiography can be perceived as a component or sub-division of a broader psychohistory (Ponterotto, 2013b). Runyan (1988b) described psychohistories as the explicit use of formal psychological theory in historical interpretation. Hence they are the application of psychological theory to historical events (Schultz, 2005). The aim is to historically interpret political, social, and cultural events through the use of psychological theory (Jacobs, 2004). Historical psychology, on the other hand, can be described as the history of psychological phenomena and/or the history of thought about psychological development and the life course (Runyan, 1988b). Historiographies can be understood as past-orientated research, which makes use of various sources of data to collect information from the past and to reconstruct this information into a meaningful set of historical explanations (Berg, 1995). The various data sources might include: confidential reports, government documents, public records, films, newspaper editorials, photographs, artefacts and so forth (Berg, 1995).

4.4.5. Personality Assessment

Personality assessment studies a life in progress and employs various psychological tests and instruments to analyse the influences that have shaped the individual in terms of behaviour and other personal characteristics (Aiken, 1997; Fouché, 1999). The focus is placed on the

individual's way of being present. Forces such as identity, traits and modes of thinking are studied, as well as values that exemplify the individual and differentiate him or her from others (Claasen, 2006). Personality assessment is similar to psychobiography because both require a comprehensive description of personality at some point, or designated points on a timeline, and a set of connectors which relate the individual to the influences which led to that particular configuration (Alexander, 1990; Pieterse, 2009; Swart, 2010). However, it differs from psychobiography in the sense that personality assessment requires an element of prediction, whereas psychobiography is focused mainly on understanding the life of the individual who is being studied (Alexander, 1990; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Psychobiography thus traces human development in ways that surpass static personality assessment (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005).

4.4.6. Psychobiography, Psychological Case Study and Single-Case Experiment

Psychobiography, psychological case study and single-case experiments are similar in character because they are all forms of individual case study research that share fundamental characteristics; nevertheless, they are also distinctively different from one another (McLeod, 1994). Psychological case studies are largely focused on particular events and emotional episodes in a person's life which rely on available evidence of an episode in order to scientifically reconstruct and interpret that person's life (Bromley, 1986). In contrast, psychobiography focuses on the whole person and his or her life history over an extended period (Bromley, 1986). The single-case experiment can be defined as a prospective study of one or more aspects of the behaviour of one subject under closely controlled conditions (Bromley, 1986; Yin, 2009). The aim of the single-case experiment is to record and measure specific changes that occur as a result of the application of specific interventions (Fouché &

Van Niekerk, 2005). The advantage of controlled conditions is that accurate and valid conclusions can be drawn about causal relationships (Gerdes, 1989).

4.5. Characteristics of Psychobiographical Case Study Research

Case study research can be described as an intensive investigation of a single unit, such as an individual, a family, a group, an organisation, or a community within a specific time and contextual setting (Runyan, 1982; Stake, 1995; Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Yin (2009) described a case study as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Case study research possesses certain characteristics distinguishing it from other related forms of research, such as field study, action research and ethnographic study (Cavaye, 1996). These characteristics are discussed in the following section, by focusing on case method, case research epistemology, case research objective, case research design and case research methods.

4.5.1. Case Method

The approach used in case study research is the case method, which describes the way in which observation is systemised (Neuman, 2003; Struwig & Stead, 2004; Yin, 2009). This method is typically non-experimental because it lacks explicit control and manipulation of the variables being studied (Cavaye, 1996; Yin, 2009) and is specifically suited for situations where it is impossible to separate the person's variables from their context, thus studying the person in his or her natural context (Yin, 2009). This method aims to gain an idiographic understanding of the case within its uniqueness (Willig, 2008). Various qualitative tools and techniques are used for data collection and analysis (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Willig,

2008); in addition, the case method contributes to knowledge by relating findings to generalizable theory (Yin, 2009).

4.5.2. Case Research Epistemology

Case studies could be used in both the positivist and interpretivist epistemological traditions (Cavaye, 1996; Willig, 2008). Willig (2008) described epistemology as the researcher's belief about the way in which knowledge is constructed. Positivism is an epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality (Bryman, 2008), whereas interpretivism is an epistemological position which requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2008). Positivism is thus focused more closely on the explanation of human behaviour, whereas interpretivism is concerned with the understanding of human behaviour. Psychobiography, for the purpose of this study, is used in the interpretivist epistemological tradition because it is not employed to explain human behaviour in terms of universal laws, but rather to understand and interpret the meanings and intentions that might underlie everyday human actions within their natural context (Willig, 2008).

The psychobiography is a form of case study research, which makes use of a qualitative research design and is characterised as single-case, life history research which is morphogenic in nature (Runyan, 1984). According to Willig (2008), the qualitative approach focuses on the holistic nature of the phenomenon and thus on the holistic description and understanding of a single individual. Case study research consequently adopts a holistic approach to understanding the nature of psychological phenomena within a real-life context and to eliciting meanings from complex social behaviours that allow for the development of idiographic and nomothetic insight into the phenomenon under study (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006; Stake, 2005; Struwig & Stead, 2004; Yin, 2009). "Idiographic" refers to the

characteristics of unique individuals whereas "nomothetic" signifies universal characteristics (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006, p. 287). A complete study of an individual will embrace both these approaches (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006). Change and development are also important features of case studies, which are focused on investigating occurrences over a period of time (Stroud, 2004; Yin, 2003). Psychobiography is considered to be an especially good example of specialised case study research (Cozby, 2007).

4.5.3. Case Research Objective

The objective of case study research could be to describe phenomena, to construct theory, or to test existing theoretical relationships and concepts (Cavaye, 1996; Fouché, 1999; McLeod, 1994; Willig, 2008). Case study research might also be used for analytical generalisation, which entails generalising results to theoretical propositions (Yin, 2009). Willig (2008) submits that another objective of case study research may well be to refine emerging theoretical formulations or to discover new insights and interpretations into social and psychological processes, from which new hypotheses and theoretical foundations could be formulated.

Inductive and/or deductive case research might well be used in psychobiography because the objective of the research may include the development and/or testing of theory (Bromley, 1986; Fouché, 1999). A formalised approach to inductive case research is grounded theory, which suggests that theory emerges as the researcher collects and interprets the data regarding a phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006; Cooney, 2010; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Neuman, 2003). Deductive case research is a process of validation and disconfirmation which tests cause-and-effect relationships according to the natural science model (Yin, 2009).

4.5.4. Case Research Design

In the generic social research methods, the case study is presented from many different perspectives, where it can be regarded as a method, approach, style, strategy or design (Tight, 2010). A research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2006). Yin (2009) described the research design as a logical sequence that links data to the study's initial research questions and its eventual conclusions. The complexity of case study designs varies (Yin, 2009) and case study research may be either singular (i.e., focused on one person) or multiple (i.e., focused on more than one person) in design (Schultz, 2005). A single-case study design concentrates on the in-depth investigation of a phenomenon and the rich description thereof (Cavaye, 1996). A multiple case study design allows for data across various cases to be compared and analysed (Bromley, 1986; Cavaye, 1996).

Psychobiography mostly uses a single-case research design, enabling the researcher to provide a rich description and create an in-depth study of the individual's life, either to confirm or contradict an existing psychological theory (Edwards, 1998). It is nonetheless possible, according to Rosenwald (1988), to utilise a multiple case study design with psychobiography, where the researcher would compare biographical studies of subjects by bringing the intensive, exploratory interviews into conversation with each other.

According to Tight (2010), Stake and Yin can be regarded as two of the key advocates of case study in social research. Stake (1995) stated that a case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case. Stake (2005) identified three main types of case study:

1. Intrinsic: when the researcher performs the study to gain a better understanding of the particular case.

2. Instrumental: when a particular case is examined to acquire insight into an issue or to redraw a generalisation.

3. Multiple or collective: when a number of cases are studied jointly in order to investigate a phenomenon, general condition, or population.

Yin, who has also been a prolific writer on the case study, opened his basic text (2003) by observing that case study has been stereotyped for a long time as being weak in comparison to other social science research methods and that case studies have been unfairly criticised as having insufficient precision, rigour and objectivity (Tight, 2010). Yin (2003) added that each approach in social science research offers particular advantages and disadvantages and that case study is the preferred strategy when one aims to answer "how" or "why" questions, when the investigator can exercise little control over events and when the emphasis is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context. Yin (2003) then identified four basic case study designs along two dichotomous dimensions: single- or multiple-case, holistic or embedded, and argued for five possible rationales for studying only a single case: where (it is) a critical, typical, extreme, revelatory or longitudinal case. The distinction between holistic and embedded relates to whether the focus is placed on the overall study of the case or on selected units within the latter (Tight, 2010; Yin, 2003).

4.5.5. Case Research Methods

Method refers to the type of research tools and techniques which may be used to collect empirical evidence (Cavaye, 1996). The researcher needs to carefully consider the methods of data collection and analysis in order to generate suitable materials for the study (Yin, 2009). Two basic types of data collection methods exist: (a) quantitative ones based on

numerical data, and (b) qualitative ones based on verbal data (Bromley, 1986; Yin, 2009). The majority of case research employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Cavaye, 1996; Willig, 2008).

Qualitative research assumes that there are multiple realities and that the world is viewed as a subjective function of personal interactions and perceptions (Willig, 2008). Meaning is assigned to phenomena through exploration, rich description and understanding the phenomenon within its context (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Case methods are thus associated with interviews, verbal data and observation because direct, in-depth knowledge of a research setting is vital to achieve contextual understanding (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Edwards, 1990; Stake, 1995). With regard to the quantitative method in case research, the outcomes are assessed by means of procedural measures, (i.e., checklists, questionnaires, or indices) (McLeod, 1994). The evidence is then presented in the form of numerical indicators or ratings, such as frequencies of time (Willig, 2008; Yin, 2009).

Case study research makes use of multiple sources of information, such as interviews, documents, archival records, artefacts, and photographs (Cavaye, 1996; Struwig & Stead, 2004). Psychobiography, as case study research, has two major sources of qualitative data from which to extract evidence, known as primary and secondary sources (Berg, 1995). "Primary sources" refer to oral or written testimony by the subject under study and/or eyewitnesses present at the given time in history (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, p. 8; Strydom & Delport, 2005). This typically includes documents, artefacts, and items related to the direct outcome of an event (Berg, 1995; Yin, 2009). "Secondary sources" signify oral or written accounts by people not present at the specific time or incident and can be referred to as second-hand or "hearsay" accounts, such as biographies, textbooks, articles, newspaper stories, and oral histories of the individuals or a group (Berg, 1995; Fouché, 1999; Fouché &

Van Niekerk, 2005, p. 8; Woolums, 2011). The qualitative information for the purposes of a psychobiography usually includes diaries, letters, personal documents, and recorded information (Alexander, 1990; Simonton, 2003).

Various researchers have advocated for the value of a case study research method to study the life histories of individuals (e.g., Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1994; Sokolovsky, 1996; Wallace, 1989). The history and trends in psychobiography are presented in the following section, while the value of psychobiographical life history research is discussed thereafter.

4.6. History and Trends in Psychobiography

Freud's 1910 publication, *Leonardo da Vinci and a memory of his childhood*, is traditionally defined as the beginning of the field of psychobiography due to the fact that it was the first true affiliation between psychology and literary biography (Runyan, 1988a). Freud's work was influential in defining the mission of psychology and biography as applied psychoanalysis; it legitimised and popularised psychobiography as a research approach (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2013a; Runyan, 1988a). According to Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005), the analyses of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (Jones, 1910), Richard Wagner (Graf, 1911) and Martin Luther (Smith, 1913) are among some of the earliest psychobiographical studies.

According to McAdams (1994), before the 20th century literary biographers rarely employed psychological concepts to interpret the lives of their subjects. During the 1910s and 1920s, there was an increase in psychoanalytic biography; despite the criticism of this method, psychobiography continued throughout the 1930s with works on individuals such as Darwin, Lincoln, Caesar, Napoleon, and Nietzsche (Runyan, 1988a). The 1940s were a slow period for the production of psychological biography, with the exception of Guttmacher's

study of George III in 1941 and Langer's *The mind of Adolf Hitler* written in 1943 (Runyan, 1988a). During the 1950s, there was a renewed production of psychobiography, evidencing a strong influence from personology (Runyan, 1988a; Ponterotto, 2013b). Erikson's 1958 study, *Young man Luther: A study in psychoanalysis*, is especially noteworthy of the 1950s (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). From the 1960s until the present, there has been an immense growth of interest in psychobiography and output has grown substantially (Ponterotto, 2013b, 2015). Erikson's (1969) second related study, *Gandhi's truth: On the origins of militant non-violence*, is especially noteworthy of the 1960s.

Since the 1970s there has been an increase in psychobiographical publications and psychobiography has developed a more eclectic and differentiated self-conception (Runyan, 1988a). Psychobiography has come to define itself as "biographical studies which make explicit use of any kind of formal or systematic psychology" (Runyan, 1988a, p.296). Psychobiographical studies may make use of various theories of personality, abnormal, cognitive, developmental and social psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). The increased interest in psychobiography could be attributed to the growing interest in the concept of the life course, a disillusionment with stagnant approaches to data collection, an increased curiosity about lived experience, and the growing popularity of qualitative research (Roberts, 2002).

Kőváry (2011, p. 739) asserted that the profession of psychology is in the midst of "a renaissance of psychobiography". Barenbaum and Winter (2013) support this claim by noting the current revival in the study of individual lives. According to Ponterotto (2013a), present-day psychobiography generally makes use of multi-theoretical models (Kasser, 2013; McAdams, 2011; Ponterotto, 2012; Schultz, 2011a; Sharma, 2011) and methods of psychobiography, while the subject scope continues to attract the interest of scientific and lay

audiences alike. Although nomothetic and quantitative approaches are still more frequently used than that of psychobiography, formal training in the latter has become more common practice and researchers, both nationally and internationally, attempt to deliver more in the field of psychobiography (McAdams, 2006; Schultz, 2013).

Ponterotto et al. (2015) conducted a study in North America, which attempted to map the status of psychobiography training and dissertation research in Departments of Psychology nationwide. The results identified only a few psychology courses specifically in psychobiography and it seems likely that students are learning psychobiography on their own, or that they may have mentors qualified to supervise their work (Ponterotto et al., 2015). According to Ponterotto (2015), it is surprising that psychobiography does not attract more attention as both a topic and a method because it has made influential contributions to the fields of personality, human development, psychological theory and individual differences. As previously mentioned, Kőváry (2011, p. 739) claimed that the profession of psychology is in the midst of "a renaissance of psychobiography". However, Ponterotto et al. (2015) declared that it would be important to test this prediction worldwide and to examine how a revival in psychobiography is being demonstrated in psychology training programmes and publications. Table 4.1 provides an outline of some recent psychobiographies that have been internationally published.

Table 4.1.

Recently Completed Notable International Psychobiographies

Subject	Researcher	Year
Diane Arbus	W. T. Schultz	2011
Barack Obama	D. Sharma	2011
George W. Bush	D. P. McAdams	2011

Truman Capote	W. T. Schultz	2011
Bobby Fischer	J. G. Ponterotto	2012
John Lennon	T. Kasser	2013
Bobby Fischer	J. G. Ponterotto & J. D. Reynolds	2013

Note. Adapted from *Richard Trenton Chase: A Psychobiography of the "Dracula Killer"* (Unpublished Master's Thesis) (p. 73), by H. T. Nel, 2014, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

4.7. Psychobiography in the South African Context

The first psychological analysis of an extraordinary South African individual's life was published by Burgers in 1939, the subject of which was Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven (Van Niekerk, 2007). Burgers made a similar study of Louis Leipoldt in 1960 while L. M. Van der Merwe published the third of these studies on the life of Ingrid Jonker in 1978 (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). There was a lapse of 20 years between Van der Merwe's study and Fouché's psychobiographical study of the life of General Jan Smuts in 1999 (Van Niekerk, 2007). However, Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) noted that prior to Fouché's study, a psychobiography of Gerard Sekoto, a famous South African painter, was published by Chabani Manganyi in 1996. Since then, a number of completed psychobiographical studies have been undertaken in the Departments of Psychology at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in Port Elizabeth, Rhodes University (RU) in Grahamstown, the University of the Free State (UFS) in Bloemfontein and the University of Johannesburg (UJ) (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto et al., 2015). Table 4.2 provides an outline of completed psychobiographies conducted in the South African context up until 2013.

Table 4.2.

South African Completed Master's and Doctoral Level Psychobiographies until 2013

Subject	Nationality and Occupation	Researcher	Format	Year
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	South African Author	Burgers, M.P.O.	Master's Study	1939
Louis Leipoldt	South African Poet	Burgers, M.P.O.	Doctoral Study	1960
Ingrid Jonker	South African Poet	Van der Merwe, L. M.	Doctoral Study	1978
Gerard Sekoto	South African Artist	Manganyi, C	Published Book	1996
Jan Christiaan Smuts	South African Statesman	Fouché, J. P.	Doctoral Study	1999
Helen Martins	South African Artist	Bareira, L.	Master's Study	2001
Bantu Stephen Biko	South African Anti-Apartheid Activist and Medical Student	Kotton, D.	Master's Study	2002
Balthazar John Vorster	South African Politician and Prime Minister	Vorster, M. S.	Master's Study	2003
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	South African Cricketer	Warmenhoven, A.	Master's Study	2004
Mother Teresa	Roman Catholic Nun in India	Stroud, L.	Doctoral Study	2004
Albert Schweitzer	German Theologian and Medical Missionary	Edwards, M. J.	Master's Study	2004
Bruce Fordyce	South African Elite Ultra-Marathon Runner	Morrison, N.	Master's Study	2004
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	South African Author	Jacobs, A.	Master's Study	2004
Karen Horney	German Psychoanalyst	Green. S.	Master's Study	2006
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	South African Cricketer	Warmenhoven, A.	Doctoral Study	2006
Christiaan Barnard	South African Surgeon	Van Niekerk, R.	Master's Study	2007
Ray Charles	American Musician and Singer	Biggs, I.	Master's Study	2007
Hendrik Verwoerd	South African Politician and Prime Minister	Claasen, M.	Master's Study	2007
Melanie Klein	Austrian Psychoanalyst	Espinosa, M.	Master's Study	2008
Herman Mashaba	South African Entrepreneur	McWalter, M.	Master's Study	2008

Isie Smuts	Wife of Statesman J. C. Smuts	Smuts, C.	Master's Study	2009
Helen Keller	American Author and Political Activist	Van Genechten, D.	Master's Study	2009
Jeffrey Dahmer	American Serial Killer and Sex Offender	Chéze, E.	Master's Study	2009
Emily Hobhouse	British Welfare Campaigner	Welman, C.	Master's Study	2009
Mahatma Gandhi	Indian Political and Spiritual Leader	Pillay, K.	Master's Study	2009
Kurt Cobain	American Musician and Singer	Pieterse, C. B.	Master's Study	2009
Ralph John Rabie	South African Singer	Uys, H. M. G.	Master's Study	2010
Ernesto "Che" Guevara	Argentine Revolutionary and Physician	Kolesky, C.	Master's Study	2010
Frans Martin Claerhout	South African Priest and Artist	Roets, M.	Master's Study	2010
Alan Paton	South African Author and Anti-Apartheid Activist	Greeff, M.	Master's Study	2010
Paul Jackson Pollock	American Artist	Muller, T.	Master's Study	2010
Christiaan de Wet	Boer Force General and Rebel Leader	Henning, R.	Doctoral Study	2010
Bram Fischer	South African Lawyer and Anti-Apartheid Activist	Swart, D. K.	Master's Study	2010
Vincent van Gogh	Dutch Artist	Muller, H. R.	Master's Study	2010
Brenda Fassie	South African Singer	Gogo, O.	Master's Study	2011
Olive Schreiner	South African Author and Anti-War Activist	Perry, M. J.	Doctoral Study	2012
Winston Churchill	British Politician and Prime Minister	Moolman, B.	Master's Study	2012
Friedrich Nietzsche	German Philosopher	Booysen, D. D.	Master's Study	2012
John Wayne Gacy	American Serial Killer and Rapist	Pieterse, J.	Master's Study	2012
Josephine Baker	American Dancer and Jazz Singer	Eckley, S.	Master's Study	2012

Note. Adapted from "Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future" by J. P. Fouché and R. van Niekerk, 2010, *South African Journal of Psychology, 40*(4), pp. 497-499; *The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography* by M. J. Perry, 2012, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation), p. 130 and *The life of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study* by B. Burnell, 2013, (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation), p. 28.

Since 2012, other psychobiographies that are not mentioned in the table above have also been completed in the South African context; *inter alia The life of Beyers Naudé: A psychobiographical study* by B. Burnell, 2013; *The life of Helen Suzman: A psychobiographical study* by C. Nel, 2013; *Roald Dahl: A psychobiographical study* by T. J. Holz, 2014; and *Richard Trenton Chase: A Psychobiography of the "Dracula Killer"* by H. T. Nel 2014 (Fouché, 2015; Nel, 2014). According to Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010), South African psychobiography has emerged with greater vigour and enthusiasm among research supervisors and post-graduate students than previously, leading to an awakening among South African academic psychobiographers. Fouché (2015) has asserted, "psychobiography in Africa, and South Africa in particular, has metaphorically seen the 'coming of age'" (p. 376).

4.8. The Value of Psychobiographical Case Studies

There are various benefits to utilising psychobiographical life history research: the uniqueness of the individual case within the whole, the socio-historical context, process and pattern over time, subjective reality, theory testing and development. These benefits are discussed in the section that follows below.

4.8.1. The Uniqueness of the Individual Case within the Whole

As previously mentioned, psychologists generally use the term "nomothetic" to refer to universal characteristics and "idiographic" to refer to the characteristics of unique individuals (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006, p. 288). It is widely accepted in psychology that Gordon Allport introduced the nonmothetic-versus-idiographic distinction into psychology in 1937, after borrowing these terms from the German philosopher Wilhelm Windelband (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006; Kenrick & Dantchik, 1983). This version of history is misleading, in so far as

Hugo Münsterberg had already used these terms in his presidential address at the American Psychological Association meeting in 1899 (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006; Münsterberg, 1899).

According to Hulburt and Knapp (2006), "Münsterberg used the terms 'idiographic' and 'nomothetic' in the same context as did Windelband, namely to distinguish the ways in which the discipline of history (and related fields) differed from that of psychology (or other sciences)" (p. 288). It is uncertain whether Allport was introduced to Windelband's thinking directly or through others such as his teacher, Münsterberg, or William Stern (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006). There is an incorrect perception that Allport favoured the idiographic over the nomothetic. Allport and Münsterberg both held similar positions on the relationship between science and the individual, and they both argued against the strict separation of the nomothetic from the idiographic, stating that psychology should include both (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006). Stern also shared the notion that psychological science should include a balance of both the nomothetic and the idiographic (Hulburt & Knapp, 2006).

Due to this criticism, the term idiographic was later replaced with the term "morphogenic", which focuses on the individuality of a whole person, rather than individuality found in a single element only (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1984). Psychobiography is morphogenic in nature, which enables it to provide a unique and holistic description of the subject under study (Elms, 1994). This is one of the major advantages of life history research.

4.8.2. The Socio-Historical Context

The gestalt context is of importance in life history research because it enables the researcher to understand the subject within the richness of the social and historical world in which he or she lives (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Psychobiographies provide a rich contextualised background, enabling the researcher to portray the subject's socio-historical context,

socialisation processes, and family history (Runyan, 1984). This acknowledges the larger cultural and sub-cultural influences on human development (Runyan, 1988a). According to Runyan (1982) the "psychobiographer must learn enough about the subject's social and historical context to have an adequate frame of reference for interpreting the meaning of specific actions, statements, artistic practices, and so on" (p. 216). Consequently psychologists must become competent historians, cultural anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists when writing about historic figures many years removed from their own life-space (Ponterotto, 2014).

Ponterotto (2014) described the Multi-Layered Chronological Chart (MLCC) methodology, introduced by Hiller (2011), as a useful tool to help psychologists to consider their research subject in a socio-cultural-historic context. The MLCC is a graphic representation of the life space of the subject across a chronological (birth to death) horizontal axis and a domain-specific vertical axis (Hiller, 2011; Ponterotto, 2014). The domains selected for the vertical axis are specific to the life context of the subject and often include critical personal and family events, political and social conditions, significant historic events and so forth (Ponterotto, 2014).

4.8.3. Process and Pattern Over Time

The study of "finished" lives enables the researcher to trace patterns of human development from birth to death (Carlson, 1988, p. 106). The advantage of this type of longitudinal research is that it offers a more integrated and comprehensive picture of human development over a continuum of time (Alexander, 1990; Sokolovsky, 1996). The study of life history and personality over a period assists the researcher in attaining an extensive understanding of "personality in action" (Fiske, 1988, p.815).

4.8.4. Subjective Reality

Life history research offers an in-depth description and understanding of the inner experiences, thoughts and feelings of the subject (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This subjective reality is beneficial because it enables the researcher to develop a required level of empathy and sympathy with the subject (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2003), which aids the researcher in conveying a compelling and gripping life story that encourages the reader to continue reading (Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2009).

4.8.5. Theory Testing and Development

Carlson (1988) suggested that life history materials are ideal for testing and developing various theories of human development, while Yin (2009) indicates that theory plays an important role in case research, such as life history research, with regard to data collection and generalisation. The theory assists the researcher with the identification of the objectives and design of the case and allows her or him to conceptualise and operationalise case data within the chosen theoretical constructs and categories (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). The theory therefore serves as a template against which to compare and analyse the collected data (Yin, 2009). Life history research, like a psychobiography, has been of value in the testing of facets and propositions of longitudinal research and theory in the fields of career development (Anderson, 1990; Bujold, 1990), gerontology and ageing (Sokolovsky, 1996), developmental psychology, positive psychology, health psychology and personology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

4.9. Criticisms of Psychobiographical Research

Despite the fact that psychobiography is witnessing renewed momentum among psychological researchers (Kőváry, 2011), there are some methodological limitations that

restrict its advancement as a scientific endeavour (Ponterotto, 2013a). Ponterotto (2013a) summarised some of the criticisms, as put forward by Elms (1994), Runyan (1982) and Schultz (2005), that were directed at the field of psychobiography:

1. The complexity of the individual human life is obscured because the research often relies on single theoretical models, particularly psychodynamic approaches.

2. Psychobiographies often emphasise mental illness and/or character flaws, thus focusing on pathography and ignoring the positive and strength characteristics of subjects.

3. The method attributes too much significance to select early childhood experiences/events.

4. It has relied too much on qualitative research approaches (i.e., document analysis, and interviews) and would benefit from greater incorporation of quantitative methods.

Psychobiography has also been criticised for a lack of, or insufficient, biographical information, and the subsequent inability to develop accurate psychological interpretations of the lives of historical figures (Burnell, 2013; Runyan, 1984; Yin, 2009). Schultz (2001) mentioned that the method of psychobiography has been criticised as being inaccurate and imprecise and that the diversity of interpretations could lead to confusion. Yin (2009) described this as a "lack of rigor" (p.14), where the researcher has been "sloppy, has not followed systematic research procedure, or has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence" the research findings and outcomes" (p.14).

4.10. Guidelines for Writing a Good Psychobiography

In response to some of the above-mentioned criticisms, Schultz (2001; 2005) proposed certain guidelines for writing a good psychobiography, which would lead to minimal criticism and make an optimal contribution to this research field. He posits that a good psychobiography is one that creates a better understanding in terms of culture, clinical understanding and understanding military, political, or personal motivations (Schultz, 2001). He (Schultz, 2001) further suggested that the psychobiographer should neither idealise nor pathologise the research subject and should avoid drawing conclusions based on inadequate knowledge. The validity of the study should be insured and the psychobiographer should not infer meaning from unrepeated or isolated events (Schultz, 2005). It is also important that the subject's behaviour should be compared to that of his/her peers in the same socio-historic context (Schultz, 2001). He went on to list the characteristics of a good psychobiography as follows (Schultz, 2001, 2005).

1. Logically sound and comprehensive

2. Consistent with the full range of evidence

3. Credible and relevant to other hypotheses

4. Resistant to attempted falsifications

5. In accordance with general psychological theory regarding the mental/psychological aspects of human life

6. Ability to make the incoherent coherent

7. Explorative beyond merely coincidental connections

8. A meaning-making enterprise that uncovers partially obstructed or hidden psychological structures.

4.11. Conclusion

In this chapter, psychobiography as a method of case study research was explored and discussed. It and related concepts were defined and psychobiography as case study research was discussed. A historical overview of the development and trends of psychobiography was provided. Psychobiography within the South African context was explored and the value of psychobiographical case studies discussed. This chapter concluded with a discussion of the criticisms of psychobiography and guidelines for writing a good psychobiography.

CHAPTER 5

PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

5.1. Chapter Preview

Even though psychobiography is experiencing a renewed momentum among psychological researchers of various specialities (Kőváry, 2011) its advancement as a scientific endeavour has been hampered by methodological limitations (Ponterotto, 2013a). This chapter discusses the methodological issues related to psychobiographical research and strategies that can be applied to deal with these: they include researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural differences, analysing an absent subject, elitism and psychobiography being regarded as an easy genre, (the) infinite amount of biographical data, inflated expectations, validity and reliability. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations in this type of research.

5.2. Methodological Considerations in Psychobiographical Research

As pointed out in Chapter 4, while psychobiographical research has evolved as a research method and offers many advantages, it still faces harsh criticism (Anderson, 1981a; Burnell, 2013; Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1988a; Schultz, 2005). Psychobiographical researchers face major challenges, constraints and obstacles not usually encountered by other researchers; therefore it remains a challenging endeavour to write good psychobiographies (Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1996; Schultz, 2001, 2005).

There appears to be a degree of disparity between the potential and the actual execution of psychobiographical research (Anderson, 1981a; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1988a). According to Anderson (1981a) many of the criticisms of psychobiography are inherent to

the methodology of these studies. Runyan (1984, 1988a) agreed with Anderson (1981a), noting that many of the criticisms against psychobiography are linked specifically to the idiographic research method. This method is discussed in Chapter 4 (see sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2). It is the responsibility of the researcher to be aware of the criticisms and potential obstacles inherent to this approach: he or she must attempt to surmount them or, at least, mitigate their effects in order for the psychobiography to qualify as good or exemplary (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005). The following section examines the major challenges, constraints and obstacles inherent in the methodology of psychobiography as well as strategies that should be employed to reduce the disparity between the potential and actual execution of psychobiographical research.

5.2.1. Researcher Bias

5.2.1.1. Researcher Bias Explained

The literature suggests that it is impossible to achieve absolute objectivity and impartial engagement in studying the life of any biographical subject (Anderson 1981a, 1981b; Elms, 1994; Meissner, 2003; Shultz, 2005). One of the major pitfalls in psychobiographical methodology is the psychobiographer's tendency to idealise or vilify the biographical subject (Anderson, 1981b; Elms, 1994; Simonton, 2003). Researchers often develop complicated and/or intense personal reactions to the research subject due to the long term and in-depth nature of psychobiographical study (Anderson, 1981a; Meissner, 2003; Stroud, 2004). These reactions are unintentional and unconscious, being almost countertransference-like in nature (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b; Meissner, 2003). It is thus important for the researcher to counteract and minimise any researcher bias, be it positive or negative (Anderson, 1981a).

There are various strategies that could be used to do so. Anderson (1981a) stated that the researcher should examine why a particular subject was chosen and, through the process of introspection, also examine all his or her feelings (positive and negative) about the subject. Erikson (1974) suggested that a level of *disciplined subjectivity* should be applied by psychobiographers to recognise the subjective nature of interpretation and to self-reflect on the impact of personal history, emotions and perceptions that are inevitably linked to qualitative psychobiographical research. Moustakas (1994) suggested that one way of doing this would be for the researcher to describe their relationship to the subject and bracket out their biases and expectations. The reason that bracketing out one's subjective stance could be beneficial is that the bracketed material could serve as a form of triangulation in data interpretation (Morrow, 2005; Ponterotto, 2014). For Anderson (1981a) researcher bias could also be minimised by developing empathy with the subject because empathy safeguards against the tendency to be judgmental. Elms (1994) added that psychobiographers need to cultivate "controlled empathy" (p. 5) towards their research subjects, combined with a commitment to collect "solid biographical data" (p. 5).

5.2.1.2. *Researcher Bias Minimised*

The researcher purposefully employed several strategies in order to lessen the potential for researcher bias. Upon starting the research process and deciding on a research subject, the researcher chose an individual towards whom she felt ambivalent. Ambivalence serves as a means to stay objective and to prevent premature conclusions (Elms, 1994; Elms & Song, 2005). The researcher was neither approving nor disapproving of Steve Jobs, but was fascinated by his personality and behaviour and was driven to understand it – to make sense of it. The researcher also continuously examined her feelings (positive and negative) towards the research subject by means of introspection and journalling. Bracketing was also used as a

strategy in the journalling process, in order to identify any biases and expectations that the researcher might have had. Another strategy applied by the researcher was to maintain a healthy degree of empathy for Jobs throughout the study in order to safeguard against denigration of the subject (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003; Fouché; 1999). Furthermore, the researcher regularly discussed her reactions towards the research subject with her supervisor in order to uphold a balance between objectivity, subjectivity and empathy.

5.2.2. Reductionism

5.2.2.1. Reductionism Explained

According to Ponterotto (2014), the goal of the psychobiographer should be "expansionism" (p. 81), which refers to the holistic, comprehensive, full-life review of a historical subject. However, psychology has veered towards reductionism at the expense of more holistic descriptions of human behaviour (Ponterotto, 2014). Psychobiographers are more prone to reductionist perspectives due to the influence of applied psychoanalysis, which dominated psychobiographical writing in the early part of the 20th century (Dooley, 1916; Ponterotto, 2014). There seemed to be an overemphasis on the application of a fixed psychological formula and variables in psychobiography, which may have led to the omission of important external social, historical, and cultural facts from the comprehensive analysis of the life of the psychobiographical subject (Capps, 2004; Runyan, 1988b).

One form of reductionism in psychobiographical research is the researcher's tendency to explain the character of an adult in terms of his or her childhood experiences, thus according too much weight to the impact of childhood on behaviour and personality development across the life span (Ponterotto, 2014, Runyan, 1982). In Erikson's (1969) discussion of this limitation in psychobiography, he introduced the concept of *originology*,

which may be defined as "the habitual effort to find the 'causes' of a man's [woman's] whole development in his [her] childhood conflicts" (p. 98).

Runyan (1982) described two other forms of reductionism: the *critical period fallacy* and *eventism*. The former designates a situation when the researcher constructs the study of an individual's whole life around a certain critical period in the subject's life, for example the first years of elementary school (Runyan, 1982; Ponterotto, 2014). The latter, on the other hand, emphasises a single critical event as essential to understanding the subject's progress through adulthood, for example the loss of a parent in childhood (Runyan, 1982; Ponterotto, 2014).

Another form of reductionism in psychobiography is the excessive focus on psychopathology at the expense of normalcy, health, and creativity (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1988, 1994; Schultz, 2005). Schultz (2005) referred to this tendency as *pathography*, while McAdams termed it *overpathologising*. This pathographic orientation, which seems to be more evident in the psychoanalytic psychobiographies, ignores the complexity of a subject's historical, social, and cultural context and reduces the individual's entire life to a neurotic tendency (Runyan, 1988b; Scalapino, 1999). Schultz (2005) also asserted that a subject cannot be reduced to merely a collection of symptoms or a diagnostic label.

There are various strategies that can be applied in order to mitigate or counteract reductionism. For instance, it can be minimised by engaging in extensive research through the use of multiple sources during data collection and analysis (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Another way of achieving this is for the psychobiographer also to check the information and facts in order to avoid reductionism and to present accurate evidence (Anderson, 1981a; McAdams, 1996; Schultz, 2005). Reductionism can additionally be minimised by avoiding the excessive use of psychological terminology and jargon because

the mere application of these does not supply sufficient explanation (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003; Runyan, 1988b). Elms (1994) suggested that the use of a eugraphic approach may also counteract reductionism. Such an approach emphasises health and normality, the opposite of pathography, and promotes a holistic view of the individual (Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997).

5.2.2.2. *Reductionism Minimised*

The researcher made use of multiple sources to conduct an extensive and in-depth literature study of the psychological and socio-historical materials related to Steve Jobs. These multiple sources (e.g., a biography, books written on him, research studies on him, articles, published interviews as well as online speeches and seminars by Jobs himself) were used to verify and check facts in order to present accurate evidence and to minimise reductionism in this study.

The researcher aimed to curtail the possibility of originology, the critical period fallacy, and eventism by applying Levinson's developmental theory, which, as intimated, considers the entire lifespan of an individual, not only childhood experiences (Levinson et al., 1978). A developmental theory is eugraphic in nature because it mostly concentrates on health and normality, which promotes a more holistic view of the individual and counteracts the possibility of overpathologising. Furthermore, the researcher aimed to decrease reductionism by avoiding the use of excessive psychological terminology and jargon that might be unfamiliar to people outside the psychological profession.

5.2.3. Cross-Cultural Differences

5.2.3.1. Cross-Cultural Differences Explained

Psychobiographers have been criticised for not taking cultural and historical differences into account, thus causing their interpretations to be biased. Runyan (1984) referred to this tendency as ethno-centrism and temporo-centrism. It is important to study both the historical and cultural context of the psychobiographical subject, in order to develop empathy for him or her and to integrate the material into the interpretations made (Anderson, 1981a; Burnell, 2013; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1984). It is possible for a psychobiographer, regardless of race, culture, or gender, to develop useful ideas about any subject as long as enough life history data is available (Elms, 1994). The emphasis should not be on studying subjects that are like-cultured or like-gendered with respect to the psychobiographer, but rather on completing good psychobiographical research that will aid in our understanding of subjects from different perspectives (Elms, 1994).

5.2.3.2. Cross-Cultural Differences Minimised

Since the late Steve Jobs was a contemporary individual, it was easier for the researcher to understand the culture in which he lived. There are, nevertheless, still cultural and historical differences between the researcher and the subject. Steve Jobs was a North American man, whereas the researcher is a South African woman. She conducted an extensive literature study on him in order to better understand the cross-cultural, cross-historical and cross-gender differences and to develop empathy with Jobs. By studying the social, historical, and cultural influences in his life, she was able to develop a more adequate frame of reference for interpreting the meaning of the subject's actions and statements (Ponterotto, 2014; Runyan, 1982). Levinson's theory, the psychological framework of this study, takes the cultural,

social and historical influences into account when studying the development of an individual (Levinson et al., 1978). Considering the above features correspondingly enabled the researcher to acquire a better understanding of the time and cultural period in which the subject lived.

5.2.4. Analysing an Absent Subject

5.2.4.1. *Analysing an Absent Subject Explained*

Psychobiographical research has often been criticised due to the fact that the research subject cannot be directly questioned (Anderson, 1981a; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005). It is thus the psychobiographer's primary task to use written sources to construct a portrait of the absent subject (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b; Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005). Even although the subject is studied "from a distance" (Burnell, 2013, p. 168), the psychobiographer is in a position that offers several advantages over the position of a psychotherapist, when investigating an individual life (Anderson, 1981a; Elms & Song, 2005; Runyan, 1988b). These are now mentioned.

The psychobiographer has access to various information sources as well as various informants other than the subject himself/herself (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994). The available information covers the individual's entire lifespan, which grants the psychobiographer the unique opportunity to study and observe behavioural patterns longitudinally, in order to offer a more balanced description of the subject (Anderson, 1981a). The researcher's distant vantage point also results in a more objective and more accurate view of the subject's life (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1994). Furthermore, the psychobiographer is generally not restricted by therapeutic considerations such as upholding a continuous therapeutic atmosphere, informed consent (Carlson, 1988) and confidentiality

(Elms & Song, 2005). In psychotherapy, the focus is often on the maladaptive, dysfunctional, and problematic behaviour of the individual, whereas a well-researched psychobiography produces a balanced and well-rounded portrait of the subject (Anderson, 1981a; Mazlish & Demos, 1978).

5.2.4.2. *Analysing an Absent Subject Minimised*

An extensive literature study, using various sources, was conducted in order to overcome the criticisms that less personal data are used and that limitations are caused by analysing an absent subject. A myriad of biographical data were collected and reviewed, among which were books such as *Steve Jobs* (Isaacson, 2011), *Becoming Steve Jobs: The evolution of a reckless upstart into a visionary leader* (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) *TIME Steve Jobs: The genius who changed our world* (Editors of TIME, 2011) and *I, Steve: Steve Jobs in his words* (Beahm, 2011). The researcher studied various published newspaper and magazine articles, speeches and interviews, audio-visual documentaries and movies about Jobs too. The book *Steve Jobs* (Isaacson, 2011) was especially important in overcoming the criticism of analysing an absent subject because Isaacson was hand-picked by Jobs to write his biography. Isaacson conducted more than 40 interviews and conversations with him and interviewed over 100 friends, relatives, competitors, adversaries and colleagues of his (Isaacson, 2011).

5.2.5. Elitism and Easy Genre

5.2.5.1. *Elitism and Easy Genre Explained*

Psychobiographical research has also been criticised for being elitist and an easy genre (Runyan, 1988b; Stroud, 2004). Elitism refers to the tendency of focusing too much attention on prominent and privileged members of society, such as royalty, political leaders,

entertainers and artists, rather than on the lives of ordinary individuals (Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005). Runyan (1988b) and Howe (1997) responded to this criticism by declaring that psychobiography is suited for individual lives from any social realm because the focus should be placed on being human, specifically on personality development, in order to enrich the scientific body of knowledge in psychology. Social class should not be confused with the level of aggregation; for this reason the research subject should not be chosen according to social class, but rather according to personal characteristics (Runyan, 1988b). Elitism does not depend only on the chosen subject, but also on the interpretations offered by the qualitative psychobiographer (Runyan, 1988b).

Some critics of psychobiography also consider it an easy genre of research (Runyan, 1988b). Runyan (1988b), Elms (1994), and Schultz (2005) responded to this criticism, pointing out that it is easy to write a superficial psychobiography, but to write a good, persuasive psychobiography is an extraordinary challenge that requires significant effort, thorough research, determination, good literary skill and psychological knowledge. A good psychobiography elucidates the mystery of an individual's life by providing a cogent and comprehensive narrative of consistent and viable data (Schultz, 2005). To write such a psychobiography is thus not a straightforward task, but a rather complex endeavour. The complexity of psychobiography is evident from the extensive research into numerous sources to understand the subject's socio-historical context, as well as sound psychological knowledge and substantial literary skill (McAdams, 1994; Runyan, 1988b).

5.2.5.2. *Elitism and Easy Genre Minimised*

Some critics may argue that the choice of Steve Jobs as a research subject is elitist and unnecessary in the South African context. Although Jobs is a global celebrity and most renowned for co-founding Apple Computer (Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), he also had a

"roller-coaster life and searingly intense personality" (Isaacson, 2011, p. xviii). Jobs was chosen as the research subject for this study based largely on his actions and unique personality and not due to his social class. Therefore, the criticism of elitism appears to be unjustified in this study on Steve Jobs.

Jobs, as a research subject, is also relevant in the South African context, in as much as he was instrumental in the development of technology in worldwide use today. The psychobiographical study on Jobs, as is the case with any other exemplary individual, is aimed at enriching and further developing psychological theory related to personality development (Ponterotto, 2014), which also makes it relevant in the South African context.

Furthermore, the researcher disagrees with the criticism that psychobiography is an easy genre. It was an intricate task to form a holistic picture of Jobs' personality, life, culture, and historical context. Various steps were taken to ensure rigour and quality in the research. An extensive literature review was conducted by using a multiplicity of data sources, which increased the amount of salient data that needed to be collected and analysed. Broader data collection and analysis was also necessary due to the fact that only a single theory was used in this study. Furthermore, the researcher adhered to the criteria for writing a good psychobiography (as described in section 4.10) to ensure that it provides a contribution to the existing body of knowledge.

5.2.6. Infinite Amount of Biographical Data

5.2.6.1. *Infinite Amount of Biographical Data Explained*

Psychobiographers are often faced with vast amounts of biographical and historical information from which they have to extract relevant data (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Schultz, 2005). The decision regarding which information to include and exclude ultimately

determines the nature of the conclusions drawn (Saccaggi, 2015). It is thus essential to appropriately manage and analyse the data (Baker, 2011). Alexander (1988, 1990) proposed two distinct, but complementary, ways to approach them. The first method entails questioning the data (Alexander, 1988, 1990) which enables the researcher to organise the large amounts of data to address specific questions. The second method proposed by Alexander (1988, 1990) is utilisation of the nine indicators of salience that the researcher should employ to further extract and organise important data. The said indicators are: primacy, frequency, uniqueness, negation, emphasis, omission, error or distortion, isolation, and incompletion (Alexander, 1988, 1990). These two strategies are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

5.2.6.2. *Infinite Amount of Biographical Data Minimised*

The researcher collected a large volume of biographical data on Steve Jobs and employed several strategies to manage and organise this. The massive amount of data allowed her to cross-reference information and continuously engage with the material. Included in the vast amount of published material were, as mentioned in section 5.2.4.2, biographies and books such as *Steve Jobs* (Isaacson, 2011), *Becoming Steve Jobs: The evolution of a reckless upstart into a visionary leader* (Schlender &Tetzeli, 2015), *TIME Steve Jobs: The genius who changed our world* (Editors of TIME, 2011), and *I, Steve: Steve Jobs in his words* (Beahm, 2011). The researcher also studied various published newspaper and magazine articles, speeches and interviews, audio-visual documentaries and movies about Jobs. The website www.allaboutstevejobs.com was also accessed as a valuable data source. Furthermore, she utilised Alexander's (1988, 1990) two methods to manage and organise the data in order to extract the important and relevant information. Firstly, she asked specific questions and organised the data accordingly. Secondly, the researcher utilised the nine indicators of

salience to sift, organise, and extract relevant material, thereby allowing the data to reveal itself. These strategies are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

5.2.7. Inflated Expectations

5.2.7.1. Inflated Expectations Explained

It is important for psychobiographers to be aware of the limitations of psychobiographical research (Anderson, 1981a): with regard to inflated expectations, two particular limitations require their specific awareness. Firstly, the psychobiographer should recognise that psychological explanations of an individual's life do not replace existing explanations, but rather supplement them (Anderson, 1981a). Despite the attempts of psychobiographers to provide holistic interpretations of individual lives, these interpretations are essentially psychological in nature and should be acknowledged as such. Therefore, psychological explanations add to, but cannot replace, for example, historical, economic, or political explanations (Anderson, 1981a; Stroud, 2004; Vorster, 2003) Secondly, the psychological explanations should be regarded as speculative and not definitively factual (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003, Meissner, 2003), in that it is impossible to conclusively confirm or deny the conclusions that are drawn (Saccaggi, 2015).

5.2.7.2. Inflated Expectations Minimised

The limitations of the study were clearly acknowledged, and the researcher maintained a realistic view of these limitations. She recognises that the study on Jobs was primarily conducted from a psychological perspective; therefore she cannot and does not claim to have uncovered the full complexity of his life and personality. She acknowledges that no psychological theory can be regarded as definitive and that this study aimed to provide only one possible psychological interpretation of the life of Steve Jobs.

5.2.8. Validity and Reliability Criticisms

5.2.8.1. Validity and Reliability Criticisms Explained

The previous section considered the limitations inherent to the psychobiographical method, whereas this section presents an overview of the criteria used to judge the quality of the study. Psychobiographical research is frequently criticised for issues regarding its validity and reliability (Runyan, 1983; Yin, 2009). Validity, in qualitative research, refers to the truthfulness and trustworthiness of a study, while reliability refers to the concept of consistency (Cresswell, 2013; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Various methods may be used to establish the quality of qualitative research, including psychobiographical research (Yin, 2003, 2009). According to Yin (2009), there are four tests, applicable to all social science research methods, that can measure the quality of any case study's design: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability (Yin, 2009). Qualitative researchers often also refer to these constructs as confirmability, credibility, transferability and dependability (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2009), while Lincoln and Guba's model of trustworthiness likewise states that a qualitative study must have credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004). These constructs and their application in this study are examined below.

5.2.8.1.1. Construct Validity and Confirmability

Construct validity refers to ensuring that the various concepts and processes used in the study are theoretically and methodologically sound (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009). It is important to provide adequate definitions and explanations of concepts, thereby establishing the correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (Gilgun, 1994; Yin, 2009). By distinctly conceptualising which indicators will be operationalised during data collection, the researcher

is thus able to ensure that the intended theoretical constructs are measured (Neuman, 2003). Some qualitative researchers also refer to this construct as confirmability (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Yin, 2009), in other words achieving neutrality in research when the interpretations are unbiased and confirmable (De Vos, 2005; Krefting, 1991).

Construct validity is particularly challenging in case study research (Fouché, 1999; Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2009). Yin (2009) proposed three strategies aimed at increasing validity of this type: (a) using multiple sources of data, referred to as data triangulation, (b) establishing a chain of evidence, and (c) subjecting the research to an audit. Submitting the research to an auditor ensures that he or she can follow the progression of the study, understand the decision-making process and the nature of interpretations, and determine whether other researchers would draw similar conclusions from the same data (Flick, 2006; Krefting, 1991; Yin, 2009). Triangulation and reflexive analysis could also be used to increase construct validity and confirmability (Krefting, 1991; Taylor, 1999). The use of a conceptual matrix is also a useful strategy aimed at providing a clear presentation of the operational definitions and the study's variables (Fouché, 1999; Yin, 2009).

5.2.8.1.2. *Internal Validity and Credibility*

Internal validity is a strategy that refers to the establishment of causal relationships: it is generally considered more relevant to causal or explanatory studies than to descriptive or exploratory ones (Neuman, 2003; Yin, 2009). While the aim of qualitative research is not to establish such relationships, the inferences drawn do need to be plausible and clearly supported by the data and research design (Yin, 2009). Qualitative researchers also use the term credibility when referring to internal validity (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility in psychobiography refers to the accuracy of inferences, which in turn depends on the accuracy of the data collected (Yin, 2009). The credibility of a study is based on

methodological rigour, the credibility of the researcher and the philosophical belief in the value of qualitative enquiry (Patton, 2002).

Triangulation is a powerful strategy that should be used to maintain a high level of credibility (internal validity), thereby enhancing the quality of the research (Krefting, 1991; Willig, 2008; Yin, 2009). This strategy is based on the principle that the convergence of multiple perspectives provides mutual confirmation of data to illuminate themes or theory and to ensure that all aspects of the phenomenon are investigated (Flick, 2006). Triangulation minimises distorted findings by ensuring that all aspects of the life history are investigated and cross-checked, thereby increasing the accuracy (Schultz, 2005, Tindall, 1999). Four types of triangulation could prove useful for case study research (e.g., psychobiography) (Yin, 2009). The first is data triangulation, which refers to the use of various data sources to corroborate the same fact or phenomenon (Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009), while the second is investigator triangulation, which involves different evaluators or researchers that examine the same phenomenon in order to provide multiple perspectives into the interpretation of the data, thus reducing researcher bias (Yin, 2009). The third type is theoretical triangulation, which entails utilising different theories to interpret the same data set (Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009); the fourth kind is methodological triangulation, which designates the use of multiple methods (Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009).

5.2.8.1.3. *External Validity and Transferability*

External validity and transferability refer to the extent to which research results can be applied to other contexts and to whether the results can be generalised (De Vos, 2005; Yin, 2009). According to Yin (2009), single cases provide a poor basis for generalising findings. Psychobiographers should not aim to generalise the findings of a single case study to other cases because a single individual is not representative of the larger population (Kvale, 1996;

Runyan, 1988b). Yin (2009) argued for a distinction between statistical and analytical generalisation. Statistical generalisation refers to the intention to generalise the results of the sample to the larger population, as in quantitative research, whereas analytical generalisation denotes the situation when a particular set of results is generalised to a broader theory, as in qualitative case study research. The case study researcher (psychobiographical researcher) should thus employ analytical generalisation in order to generalise the findings to a broader theory (Yin, 2009). The aim of such generalisation is to confirm or refute aspects or facets of a theory (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004; Yin, 2009). External validity/transferability is therefore a less significant criterion in psychobiographical research, where the findings are considered as being of inherent descriptive worth (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004).

5.2.8.1.4. *Reliability and Dependability*

The reliability of a study refers to the extent to which the operations of a study can be replicated, with the same results (Fouché, 1999; Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2009). Qualitative researchers often use the term dependability to refer to the construct of reliability (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability concerns the consistency of findings within the study's epistemology, where the recommendations and conclusions are consistent with the presented data (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The purpose of dependability is to minimise biases and errors in the research study in order to allow another researcher the opportunity to arrive at the same findings and conclusions if that researcher were to conduct the same case study (Yin, 2009). It is essential that there be a fit between the research question, data collection procedures and analysis techniques in order to present all the interpretive elements with purpose and focus (Krefting, 1991).

There are various strategies that could be employed to increase a study's reliability and dependability. Flick (2006) suggested that the research process should be documented in

comprehensive detail, with the emphasis on "thick descriptions" of the procedure used (Geertz, 1973, p. 310). Another strategy that might be utilised is the use of a consistent coding system during data collection (Stake, 2005). Yin (2009) also suggested that the researcher should operationalise as many steps as possible and that a case study protocol should be compiled, in which all the operational steps are specified. This ensures the auditability of the study (Flick, 2006; Mays & Pope, 1995; Yin, 2009). By documenting the precise steps and procedures followed, the researcher ensures that "an auditor could in principle repeat the procedures and arrive at the same results" (Yin, 2009, p. 45).

5.2.8.2. *Validity and Reliability Criticisms Minimised*

5.2.8.2.1. *Construct Validity and Confirmability*

The researcher used various strategies to ensure construct validity and confirmability. She clearly identified and defined the concepts and processes used in this study. The conceptualisation was based on the available literature dealing with Levinson's psychosocial development theory (see Chapter 3). A conceptual matrix was also used in order to provide a conceptual framework and a clear presentation of the operational definitions and study variables. The conceptual framework for the theory and the data analysis matrix are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. The researcher also subjected the research to an audit. The research supervisor acted as an auditor, who continuously evaluated the researcher's work in order to determine the confirmability of the research. Triangulation and reflexive analysis were also used to enhance the construct validity and confirmability of the study.

5.2.8.2.2. *Internal Validity and Credibility*

Since the aim of this study was to explore and describe the development and life of Steve Jobs, internal validity, which is more relevant in causal or explanatory case studies, was not

of great concern for this exploratory and descriptive study. It was, however, important that a high level of credibility be maintained to make inferences throughout the study (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Credibility was achieved through a prolonged engagement using in-depth analysis and triangulation of the immense amount of literature concerning Jobs's life. Data triangulation was employed by examining multiple sources and cross-checking them in order to minimise distorted interpretations (Flick, 2006). Investigator triangulation was utilised by means of input from the research supervisor, who provided constructive criticism on the procedures for data collection and analysis. The researcher also engaged in reflexive analysis throughout the study in order to minimise researcher bias and maximise the credibility of the study. This was done by continuously writing down thoughts, feelings, frustrations, questions and hypotheses in a journal.

5.2.8.2.3. *External Validity and Transferability*

The aim of this psychobiographical study was not to generalise the findings to a larger population; therefore, external validity/transferability was not a major concern for this study. Instead, Steve Jobs was selected as the complex and unique personality whose life and development were intensively documented and investigated. Analytical generalisation was used to compare and generalise the findings of the study to the psychosocial development theory of Levinson (see Chapter 3).

5.2.8.2.4. *Reliability and Dependability*

The researcher employed a systematic and consistent coding scheme to sort the raw data, so as to enhance the dependability of the study. The coding system consisted of a conceptual and operational matrix wherein the relevant data were placed and evaluated. The conceptual framework was grounded in the constructs of the psychosocial personality development

theory (i.e., Levinson's theory). Furthermore, Alexander's (1988) guidelines for the extraction of salient data were also employed. The coding system and conceptual framework is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Section 5.2 investigated the various methodological considerations inherent to the psychobiographical research approach, provided strategies that should be used to curtail these difficulties and applied them to this specific study. Besides the methodological considerations, there are various ethical issues that also need to be taken into account when undertaking a psychobiographical study (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). These and their application in this study are deliberated on in the following section.

5.3. Ethical Considerations in Psychobiographical Research

5.3.1. Ethical Considerations Explained

Qualitative research, more specifically case study research, poses unique ethical challenges due to the researcher's prolonged, intense and personal interaction with participants, the emergent nature of the research, the methodology used, and the distinctive nature of the researcher-subject relationship (Haverkamp, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010, 2014). Even though psychobiography occupies a historic and continuing position in psychology, there has been minimal treatment of ethical considerations in the conduct and reporting of these studies (Ponterotto, 2013a). While there are currently few guidelines regarding the best ethical practices in psychobiographical research, it remains important for ethical considerations to be addressed in that psychobiographers (like any other researchers) need to be ethically accountable (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Ponterotto, 2013a, 2014, 2015; Runyan, 1982). These ethical concerns generally relate to three domains: (a) choice of psychobiographical subject, (b) treatment of data, and (c) publication of results (Elms, 1994; Saccaggi, 2015). In

addition, the researcher considered ethical concerns relating to factors such as (d) beneficence and non-maleficence, (e) confidentiality, and (f) an institutional review board (IRB) (Ponterotto, 2013a). These are elaborated upon in the sections below.

5.3.1.1. Choice of Psychobiographical Subject

One of the major ethical concerns in psychobiographical research relates to whether the psychobiographer will study a living or deceased individual (Elms, 1994). If the research subject is still alive, informed consent needs to be sought from the individual themselves (Elms, 1994) while different issues apply when the research subject is deceased because the researcher then needs to consider how the results of the study could possibly impact on the living relatives of that departed person (Elms, 1994, Kőváry, 2011). The ideal situation would be to study long deceased individuals with no living relatives in order to minimise the risk of embarrassment by potential undesirable or unsavoury revelations and findings (American Psychiatric Association [APA], 1976; Elms, 1994). It is also important to note that psychobiographies may not be conducted on any living person without his/her prior informed consent (APA, 1976; Elms, 1994). Clearly, psychobiographers cannot obtain informed consent from deceased research subjects and informed consent is rarely requested of living historical figures or the remaining family members of recently deceased individuals, though it is recommended, as noted below (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2013a; Schultz, 2011a). The American Psychological Association (APA) (2002) made a provision in the ethical codes that permits exemption from obtaining informed consent if the research would not be likely to cause any distress or harm to the individual and would not place the participant in any legal risk or damage his/her financial standing, employability or reputation. It is important for the researcher to make a concerted effort to treat all intimate knowledge obtained with respect and empathy and to present the major conclusions diplomatically (Elms, 1994).

5.3.1.2. Treatment of Data

Psychobiographies rely on multiple sources of data in order to ultimately provide a holistic portrait of the research subject (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1982). Issues may arise that relate to questions about what kind of data is acceptable to use (Fouché, 1999). In cases where the psychobiography relies on previously published (public) data, ethical concerns relate to the management and treatment of data to ensure that a balanced portrayal of the individual is achieved (Saccaggi, 2015). The sole use of archival data allows for the researcher to gain more distance from the subject, which contributes to a more balanced perspective (Ponterotto, 2013a). This is necessary because it is important for the researcher to find a balance between objective reporting and plausible psychological interpretation (Ponterotto, 2013a). In cases where the material or data is not publicly available, the ethical concerns relate to the publication of this information within the psychobiographical study (Saccaggi, 2015).

5.3.1.3. Publication of Results

Certain ethical issues also relate to the publication of the results of a psychobiographical study (Ponterotto, 2013a, 2015). The researcher must carefully consider the benefits and disadvantages of including sensitive or controversial information when publication is considered (Ponterotto, 2013b; Saccaggi, 2015). The information should only be included if it adds to the findings of the psychobiography and does not harm the individual subject (Ponterotto, 2013b; Saccaggi, 2015).

5.3.1.4. Beneficence and Non-Maleficence

According to the Health Professions Council of South Africa [HPCSA] (2008), beneficence and non-maleficence are important ethical criteria related to Psychology and all research

practice. Studies should aim to have the potential to be beneficial (beneficence) and also to do no harm (non-maleficence) (HPCSA, 2008).

5.3.1.5. Confidentiality

Confidentiality is an important ethical consideration when it comes to psychobiography because most research samples make use of anonymous samples, whereas psychobiographical studies clearly identify and name their subjects (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kőváry, 2011). In that confidentiality is compromised in a psychobiographical study, it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure that the identified subject is treated with due respect (Elms, 1994).

5.3.1.6. Institutional Review Board (IRB)

In the early stages of the research process, it is difficult to know where the research will lead because psychobiographical research is often inductive and discovery-orientated (Elms & Song, 2005; Schultz, 2005). Ponterotto (2013a) suggests that the psychobiographical researcher submit a research proposal to an institutional review board (IRB). A review by an IRB would help the researcher to reflect on possible ethical problems that may arise during the study (Ponterotto, 2013a). It is important for IRB's to demonstrate flexibility with regard to APA ethical standards (i.e., to waive traditional informed consent documents) (Elms, 1994; Lincoln, 2005; Plankey-Videla, 2012; Ponterotto, 2013a). It is recommended that researchers attempt to gain informed consent from living subjects or estate executors of deceased subjects (Ponterotto, 2013a). If it is not possible to do so, which is often the case, the researcher could discuss his/her rationale for applying an informed consent waiver (Ponterotto, 2013a). The researcher should also outline the steps he/she took to limit any

possible negative consequences of the research on the psychobiographical subject or their living next-of-kin (Ponterotto, 2013a).

5.3.2. Ethical Considerations Applied

5.3.2.1. Choice of Psychobiographical Subject

In this study the issue regarding the choice of psychobiographical subject was addressed and overcome through the decision to study a deceased individual (Elms, 1994). This ensured that the subject himself could not be negatively affected by the study. The subject was fairly recently deceased (in 2011); hence the study could have potentially affected his living relatives. This ethical issue was addressed by ensuring that the subject was treated with respect throughout the study and that the research just made use of existing, publicly available data and documents that are freely accessible. The researcher thus decided not to contact the research subject's living relatives for permission to pursue the study because it did not have the potential to harm the subject or to embarrass living relatives. Informed consent from close family members was also not required because this study was conducted solely for academic purposes.

5.3.2.2. Treatment of Data

This study relied exclusively on public domain data (archival data) that is freely accessible. This in itself promotes a more balanced perspective on the research subject (Ponterotto, 2013a). Furthermore, the researcher ensured that the sources used were as reliable as possible; the nature and possible biases within the sources were acknowledged and taken into consideration. The data were managed and treated in such a way as to promote a balanced, holistic portrayal of the research subject.

5.3.2.3. Publication of Results

As explained above, this academic study made use exclusively of public domain data; therefore no previously unpublished sensitive information was exposed. The researcher aimed to provide a holistic and honest portrayal of the research subject and to avoid focusing merely on sensationalist aspects.

5.3.2.4. Beneficence and Non-Maleficence

With regards to beneficence, this study is beneficial because it provides insight into the life of Steve Jobs from a psychological perspective. The contributions of this study are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8. With regards to non-maleficence, the researcher ensured that no harm was caused to the subject or his family, as explained above.

5.3.2.5. Confidentiality

The research subject of the study was clearly identified, a characteristic of all psychobiographies, and confidentiality was therefore compromised (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Kőváry, 2011). The researcher addressed this issue by maintaining respect and empathy for the subject throughout the study and using methodological rigour to construct the psychobiography.

5.3.2.6. Institutional Review Board (IRB)

The researcher submitted a research proposal to an institutional review board, namely the Departmental Research Committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Free State. In the proposal, the researcher outlined the steps she would take to limit any possible negative consequences of the study on the psychobiographical subject or his living next-of-kin. She also discussed her rationale for applying an informed consent waiver. The

Departmental Research Committee accepted the proposal, approved the study and gave permission for the study to proceed.

5.4. Conclusion

The first section of this chapter discussed the important methodological considerations in psychobiographical research and the strategies used to minimise these criticisms. The considerations discussed include: researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural differences, analysing an absent subject, elitism and easy genre, infinite amount of biographical data and inflated expectations. The subsequent section considered issues regarding reliability, validity and strategies applied in this regard. The chapter concluded with a discussion on ethical considerations and the strategies used to minimise these criticisms. The next chapter provides a discussion on the research design and methodology of this study.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

6.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the research design and method, the psychobiographical subject, research objectives and research procedures are discussed. The procedures for data collection, data extraction and data analysis are particularly described. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on reflexivity.

6.2. Research Design

As previously discussed in section 4.3 and section 4.4.3, this research study may be described as longitudinal life history research. Such research is qualitative in nature, aiming to track the life events and experiences in an individual's life that shaped his/her unique personality (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Runyan, 1983, 1984). This study employs a qualitative single case research design, which is used to test, clarify and challenge theoretical propositions against the unique individual case (Yin, 2009). More specifically, this study can be classified as single case psychobiographical research over the lifespan of an individual (Fouché, 1999). The research design extensively utilises psychological theory in a systematic fashion in order to illuminate the interior life of the research subject and to contribute to knowledge and theory-building (McAdams, 1994).

The nature of this psychobiographical study is both exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic (Edwards, 1990). Its exploratory-descriptive aspect has to do with the accurate and detailed description of a single case, with the purpose of providing an in-depth understanding of the individual within his/her socio-historical context (Edwards, 1990;

Fouché & De Vos, 2005; Gilgun, 1994; Neuman, 2003). The descriptive-dialogic element deals with the faithful description and portrayal of a phenomenon as well as the testing and clarification of the content of specific theories (Edwards, 1990; McLeod, 1994). A dialogue is thus formed between the conceptualisations and theoretical propositions (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004) of Levinson's theory (see Chapter 3) on the one hand and the exploratory-descriptive findings on the other.

6.3. The Psychobiographical Subject

In psychobiographical research, the subject is generally selected by means of a non-probability sampling procedure, known as purposive sampling (Kőváry, 2011). This type of sampling is effective in conjunction with case study research where the case is especially unique; or where the study's purpose is less to generalise to the larger population than it is to gain a deeper understanding of a type of or specific individual (Neuman, 2003). The selection of a particular subject for a psychobiographical study is chiefly based on the individual's significance and the researcher's own particular interests (Howe, 1997; Kőváry, 2011). In order for a subject to be suitable for a psychobiographical study, the individual must have historical significance and there must be enough data available on his/her life (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005).

It has been pointed out that Jobs was selected as the psychobiographical subject for this study on the basis of interest value, his unique personality and his contribution to the transformation of technology into what it has become today. The literature on psychobiographical research advocated the need for psychological research into greatness and exemplary lives (Elms, 1994; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1982; Schultz, 2005; Simonton, 1994). A thorough literature search of existing publications was conducted, but the researcher found just one existing psychobiographical study on Steve Jobs. This, by Ndoro (2014), was

completed in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a MBA, with its emphasis falling on the way in which Jobs's personality influenced his career, and *vice versa*. The researcher, however, made use of a different theory, i.e., Levinson's, in this study (see Chapter 3) while her topic was not on his career alone, but Jobs's personality and lifespan development.

6.4. Research Objectives

The primary objective of this study was to explore and describe the lifespan development of Steve Jobs according to Daniel Levinson's psychosocial theory of development (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978) with the specific focus being on the development of Jobs' personality throughout his lifespan (1955-2011). The primary objective of this study demonstrates an inductive approach (see section 4.5.3) and reflects the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study, which is evident in the in-depth exploration and thick description of a single case situated within a specific socio-historical context (Edwards, 1990; Geertz, 1973; Yin, 2009).

The secondary objective of this study was to test the content and aspects of the applied theory (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). Demonstrating the deductive approach (see section 4.5.3) in this manner reflects the descriptive-dialogic nature of the research, which involves the testing of theoretical propositions and conceptualisations by comparing research findings with expected outcomes or theoretical models (Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999). According to Carlson (1988), life history materials, such as a psychobiography, are ideal for testing and developing various theories of human development. Analytical generalisation was used to test the theory in this study (Cavaye, 1996; McLeod, 1994; Yin, 2009).

Furthermore, the study also aimed to contribute to the field of psychobiographical research. Kőváry (2011) recently predicted a possible "renaissance in psychobiography" (p. 739) due to the current increased attention to narrative psychology and life history research. Ponterotto et al. (2015) also noted that there undoubtedly is renewed and expanding interest in psychobiography on multiple continents. This is evident in the increased production of psychobiographical research, the formalised training in psychobiography, and the professional and organisational initiatives regarding psychobiographical research (Ponterotto et al., 2015).

6.5. Research Method

Elms (1994) described the psychobiographical research method as qualitative-morphogenic in nature because it focuses more on the holistic nature of the phenomenon and thus the holistic description and understanding of a single individual, rather than studying individuality encountered in certain elements only (Runyan, 1983; Willig, 2008). This method involves the conceptualisation of individuality within both the nomothetic and idiographic paradigms, as discussed in sections 4.5.2 and 4.8.1 (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1983). Moreover, along with the complementary single-case research design of this study, this method aids in providing a qualitative holistic description of an individual within his/her socio-historical context (Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1983; Schultz, 2005).

6.6. Data Collection Procedures

In accordance with the primary objective of the study, data on the life of Jobs consisted of collected biographical and historical materials. The data were collected by undertaking a comprehensive search on the World Wide Web, the EBSCOhost database, the information-system services at the SASOL Library of the University of the Free State and various

bookstores. The aim was to gather and use a wide range of diverse sources, which cover the subject's entire life, in order to strengthen the internal validity of both the data and the study as a whole (Yin, 2009).

The data sources used included both primary and secondary ones (as discussed in section 4.5.5). The former sources include oral or written testimony by the subject under study (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Elms, 2007; Simonton, 2003; Strydom & Delport, 2005). The primary sources used in this study included audio-visual material on the subject, public speeches by Jobs, and existing interviews with him. Secondary data sources comprise oral or written accounts by people not present at the specific time or incident and may be termed second-hand accounts, such as biographies, textbooks and articles (Berg, 1995; Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Woolums, 2011). These sources consulted in this study included various published books, biographies, newspaper and magazine articles, audio-visual media, existing interviews with family, friends and colleagues as well as the website www.allaboutstevejobs.com. The data sources used were discussed in section 5.2.6.2 and are all clearly documented in the reference list. The full documentation of all the data sources enhances the reliability and trustworthiness of the study, while also providing other researchers with an existing database that can be accessed for future inspection (Fouché, 1999; Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Yin, 2009).

As previously pointed out, this study exclusively made use of published materials as sources of data. Yin (2009) highlighted various advantages of collecting and analysing materials of this type. Published material can be regarded as providing stable sources of data that can be viewed repeatedly; this is useful for verifying information (Yin, 2009). The information can thus be corroborated for factual accuracy. Published material is also relatively easily accessible; the researcher can retrieve the material at length and at his/her

own convenience (Yin, 2003, 2009). However, since published material may be biased the researcher employed the strategy of data triangulation, which refers to the use of multiple data sources in order to corroborate the data gathered (see section 5.2.8.1.2 and 5.2.8.2.2) (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Neuman, 2003; Tindall, 1999; Yin, 2009). Investigator triangulation (see section 5.2.8.1.2 and 5.2.8.2.2) and reflexivity (see section 6.8.) were also used to minimise and/or overcome distorted interpretations of the literature.

Owing to the wealth of information collected, one of the greatest challenges for a psychobiographical researcher is the examination, extraction, categorisation, and analysis of the collected material (Alexander, 1990; McAdams, 1994; Schultz, 2005). The data extraction and analysis procedures are discussed in the following section.

6.7. Data Extraction and Analysis

Data in qualitative analysis is usually in the form of textual narratives that can be analysed by extracting emergent constructs or themes (Cresswell, 2013; Schurink, 2003). According to Morrow (2005) the researcher should immerse himself/herself in the data during the data analysis stage. The psychobiographical researcher is faced with an enormous amount of data that contains both fact and opinion, and it is his/her task to clearly demarcate what content may be set aside and safely ignored, and what will be privileged and psychologically significant (Schultz, 2005). The researcher thus needs to employ a systematic and general analytic approach for sifting, categorising, extracting, recombining, and examining the useful and applicable information from all the data collected, from which conclusions can ultimately be drawn (Morrow, 2005; Yin, 2003, 2009). Yin (2003, 2009) proposed two strategies for this purpose, namely: (a) data analysis that is guided by theoretical approaches and objectives, and (b) a case description.

The first strategy refers to the way in which the researcher employs the research objectives and theoretical orientation to identify and focus the attention on salient data in the collected material (Yin, 2003, 2009). The researcher achieves this by formulating questions that will provide insight into both the objectives of the study and the theoretical approaches utilised (Fouché, 1999). Irving Alexander's model was used for this purpose. A detailed discussion of this strategy is provided in section 6.7.1.

The second strategy entails the development of a descriptive framework to organise and integrate case information (Yin, 2003, 2009). The researcher should achieve this by developing a conceptual matrix that facilitates data extraction and categorisation (Fouché, 1999). A fuller discussion of this strategy is to be found in section 6.7.2.

6.7.1. Irving Alexander's Model

Alexander's (1988, 1990) model was used in this study to extract core-identifying units from the biographical data. This was carried out through the use of two strategies: (a) questioning the data, and (b) letting the data reveal itself (Alexander, 1988, 1990). These are further discussed in the section below.

6.7.1.1. Questioning the Data

The first strategy used to approach the collected material was to question the data. All the published material gathered on the life of Jobs was subjected to a process of questioning. This enabled the researcher to sort the vast amounts of information by extracting and systematically categorising the information into themes of personality development and functioning (Alexander, 1988, 1990). The purpose of this was to answer questions that were operationalised within the theory in order to reveal critical information about the research subject (Alexander, 1988, 1990). The researcher's aim was to extract units of analysis that

were relevant to the objectives of the study. In order to do this, she approached the collected materials on Jobs with two general questions in mind:

1. "What sections or units of the available data provide meaningful information regarding Jobs's psychosocial personality development across his lifespan?"
2. "How will a dialogue be created between the extracted biographical data and the content of the applied developmental theory?"

In addressing the first question, the researcher conceptualised Jobs's life history in terms of Levinson's psychosocial development theory (see Chapter 3). The data applicable to the propositions, conceptualisations and eras of this psychological framework were thus selected for extraction. This illustrates the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study (as discussed in section 6.2).

For the purpose of addressing the second question, the researcher critically compared the extracted data with the propositions, conceptualisations and eras of the psychological theory. This created a dialogue between the extracted biographical data and the content of the applied developmental theory, which illustrates the descriptive-dialogic nature of the study (as discussed in section 6.2) because it allowed the researcher to test the content and propositions of the theory.

6.7.1.2. Letting the Data Reveal Itself

The second strategy used in the data extraction process was to let the data reveal itself. This strategy enabled the researcher to reduce the data to manageable proportions by selecting it and marking it for further investigation of possible underlying conscious and unconscious intent (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Alexander's (1988, 1990) nine indicators of salience assisted the researcher in sifting, sorting and extracting relevant material from the large amount of

collected data. These indicators are described in the following section, along with an example of how each indicator was applied to the data of this study.

1. Primacy refers to the fact that the information which is presented earliest usually indicates something significant and deserves close inspection (Schultz, 2005). This can be observed in the first few minutes of psychotherapy, where the therapist considers the opening communication as crucial for what will follow (Alexander, 1990). According to Elms (1994), a person's early memories, first experiences and an autobiography's introductory remarks are regarded as significant and worthy of special attention.

Primacy is evident in the following examples from the case, introduced earlier. Jobs was abandoned by his biological parents (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This had an influence on his search for enlightenment, his interpersonal relationships and how he treated his own children (he also abandoned his first child). Jobs developed a pattern in his interpersonal relationships, where he would fluctuate from focusing intensely on the person to being cold and distant, almost abandoning them (Isaacson, 2011). Since his birth, Jobs's adopted parents had always told him that he was special (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). As mentioned, Jobs grew up with this sense and thus felt that the normal rules did not apply to him. In school he did not follow the rules and his parents always gave in to him. This created a pattern in his life, discussed earlier. As a child, it was noted previously, Jobs also worked with his father in their garage where he was taught lessons on good craftsmanship (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015); he would approach his projects with the same focus, perfectionism and attention to detail. Early in his life, he also started engaging in extreme and obsessive diets and fasting (Isaacson, 2011). He wanted to have a sense of control which would also be present throughout his life.

2. Frequency refers to repetition; for example, repeated communications, events, patterns, conflicts, obsessions, scenes, themes, or symbolic representations (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2005). The repetition of information indicates an increased certainty regarding its significance (Alexander, 1988). Repetition may also indicate unresolved, unfinished, or psychologically compelling material (Schultz, 2001). According to Elms (1994), one should not underestimate the significance of repeated information, even if it may seem monotonous.

Frequency is evident in the following examples from the case, discussed in Chapter 2. A majority of the authors who wrote about Jobs indicated that while he was very sensitive, he could also be very rude, harsh, cold and demeaning of people (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Beahm, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lashinsky, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). This led to various unstable interpersonal relationships. His intensity, need for control and perfectionism was also repeated in many of his actions. (Isaacson, 2011). He also paused the development of numerous projects (i.e., the Apple Stores, the iMac, and the iPhone) and would alter the designs, forcing the teams to start over, because he felt they were not perfect (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). His interpersonal relationships were marked by intensity, tantrums and weeping when he had a disagreement with someone or if they refused to give in to his will (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs's rebelliousness is also a repeated theme in his life, as discussed earlier (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In his high school and college years he would embrace the counterculture (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In his adult life, his rebelliousness presented itself in his dislike of authority (i.e., the Board of Apple), and the way in which he refused to follow the rules (e.g., regarding his Mercedes) (Isaacson, 2011). Frequency is also presented in the way that he would constantly be treated as special throughout his life (i.e., by his parents, certain teachers, the Dean at Reed College, Busnell at Atari, and various others) (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011).

3. Uniqueness refers to aspects of the collected data that are unusual, unique, unprecedented or singular and thus deserving of closer inspection (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005). Clear departures from the usual language of the subject may be seen as subtle signs of uniqueness (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Uniqueness could also be indicated by unexpected or unexplained outcomes in a sequence of events (Alexander, 1988). Uniqueness might also be indicated by the subject's response to an event instead of by the event itself (Alexander, 1988).

Uniqueness is evident in the following examples from the case, as discussed previously. Jobs did not say goodbye to his parents when they dropped him off at Reed College (Isaacson, 2011). At the time, Jobs did not want people to know that he had parents, because he wanted to portray the image of an orphan who "bummed around the country" (Isaacson, 2011, p. 34). This was unique because he was abandoned by his birth parents and one would think that he did not want to seem like an orphan. Jobs later also admitted that he was ashamed of the way he treated them. This admission was also unique to him. Another example of uniqueness was when Jobs agreed to give the Stanford Commencement Address in 2005 because usually the only speeches he would ever give were at his product launches (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

4. Negation refers to that which is denied or turned into its opposite (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994). According to Elms (1994) a person's perception of who he or she is, is just as important as his/her emphasis on who he/she is not. Negation statements could indicate possible unconscious or repressed material (Alexander, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). These statements could be seen as truths that the subject wanted others to believe or wanted to believe himself/herself (Elms, 1994). According to Schultz (2005), negation occurs when people simply "protest too much", especially when "no" is said in the absence of any

question (p. 47). This refutation may thus be a confirmation of the opposite and warrants further inquiry.

Negation is evident in the following examples from the case, as discussed in Chapter 2. When Jobs was working at Atari, Nolan Bushnell made him an offer to develop a new single-player version of the game Pong (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Though Wozniak helped Jobs to develop it, apparently, Jobs only paid Wozniak half of the base fee, and he did not even tell him about the bonus (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs denied this. Jobs had a binary view of the world, where he saw people either as geniuses (A players) or idiots (B players) (Isaacson, 2011). He considered himself to be in the first category (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

5. Emphasis refers to the obvious forms of accent or underlining in oral or written communication of the subject (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2005). Alexander (1988) identified three types of emphasis: overemphasis, under-emphasis and misplaced emphasis. Overemphasis points to when an event, considered by the reader as mundane, is unduly stressed. Under-emphasis occurs when a major life experience or trauma is passed over with little comment. Misplaced emphasis is evident when irrelevant information is stressed with undue force while the outcome is not credibly linked to the stated or implied means (Alexander, 1988; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005).

Emphasis is evident in the following examples from the case. In much of the literature, Jobs's harsh, rude, demeaning and cold side is overemphasised, while his sensitive side is under-emphasised (Beahm, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lashinsky, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). Jobs's reactions and feelings regarding the death of Clara and Paul Jobs is also under-emphasised by the authors. While the death of each parent is a major life experience it is just briefly mentioned in the literature (Isaacson, 2011).

6. Omission refers to that which is missing, especially the absence of expected content (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005). Information on the subject's affect is most often omitted in biographical data (Alexander, 1988). Elms (1994) refers to omission as the "Sherlock Holmes Rule" and explains that sometimes one "should ask more questions when a dog doesn't bark than when it does" (p. 246). By questioning what is missing, the researcher may discover a vital clue in the subject's life (Elms, 1994).

Omission is evident in the way that Jobs's feelings about the death of his parents were not disclosed. As remarked, their deaths were only briefly mentioned by Isaacson (2011). There was also an omission of Jobs's feelings regarding the birth and abandonment of his first daughter, Lisa. The reader knows that he started visiting her frequently when she turned eight, but there is an omission of information that could explain his feelings and why he decided to start visiting her (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was known to be secretive and he did not like to disclose information on his personal life (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

7. Error or distortion refers to the presence of mistakes, most often regarding people, places, and times (Schultz, 2005). The subject may misdate an event, contradict themselves, exaggerate tendentiously, or he/she might even lie (Schultz, 2005). Errors and distortions thus assume infinite forms that may indicate important hidden motives or conflicts, which could easily go unnoticed (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2005). Some errors may be insignificant; however they should be treated as "provisionally meaningful" until convinced otherwise (Schultz, 2005, p. 47).

Error or distortion is evident in the following examples from the case. It was widely known that Jobs had his own reality distortion field (Beahm, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lashinsky, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Ziller, 2011). He would often distort reality in a

way that was acceptable to him. The birth of his first child, Lisa, is such an instance, as noted in his denial of paternity (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He also distorted reality concerning his cancer diagnosis by initially denying treatment (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs would furthermore lie to the company and the media about the status of his health and would become angry when confronted with the reality of the situation (Isaacson, 2011).

8. *Isolation* refers to information that does not fit into or stands out from the text (Alexander, 1988, 1990). Schultz (2005) refers to this as the "sore thumb" clue because "isolated material simply and jarringly, stick[s] out" (p. 46). This poses the question of how the information logically makes sense within the presented context (Elms, 1994). It is the psychobiographer's task to "restore the link between the isolated fragment and the web of unconscious ideas from which it stands" in order to uncover meaning (Schultz, 2005, p. 46). The researcher found that most of the collected material on Jobs's life was relatively similar and coherent.

9. *Incompletion* refers to that which is not finished; for example, when a topic is introduced by the subject and then abruptly terminated without closure (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2005). Schultz (2005) was of the opinion that incompletion is avoidance of certain thoughts or actions and any possible associated negative emotional consequences.

Incompletion is evident in the following examples from the case. Jobs was diagnosed with cancer when he was 48 years old and died at the age of 56 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). However, he still nurtured much ambition and expressed the wish to continue being involved with the company if his health would allow it (Isaacson, 2011). He was also saddened by the fact that he would not be able to celebrate any more of

his children's birthdays with them and wished he could spend more time with them (Isaacson, 2011).

Alexander's (1988, 1990) nine indicators of salience enabled the researcher to reflect on the collected data in a consistent and systematic manner. The purpose for utilising this model was to establish a consistent analytic approach to enhance the trustworthiness of the study (Fouché, 1999; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). The researcher did this by following the guidelines for extracting salient data and asking questions related to the research aim and theoretical perspectives. Alexander's (1988, 1990) model aligned with Yin's (2009) proposed strategies for case study analysis (as discussed in section 6.7.).

The second strategy proposed by Yin (2003, 2009) entails the development of a descriptive framework to organise and integrate case information. In order to carry this out, the researcher developed a conceptual matrix that facilitated data extraction and categorisation (Fouché, 1999). This is discussed in the section below.

6.7.2. Conceptual Framework and Matrix

Data needs to be recorded in an organised manner to ensure that the meaning of the data can be soundly formulated (Miles & Huberman, 1994). A conceptual framework allows the researcher to interpret the data in a systematic fashion (Morrow, 2005). Miles and Huberman (1994) developed a model that included, among other features, a matrix of categories into which data may be placed, and the organisation of information into chronological order. With this in mind, the researcher developed a conceptual matrix in order to categorize the data. This matrix integrates the previously developed theory of Levinson with the historical facts about the subject. The *Matrix of Psychosocial Personality Development across the Historical Lifespan of Steve Jobs* is presented in the table below.

Table 6.1

Matrix of Psychosocial Personality Development across the Historical Lifespan of Steve Jobs

Jobs's Socio-Historical Context	Levinson's Psychosocial Developmental Theory													
	ERA OF PRE-ADULTHOOD				ERA OF EARLY-ADULTHOOD				ERA OF MIDDLE-ADULTHOOD				*ERA OF LATE ADULTHOOD*	
	Infancy	Early Child-hood	Middle Child-hood	Adolesc-ence	Early Adult Transi-tion	Entry Life Struc-ture	Age 30 Transi-tion	Settling Down	Midlife Transi-tion	Entry Life Struct-ure	Age 50 Transi-tion	Culminating Life Structure	Late Adult Transi-tion	Late Adult-hood
	(0 – 2)	(2 – 6)	(6 – 12)	(12 – 17)	(17 -22)	(22 - 28)	(28 – 33)	(33 – 40)	(40-45)	(45-50)	(50 -55)	(55 – 60)	(60-65)	(65 - ?)
Childhood and school years: The prankster (1955-1972)	▓	▓	▓	▓										
Enlightenment period: The hippie (1972 - 1977)					▓									
Fame and fortune: The entrepreneur (1977 - 1988)						▓	▓							
New beginnings: The family man and saviour (1988 - 2000)								▓	▓					
Changing the face of technology: The CEO (2000-2005)										▓				
Fighting cancer: The legacy (2005 - 2011)											▓	2011 Death age 56		

On this matrix, the vertical columns represent the eras and transitions proposed by Levinson's psychosocial developmental theory (discussed in Chapter 3) whereas the horizontal rows denote Steve Jobs's socio-historical context, which is based on the historical overview of his life (discussed in Chapter 2). The employment of this matrix provided a longitudinal perspective with which to trace psychosocial personality development and aided in the consistent and systematic categorisation and analysis of the biographical data over the lifespan of the subject (Fouché, 1999; Morrow, 2005).

Another important part of qualitative research is reflexivity (Willig, 2008). The following section provides a discussion on reflexivity and the strategies used to address issues of reflexivity in this study.

6.8. Reflexivity

The concept of reflexivity recognises that the researcher and the researched are collaborators in the construction of knowledge and the description of meaning (Ashworth, 2003; Tindall, 1999; Willig, 2008). Reflexive analysis refers to the researcher's awareness of his/her own contribution to the construction of meaning throughout the research process and to the acknowledgement that complete objectivity is impossible (Willig, 2008). Willig (2008) identified two types of reflexivity: (a) personal and (b) epistemological.

The former encompasses the researcher's personal reflection on his/her beliefs, values, assumptions, purpose and aims, interests and political views that may have influenced the research study, progress, or results (Cresswell, 2013; Willig, 2008). Epistemological reflexivity, though, refers to aspects such as how the research question was defined and possibly limited, and how it could have been differently investigated (Willig, 2008). As regards epistemological reflexivity, the researcher should employ critical language awareness in order to reflect on the way in which the words used in research may influence the meaning construction process (Willig, 2008).

Reflexivity was employed in order to minimise researcher bias through acknowledging the subjectivity of the researcher and thus, in effect increasing objectivity by being aware of possible bias (Flick, 2006). In order to exercise reflexivity, the researcher utilised a research journal (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Krefting, 1991; Tindall, 1999) to describe, explore, reflect on and interpret her experiences throughout the research process.

She also examined her choice of topic and choice of subject. Furthermore, she reflected on her intentions, expectations, experiences, decisions and emotions throughout the research process. By doing this, she aimed to identify any possible preconceived assumptions or biases. A brief reflexive analysis was integrated into "The Researcher's Personal Passage" in Chapter 1 and "General Thoughts and Remarks" in Chapter 8.

6.9. Conclusion

This chapter considered the research design and methodology of the study. Furthermore, the researcher also discussed the data collection methods and described the procedures used for data extraction and analysis: Alexander's model as well as the development of a conceptual matrix for the study. The chapter concluded with a discussion on reflexivity. The following chapter elaborates on the findings and discussion of the study.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

7.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the research findings on the psychosocial personality development of Steve Jobs are presented and discussed, beginning with a conceptual outline. Thereafter, the findings themselves are considered.

7.2. Conceptual Outline to the Discussion of Findings

The findings of a psychobiographical study are discussed by means of a biographical account of the subject's life within the context of the selected psychological theory (Fouché, 1999; Schultz, 2005). Therefore, Jobs's life is presented chronologically according to the eras (also known as seasons) of Levinson's theory.

As described in Chapter 3, Levinson et al. (1978) viewed the human life cycle as an overlapping sequence of four eras and aimed to describe the uniqueness of each individual life, while simultaneously describing developmental principles that shape individuals' lives in general. A historical overview of the life of Jobs was presented in Chapter 2. In the following section the researcher furnishes the information and events applicable to Jobs's psychosocial personality development during each of Levinson's eras and transitional periods. Due to the fact that Jobs died at the age of 56, the first 3 eras proposed by Levinson (1996) and Levinson et al. (1978) are discussed separately across each of the 6 historical periods throughout Jobs's lifespan. This enabled the researcher to systematically explore each era of Jobs's psychosocial personality development.

7.3. The Developmental Periods in the Life of Steve Jobs

7.3.1. The Era of Pre-Adulthood (age 0-22)

The era of Pre-Adulthood includes Early Childhood, Middle Childhood, Adolescence and the Early Adult Transition (Levinson et al., 1978). This era is characterised by rapid biopsychosocial growth, where the individual grows from a highly dependent, undifferentiated infant into a more independent, responsible adult (Stroud, 2004).

Various transitions are made in this era. The first step in the ongoing process of individuation is made with the transition from birth to Early Childhood. This occurs during the first two to three years of the individual's life when the infant learns to distinguish the "me" from the "not-me" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 20). Individuation refers to "the changes in a person's relationship to himself and to the external world" (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 195). As the boundary between the self and the world becomes clearer, the individual forms a stronger sense of who they are and what they want (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004). The process of individuation continues throughout the life cycle, being especially prominent during key transition periods (section 3.9.2 refers).

The transition from Early to Middle Childhood occurs at the age of five or six when the child expands his/her social world from the immediate family to a larger sphere, which includes the neighbourhood, school and peer groups (Levinson et al., 1978). The transition from Middle Childhood to Adolescence usually occurs at the age of 12 or 13, marked by the onset of puberty. Adolescence can be regarded as the conclusion of the era of Pre-Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978).

7.3.1.1. Childhood and School Years: The Prankster (1955-1972)

The Jobs family adopted Steve straight after his birth and he lived with them throughout his childhood and school years (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson et al. (1978) stated that the family provides protection, socialisation and support of growth during the pre-adult years. Jobs grew up in a secure, safe, and loving environment where his parents provided him with a great deal of support throughout these years (Isaacson, 2011).

Jobs had a positive relationship with both parents, who had been honest about his adoption since he was a small boy. The adoption could be seen as the first developmental crisis that Jobs experienced. His parents, however, always emphasised that he was special (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Despite his feelings of abandonment, Jobs came to believe them, which became a part of his personality throughout his life (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs's relationship with his adoptive father played an important role in his development. He was a calm and gentle man who liked to restore old cars. Jobs was only five years old when his father encouraged him to help to build a fence around the house and taught him the lessons of good craftsmanship (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Later in his life, this lesson became an integral part of Jobs's personality and possibly contributed to his obsession with perfection. With all the products he developed later in his life, he would focus just as much on the hidden aspects as on the visible ones (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

At a young age, Jobs and his parents realised that he was highly intelligent (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) which further reinforced the idea that he was special. Due

to the fact that he was so able, he became bored at school (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson (1996) concurred with Levinson et al. (1978) that the child expands his social world from the immediate family to a larger sphere with the transition from Early Childhood to Middle Childhood. Jobs started making friends and comfortably separating from his immediate family environment. However, he was not disposed to accept authority and would frequently get into trouble or be sent home. His parents did not punish him, but rather treated him as special and expected the school to do the same (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Because of his intellectual ability the school recommended he skip two grades; however his parents insisted that he only skip one (Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Young, 1988; Ziller, 2011). His academic achievement could be perceived as a positive factor; however it could also be challenging for a child to be placed in a class with older children (Sigelman & Rider, 2006); his transition to sixth grade was difficult and he became a loner (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The school he attended was in a violent neighbourhood and he was frequently bullied (Isaacson, 2011). Since peer relationships are an important part of childhood and, especially, of adolescent development (Sigelman & Rider, 2006) this period could thus be regarded as a developmental crisis for Jobs.

Ever since childhood, Jobs had been very independent and exhibited strong willpower. He demonstrated this trait in his seventh grade, giving his parents an ultimatum that they should put him in a different school or he would drop out altogether (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). His parents always supported him; they moved to a more congenial district with better schools (Lakin, 2015; Young & Simon, 2005). This also illustrated Jobs's need for control, which might have stemmed from his abandonment at birth (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

He also exercised his strong willpower with regard to church. His parents wanted to give him a religious upbringing but he did not agree with some of the teachings at the Lutheran church and decided that he would stop going to church altogether. Levinson (1996) considered religious concerns as unimportant during this era. However, Jobs's decision on religion is noteworthy because in the process of forming his identity, he did not want the Lutheran church to be a part of it (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs started ninth grade at Homestead High in 1968, where he mostly became friends with seniors who also demonstrated greater intellectual capacity and shared his interests; he had few friends of his own age. This could be an indication that he was presumably intellectually more mature than the boys his age (Sigelman & Rider, 2006). While Jobs flourished intellectually, during his high school years he continued to play pranks and also started smoking marijuana (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This type of rebellious behaviour is common during adolescent development (Sigelman & Rider, 2006). Levinson et al. (1978) stated that a person's socio-cultural world plays an important role in his/her development. The counterculture of the late 1960s could have influenced Jobs's drug use and other activities (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The only real conflict Jobs ever had with his father was over his marijuana use (Isaacson, 2011). This demonstrates his parents' involvement in his life and that they continued to protect and provide a safe environment for him.

Jobs thrived when he started working during his high school years. (Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). With help from his father, he was able to buy a car when he was 15 (Isaacson, 2011). This once again bears out the supportive role his father played in his life and promoted Jobs's growing independence, which supports the theory of Levinson et al. (1978).

During this period, Jobs also formed significant relationships with people outside of his immediate family. As discussed in Chapter 2, he spent time with a man named Larry Lang, an engineer who lived down the street who influenced his love for electronics (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs also became friends with Steve Wozniak, who had a mutual passion for electronics, music, and pranks (Isaacson, 2011). This relationship gained in significance when they developed their so-called blue boxes by means of which they were able to make free long distance calls. Jobs suggested selling them and his vision paid off; he would later co-found Apple with Wozniak (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He was clearly now able to form important peer relationships, which Levinson et al. (1978) describes as an important task during adolescence.

Jobs's willpower, his eagerness to learn and work, his rebelliousness, and his engagement in social relationships illustrate that he was in the process of developing his identity and his sense of independence (Isaacson, 2011; Sigelman & Rider, 2006), which is in line with the characteristics of this era as mentioned by Levinson et al. (1978). The literature on Jobs's life supports Levinson's (1996) notion that, during this period, the process of individuation continues in the individual's life.

7.3.2. Early Adult Transition (age 17-22)

This transition takes place from the age of 17 to 22 (Levinson et al., 1978). Each transitional period, as mentioned, has three main developmental tasks: the ending or termination of the existing life structure, individuation and the starting or initiation of a new structure (Levinson et al, 1978; Stroud, 2004). In the Early Adult Transition, the individual needs to: (a) terminate the Adolescent life structure and leave Pre-Adulthood and (b) take a preliminary step into the adult world to begin Early Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). Stroud (2004) summarises Levinson's (1996) Early Adult Transition as a stage during which "we (a) change or adapt

our relationships with family and the external world; (b) begin to form an adult identity; and (c) take our place as adults in the adult world" (Stroud, 2004; p. 49). In this transitional period the individual is creating a base for adult life (Levinson et al., 1978).

7.3.2.1. Enlightenment Period: The Hippie (1972-1977)

At the end of his senior year, at the age of 17, Jobs started a relationship with his first girlfriend, Chrisann Brennan. After his graduation, he moved into a cabin in the hills with Brennan, though his parents did not approve (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson et al. (1978) described the detachment from the parental home as an important component in terminating the existing life structure and leaving the pre-adult world. This process of separation can occur along many lines, externally and internally. The physical move out of the parental home is an external aspect of the separation from the family of origin (Levinson et al. 1978). The process of forming a marriage and a family already starts during the Early Adult Transition (Levinson at al., 1978). A man's first developmental task in this regard, is to form the capability of engaging in adult peer relationships with women (Levinson et al., 1978) Even though Jobs did not marry or start a family (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), his relationship with Brennan illustrates the start of this exploration. For more information on this relationship, the reader is referred to Chapter 2 (section 2.3.1).

When Jobs's parents adopted him, they promised to send him to college (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs once again exercised his strong willpower and need for control when it came to this decision (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). His parents gave in to his demands, even although they could not afford it. When they took him to Reed, he did not even say goodbye to them (Isaacson, 2011). This could be a strong indication of his need for a new life structure and the

termination of his existing life structure. Levinson et al. (1978) proposed that an internal aspect of separating from one's family of origin, includes greater psychological distance from the family, reduced emotional dependency on parental support and an increasing differentiation between the self and the parents. The fact that Jobs did not say farewell (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), could thus be an indication of the internal separation from his family of origin and his on-going process of individuation.

According to Levinson et al. (1978), a person's socio-cultural world has certain meanings and consequences for the individual. The relationship between him or her and the world needs to be taken into account when attempting to understand the former's life (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al, 1978). During Jobs's college years, there was a shift in American campus life because students were starting to look at pathways that could lead to personal fulfilment (Isaacson, 2011). The socio-historical context influenced Jobs, who proceeded to read books on spirituality and enlightenment as well as exploring vegetarianism. He became obsessive, intense and serious about Zen Buddhism and the latter (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs embraced the enlightenment-seeking campus subculture; it became part of his personality because he would remain passionate about both Zen Buddhism and obsessive dieting and fasting throughout his life (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs would also walk barefoot, use LSD and refuse to use deodorant during this period (Isaacson, 2011). The counterculture of the time clearly played a role in Jobs's process of individuation during this transitional period.

Jobs decided to drop out of college because he could not attend the classes he wanted to and felt that his parents were wasting their money (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He stayed at Reed for 18 months after doing so and continued to attend just the classes that interested him, such as a calligraphy class. He developed a love for this art

and would later use the principles in his development of different fonts for the Macintosh (Isaacson, 2011; Jobs, 2005; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). During the Early Adult Transition, a young person has to question the nature of the world and their place in it (Levinson et al., 1978). This process entails the modification of existing relationships with important persons and institutions (Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs modified his relationship with college in the manner described. This can be regarded as part of his individuation process (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

Jobs made two significant friends during his time at Reed. The first was Daniel Kottke, who shared Jobs's love for Zen, Bob Dylan and LSD (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011) and the second Robert Friedland who initially served as a type of mentor to Jobs (Isaacson, 2011). Whenever separation from a mentor relationship occurs, a young man may take the admired qualities of the mentor more fully into himself (Levinson et al., 1978). This is illustrated by the fact that Jobs adopted some of Friedland's charismatic traits, which became a part of his personality (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs's charisma could later be seen in his product presentations and his ability to influence people (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

After leaving Reed, at the age of 19 (sans a degree), Jobs moved back in with his parents and started looking for employment (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). A person may continue living in the parental home and still be able to work on the developmental tasks of this period by becoming internally more differentiated from parents and externally more self-sufficient (Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs began working at Atari, a video game manufacturer, until he had saved enough money to go to India, in search of spiritual enlightenment (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). After his return, he also underwent primal scream

therapy, which had been developed and popularised by a psychotherapist named Arthur Janov, as part of his compulsive search for self-awareness (Isaacson, 2011). Jobs felt that the therapy and diets would help to cleanse him and allow him to obtain deeper insight into the frustration and anger he felt about his birth and adoption (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson et al. (1978) indicated that unresolved problems from Childhood and Adolescence might make this period difficult. It is important for an individual to explore possibilities and to make and test some preliminary choices for adult living during this transitional period (Levinson et al., 1978). It is clear that Jobs was doing so during this period.

During this period, Jobs also started considering various possibilities as career options. After returning from India, he went to work for Atari again (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). While there, Jobs was instructed to design a new version of the game Pong and recruited Wozniak to help him (Isaacson, 2011; Stern & Hume, 2013; Wozniak & Smith, 2006). Jobs also observed Wozniak's first attempt at creating a personal computer and initiated the idea that they should sell these computers. He also convinced Wozniak to start a computer company with him (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that a man usually makes an initial serious choice regarding his career in this period. A man's first choice usually represents a preliminary definition of his interests and values (Levinson et al, 1978). The transformation of interests into occupation is rarely a simple process. The forming of an occupation is a complex, social-psychological one that extends over the entire novice phase (which begins with the onset of the Early Adult Transition and ends with the conclusion of the Age 30 Transition) and often beyond that (Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs's initial career choice reflects his interest in engineering and computers, consequently supporting the theory of Levinson et al. (1978).

At the age of 22, Jobs seemed to have gained clarity regarding his direction in terms of his career choice. The new corporation, *Apple Computer Co.*, had been created and moved out of the Jobses' garage and into real offices (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This could once again illustrate a separation or termination, as explained by Levinson et al. (1978). Wozniak and Jobs also designed and created the Apple II. Jobs placed much emphasis on the importance of appealing packaging. His interest in Zen and minimalism influenced the way in which he approached the product and the packaging (Editors of TIME, 2011; Hunt & O' Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015). This once again illustrates that a man's interests are reflected in his initial career choice. Levinson et al. (1978) declared that a man would make firmer choices, define more specific goals, and gain a higher measure of self-definition as the transition comes to an end. Jobs was able to do so during this transition.

As part of the plan to acquire more capital, Jobs appointed Mike Markkula, who became a father figure and a mentor (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Levinson et al. (1978) claimed that a mentor relationship is one of the most complex and developmentally important that a man can have in Early Adulthood. Markkula taught Jobs how to understand the needs and desires of customers and the importance of marketing and image (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). A mentor may serve as a teacher, sponsor, host and guide, exemplar, and/or counsel (Levinson et al., 1978). Markkula acted as all of the above for Jobs. He also supported Jobs's dream of starting a computer company focused on innovation and creativity. The function of a mentor that is developmentally the most crucial, is that which supports, facilitates and contributes to the realisation of the young man's dream (Levinson et al., 1978). As a mentor, Markkula fulfilled this function (see Chapter 2, section 2.3).

The central components during Jobs's Early Adult Transition were his search for enlightenment and his occupation. These received the largest amount of Jobs's time and energy, which were illustrated in the historical discussion of his life in Chapter 2 (section 2.3). According to Levinson et al. (1978), the central components strongly influence the choices that an individual makes in other aspects of life. Occupation is especially important for men, as noted earlier (Levinson et al., 1978). As Jobs was starting to determine his place in the world and entering into adulthood, his occupation was the most central component in his life. Occupation also serves as a medium through which a young man's dreams for the future are defined and pursued (Levinson et al., 1978). One could hypothesise that Jobs defined and pursued his dream for the future by starting a computer company.

Jobs therefore successfully completed the tasks of the Early Adult Transition, which were to (a) terminate the adolescent life structure and leave Pre-Adulthood and (b) take a preliminary step into the adult world to begin Early Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs was clearly able to do so. This was illustrated in the separation from his family, the modification and termination of his relationships with various institutions and his exploration of choices and possibilities.

7.3.3. The Era of Early Adulthood (age 17-45)

The era of Early Adulthood consists of three developmental periods in which a life structure is created, maintained and evaluated, with the purpose of allowing the individual to realise short and long-term goals (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al, 1978). These consist of: (a) the entry life structure for Early Adulthood (i.e., entering the adult world), (b) the Age 30 Transition, and (c) the culminating life structure for Early Adulthood (i.e., settling down) (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

According to Stroud (2004), Early Adulthood is the most dramatic era because it is the period of greatest biological abundance and also of the greatest contradiction and stress. Levinson et al. (1978) averred that this era could be characterised by its fullness of energy, capability, potential, as well as external pressure. The individual needs to make important decisions regarding marriage, occupation, residence and lifestyle in order to define his place in the adult world (Levinson, 1996; Smuts, 2009). Jobs's life during the era of Early Adulthood is discussed according to the three developmental periods.

The Entry Life Structure for Early Adulthood - Entering the Adult World (age 22-28)

The individual has two tasks during this developmental period (Levinson et al., 1978). The first is to explore the possibilities of adult life by keeping his options open, maximising alternatives, and avoiding strong commitments. The second (contrasting) task is to create a stable life structure to become more responsible. According to Levinson et al. (1978) the individual needs to find a balance between exploring the adult world, while simultaneously building a stable life within it.

7.3.3.1. Fame and Fortune: The Entrepreneur (1977-1988)

Jobs and Brennan had had a sporadic relationship since the time he had graduated from high school (Isaacson, 2011). They were not officially committed when Brennan became pregnant in 1977. At the time, Jobs was 22 years old and distanced himself from Brennan and the pregnancy (Brennan, 2013; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). This can be interpreted as part of the exploration of this period, where an individual avoids strong commitments and tries to keep his options open (Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs was 23 years old when the child, who was named Lisa, was born; he denied paternity and refused to pay child support (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). It is ironic that

Jobs abandoned his child at the same age that his biological parents were when they abandoned him (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Brennan sued for child support, Jobs lost the case and had to start paying it (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011). He acceded, but nevertheless remained uninvolved with and disconnected from both Brennan and Lisa. The second task of this period requires a man to take on adult responsibilities (Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs did not take responsibility as a father and he did not want to marry Brennan (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). According to Levinson (1996), an individual may find it especially stressful if the external demands and expectations are in strong contradiction with the individual's personal wants and needs. The external expectations were that he be a father to the child and possibly marry Brennan; however he did not want to do this, preferring to focus on his career. This contradiction caused stress in his life which he dealt with by simply refusing to take responsibility for the child. According to Levinson et al. (1978), the aspects of stress may be handled successfully, but if not, they might cause problems or maladjustment.

After the court case, Jobs matured in certain ways. He stopped taking drugs, he eased up on his strict diet, he spent less time at Zen retreats, started engaging in better grooming habits and even bought a house (Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). This relates to the second task proposed by Levinson et al. (1978), which entails taking on adult responsibilities to create a stable life structure. Jobs, however was also still busy with the task of exploration, as evident in the fact that he did not furnish his house because he could not commit to furniture that he liked (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011).

Levinson et al. (1978) theorised that the central components during this period in a man's life are most likely to be occupation and marriage-family. The most central component in Jobs's life was his occupation. At the age of 22, he was focused on the launch of the Apple

II. At 23, he was working on the Lisa project but was removed from it at the age of 25. During this time he also became extremely wealthy after Apple's first IPO, being worth $256 million (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs also visited Xerox PARC and at the age of 26, took over the Macintosh division at Apple; he became even more famous, making his first appearance on the cover of a magazine (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The central component in Jobs's life was clearly his occupation, in concurrence with the theory of Levinson et al. (1978). Jobs, however, was not primarily focused on marriage and family at this time.

His difficult personality was especially prominent during this period (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). For instance, he would frequently throw tantrums whenever he did not get his way (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). One could hypothesise that the sense of entitlement that became part of his personality at a very young age, was still present and influenced this type of behaviour. Levinson et al. (1978) also stated that a man's difficulties during this period could be accentuated by specific aspects of his situation and by his own emotional problems. Jobs found it easy to separate from his parents; however he seems to have found it difficult to separate from the way they treated him and he expected the same special treatment from everyone in his life. The manner in which he dealt with the stress regarding Lisa's birth could possibly also have caused problems in his social relationships. Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that the ineffective handling of stress could lead to personal problems or maladjustment.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Jobs was 28 when Apple needed a new CEO; even though he wanted to accept, he knew he was still too young to run the company by himself (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He convinced John Sculley to become Apple's new CEO (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs and Sculley were initially very close

(Isaacson, 2011). For a brief period, Sculley also functioned as a mentor for Jobs because he initially supported the realisation of Jobs's dream. Levinson et al. (1978) stated that mentors play a significant role throughout Early Adulthood, as discussed earlier. The mentor is not a parent or a peer, but a mixture of both whose primary function is to be a transitional figure (Levinson et al., 1978). One of the possible reasons that the relationship between Jobs and Sculley was short-lived could be that Sculley embodied a parenting role more than a mix of parent and peer. Jobs had always felt a disdain for authority figures and this could also have affected the relationship between him and Sculley. Jobs also felt abandoned by his other mentor, Markkula, who helped to remove Jobs from the Lisa project (Isaacson, 2011). Levinson et al. (1978) proposed that the mentoring relationship usually lasts two to three years and that strong mentor relationships usually end with strong conflict and bad feelings on both sides.

Marriage and family are usually also central components during this period of a man's life (Levinson et al., 1978). To Jobs, marriage and family were not as important as his occupation during this period. However, Jobs explored relationships with different women. At the age of 23 he and Barbara Jasinski were in a relationship, but this eventually ended (see Chapter 2, section 2.4.2 and 2.4.11). When he was 27 years old, he had a relationship with Joan Baez, who was 41 years old and thus his senior by 14 years (Isaacson, 2011). Despite their relationship being serious, Jobs ended it when he came to understand that Baez did not wish to have more children, while he did. This was ironic because he already had one whom he had abandoned (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). At the age of 28, Jobs and Jennifer Eagan began a relationship which terminated because Eagan felt she was too young to marry (Isaacson, 2011). During this period, he also expressed his desire to marry and have children. Levinson et al. (1978) proposed that as this period comes to an end, it may become more distressing for a male individual if he does not have a wife or an occupation or a home

base of his own. Jobs had not married; which could have led to an unstable, incomplete or fragmented life structure. Levinson et al. (1978) found that most men in their late 20s have such a life structure. If a man is not yet married, the question of marriage becomes more urgent (Levinson et al., 1978). It is clear that new developmental tasks were pushing to the fore in Jobs's life.

During the period of entering into the adult world, Jobs engaged in both major tasks. They also facilitated his continuous process of individuation. The central component for Jobs during this period was his occupation; however, as mentioned, he also actively explored relationships with various women. Jobs seemed to struggle to find a balance between exploring and taking responsibility; the need for change and revision of the existing life structure was thus imminent.

The Age 30 Transition (age 28-33)

The Age 30 Transition provides an opportunity for the individual to work on the limitations and flaws of the first adult life structure (entry life structure) and to create the basis for a more satisfactory one to end off the era of Early Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). The individual continues to individuate as a person and explore new possibilities and avenues (Levinson et al., 1978). The transition may be smooth, or a developmental crisis may occur if the individual finds his current life structure unbearable. A moderate or severe crisis is common during this period (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

7.3.3.2. Fame and Fortune: The Entrepreneur (1977-1988) (continued)

Jobs's life from the age of 28 to 30 was relatively stable. In 1984, at the age of 28, Jobs launched the *1984* Macintosh advertisement (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015) and also the Macintosh computer just before his 29th birthday.

The launch illustrated the dramatic and charismatic side of Jobs's personality and made him even more of a celebrity (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). At the age of 29 he bought an apartment and also an old Spanish mansion (Isaacson, 2011). In 1985, Jobs celebrated his 30th birthday by hosting a lavish party (Isaacson, 2011).

However, at the age of 30, Jobs also experienced a developmental crisis. After Sculley removed Jobs from the Macintosh division (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), the board sided with Sculley and Jobs was stripped of all executive duties (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013). Jobs felt hurt, distraught and even abandoned because three of the board members (Sculley, Markkula, and Rock) had once been father figures to him (Isaacson, 2011). The developmental crisis was especially painful because his occupation had been the central component in Jobs's life up to this point. He reflected on his life, deciding that he was still young and wanted to begin something new (Isaacson, 2011). He resigned, sold all his Apple shares except for one and decided to establish a new company (Beahm, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). As mentioned, transitional periods serve to terminate one life structure and initiate another (Levinson et al., 1978). When a person's relationship with an object has great meaning (such as Jobs's relationship with Apple), the termination is partial and does not mean a complete ending of the relationship (Levinson et al., 1978). This is evident in Jobs's initiative in keeping one Apple share to attend shareholder meetings if he wanted to (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that the lost object becomes more fully internalised and the relationship continues to evolve within the self. This would be true of Jobs, who always had a love for Apple. Jobs would also return to Apple later in his life, which also indicates that the termination of the relationship was partial.

In 1985, Jobs started NeXT (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He took an extravagant approach in everything that NeXT did, which caused financial difficulties (Blumenthal, 2012; Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2011; Lakin, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 1986, Jobs also invested in the Lucasfilm computer division and changed the company's name to Pixar (Hunt & O'Connor, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). The company was in financial trouble by 1988 (Isaacson, 2011; Price, 2009; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Since Jobs's two new companies were both having financial difficulties his developmental crisis continued. Levinson et al. (1978) reported that most men find this transition stressful; thus the Age 30 Crisis occurs because a man finds his present life structure intolerable, yet he seems unable to form a better one. The Age 30 Crisis is illustrated in Jobs's life for the reasons mentioned.

When Jobs was 30 years old, he started a relationship with Tina Redse which continued for five years (Chapter 2, section 2.4.11). Although they had regular conflicts, in 1989, Jobs asked her to marry him; however she declined and their relationship ended (Isaacson, 2011). As proposed by Levinson et al. (1978), the marriage-family component becomes more important during this stage, especially if a man is not yet married. This could clearly be seen in Jobs's proposal and the fact that he wanted to marry despite the conflicts in their relationship.

Jobs experienced another loss during his Age 30 Transition, which could also have contributed to his developmental crisis. His mother, Clara Jobs, passed away when he was 31 years old (Isaacson, 2011). Levinson et al. (1978) found that a person who has experienced profound loss must come to terms with painful feelings of abandonment, grief, and rage. It is possible that Jobs experienced these feelings and that they reminded him of the abandonment he felt when he was given up for adoption. This could explain why Jobs tracked down and

met his biological mother shortly after the death of his adoptive mother. Jobs also met his biological sister, Mona Simpson, and they grew very close (Isaacson, 2011; Rumsey, 2010). At the age of 31, Jobs also started visiting his daughter Lisa on a regular basis (Brennan, 2013; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This could indicate that Jobs was making changes to his previous, unsatisfactory life structure and trying to establish a new one. Levinson et al. (1978) stated that the Age 30 Transition provides a "second chance" to create a more satisfactory life structure within early adulthood (p. 85).

It can be said that Jobs experienced an Age 30 Crisis because of the painful developmental crises during his Age 30 Transition. One may note this in his exile and resignation from Apple, the attempt at starting two new companies, his turbulent relationship with Redse and the death of his adoptive mother. According to Levinson et al. (1978), the Age 30 Transition provides an opportunity to work on the inadequacies in the life structure that was formed in the previous period and to create the basis for a more satisfactory structure that will be built in the following period. This could be seen in Jobs's attempt to spend more time with his daughter and also in his attempt to run his new companies, NeXT and Pixar, the way he wanted to.

It is important to note that Jobs completed all the tasks of the novice phase. Levinson et al. (1978) indicated that this phase begins with the onset of the Early Adult Transition and ends with the conclusion of the Age 30 Transition. The four major tasks during this phase are: (a) forming a dream and giving it a place in the life structure, (b) forming mentor relationships, (c) forming an occupation, and (d) forming love relationships, marriage and family (Levinson et al., 1978). Even though Jobs did not marry in this phase, he was able to form love relationships and had a daughter, with whom he later formed a bond (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

The Culminating Life Structure for Early Adulthood – Settling Down (age 33-40)

The individual has two major tasks during this period. The first is to try to establish a niche in society by developing competence in his chosen craft, anchoring his life more firmly and becoming a valued member of the world while the second is to work to build a better life and find affirmation from others (Levinson et al., 1978). The individual becomes a full-fledged adult and a senior member of his own world (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

7.3.3.3. New Beginnings: The Family Man and Saviour (1988-2000)

During the Settling Down period, a man has a stronger sense of urgency to "get serious", to be responsible, to decide what is truly important and shape his life accordingly (Levinson et al., 1978, p. 139). Jobs started focusing more on marriage and family during this period. At the age of 34, he met and fell in love with Laurene Powell (as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.1). A year later he proposed to her; she became pregnant during that same year (Isaacson, 2011). For a brief period it almost seemed as if Jobs was having second thoughts about marrying her and she moved out during that period. However, he decided that he did want to marry her (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011).

After the wedding, Jobs and Powell made the decision not to live in the unfurnished mansion, but rather to move into a family home (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Their family soon expanded when their son, Reed, was born in 1991 and their first daughter, Erin, followed in 1995 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011). Lisa, Jobs's daughter, also moved in with them, during 1992 (Isaacson, 2011). Marriage and family clearly constituted a central component in Jobs's life during this period. He also addressed the first task of the period as proposed by Levinson et

al. (1978), by anchoring his life more firmly, becoming more responsible, and focusing on what was important to him.

In 1993, after various attempts to make NeXT successful, Jobs decided to focus less on NeXT and started concentrating more on Pixar (Deutschman, 2000; Isaacson, 2012; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He clearly became more responsible, and committed himself to what was important to him. This illustrated the first task of this period, as theorised by Levinson et al. (1978), because Jobs was starting to establish a niche in society by developing competence in his chosen craft to become a valued member of the world.

With regard to his occupation, because of Jobs's efforts, Pixar became a successful company (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Ziller, 2011). Jobs's work at Pixar illustrated that he was more responsible than previously and he was also working toward advancement and building a better life. Jobs clearly addressed both tasks proposed by Levinson et al. (1978) for this period.

7.3.4. The Mid-Life Transition (age 40-45)

The Mid-Life Transition serves as a bridge from Early to Middle Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978). This is a time of moderate or severe crisis, depending on the individual. The neglected parts of the self seek expression more urgently, which stimulates the modification of the existing life structure (Levinson et al., 1978). The most important task during this period is to take a new step in the process of individuation (Levinson, 1986).

7.3.4.1. New Beginnings: The Family Man and Saviour (1988-2000) (continued)

Jobs's and Powell's youngest daughter, Eve, was born in 1998 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). Jobs's focus on family declined during this period; occupation could be

regarded as the central component in his life because he spent most of his time working (Chapter 2, section 2.5). In 1996, Apple bought NeXT and asked Jobs to return (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs concentrated on saving the company he had founded; he wanted to prove that he not only had vision but that he could also successfully run a company (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that the neglected parts of the self seek expression more urgently during this period. Jobs eventually took the title of interim CEO (iCEO), saved Apple, and was able to prove what he needed to (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was clearly according more attention to the neglected parts of his psyche; by taking on the role of iCEO, he also took on a more senior role in society. He was able to reappraise his life, modify his dream and work towards entering Middle Adulthood, which concurs with Levinson's (1996) theory. By doing this, Jobs was able to take a new step in the process of individuation, which is the most important task for this period (Levinson, 1986).

On his return to Apple, Jobs became friends with Jonathan Ive, the head of Apple's design team. At this time, Jobs was aged 42 and Ive 30, and since they shared the same vision of creativity and simplicity (Blumenthal, 2012; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015; Stern & Hume, 2013), Jobs became a mentor to Ive. Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that a man who has successfully resolved some of his problems during this period, would be able to take on greater responsibility for the development of young adults. By becoming a mentor, the individual moves towards a more senior position in society. Being a mentor with young adults is one of the most significant relationships available to a man in Middle Adulthood (Levinson et al., 1978).

In 1988, Apple launched the iMac, the first Jobs-Ive collaboration: a symbol of Jobs's focus, vision, and creativity (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He also used his

same dramatic flair to unveil the iMac (Isaacson, 2011). Levinson et al. (1978) stated that a man has a strong desire to become more creative during this period and to create products that have value to himself and others as well as to participate in the collective enterprises that advance human welfare. Jobs was part of the creation of such a product because the iMac was not only the product that saved Apple, but also changed the face of personal computers (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs was clearly taking a new step in the individuation process. His relationship to himself and the external world altered. As discussed in Chapter 2, he shouldered greater responsibility and a more senior role in the world. He had to separate himself from what had happened with Apple in the past, and instead concentrate on the future. Levinson et al. (1978) asserted that it is important for a man to reappraise his past as a way of terminating the era of Early Adulthood. Jobs was also modifying his life structure by testing new choices, such as agreeing to become the iCEO of Apple. By modifying their life structure, an individual can start to take the first steps towards the initiation of Middle Adulthood (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978). Jobs developed a stronger sense of who he was and what he wanted, and also formed a more realistic and sophisticated view of the world. According to Levinson et al. (1978), this is an important aspect of individuation. Despite running two companies, the Mid-Life Transition was not a period of developmental crisis for Jobs. He was able to mature in many ways (i.e., he now made it a collaborative process when Apple hired a new employee); however he still had his intense personality and remained prone to tantrums (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

7.3.5. The Era of Middle Adulthood (age 40-65)

According to Levinson (1996) this era begins with the Mid-Life Transition and ends with the Late Adult Transition. During this era the individual becomes a senior member of his own

particular world, which enables him to become responsible for and encourage the development of young adults, which further enhances his/her quality of life (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004). This process had already begun during Jobs's Mid-Life Transition. The biological capacities of the individual are also less than those of Early Adulthood, but still sufficient for a personally satisfying, energetic, and socially valuable life (Levinson, 1986). One also develops a greater capacity for intimacy, which may improve the quality of love relationships (Levinson et al., 1978).

The Entry Life Structure for Middle Adulthood (age 45-50)

The main challenge of this stage is to create a new life structure from which Middle Adulthood can develop or unfold (Stroud, 2004). This stage may be similar to the previous one, but there are noteworthy differences in the central relationships, as the person establishes a new season of life (Levinson, 1996; Smuts, 2009).

7.3.5.1. Changing the Face of Technology: The CEO (2000-2005)

In 2000, at the age of 45, Jobs became the CEO of Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). This must have been a fulfilment of the dream and goals of his youth. Levinson (1996) described a person in Middle Adulthood as overcoming the vast ignorance of life and adult development, as a person who has learned how to create organisations that are productive and who fosters the adult development of their members. With his new role at Apple and in society, Jobs was able to continue the process of individuation.

An important challenge during this period is to build a life structure in which Middle Adulthood can evolve (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson (1996) found that increased work ability and productivity could be observed in this time. This period in Jobs's life concurs with

Levinson's (1996) findings. In 2000, Jobs launched the new Macintosh operating system (OSX) and started developing the digital hub strategy (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 2001, he launched iTunes, the first iPod, and the first Apple Store (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 2003, after many negotiations with music companies and artists, he was able to launch the iTunes Store (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). From 2003, he was also involved with negotiations between Disney and Pixar. Disney eventually purchased Pixar in 2005, making Jobs the largest shareholder of Disney (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs clearly experienced one of the busiest work periods of his life, making occupation a central component during this time. The reader is referred to Chapter 2 (section 2.6) for further reading on this.

Jobs's health became troublesome during this period: in 2003, the doctors found a tumour in his pancreas (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Exercising his obsessive and controlling personality, Jobs refused surgery and opted for alternative, less invasive approaches (Isaacson, 2011). In 2004, Jobs took medical leave and underwent surgery where a part of his pancreas was removed after a CAT scan revealed that the tumour had grown and possibly spread. (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs's bodily decline is concurrent with Levinson's (1996) theory which suggests that a person may experience gradual physical decline during this period and that biological capacities are below those of Early Adulthood but still sufficient for a personally satisfying, energetic, and socially valuable life (Levinson, 1986). Despite his illness, Jobs still approached his work with energy and found his life valuable (Editors of TIME, 2011; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Jobs's life as he lived it was concomitant with Levinson's (1996) theory, which established that individuals receive senior status in their professions during this period. Career-wise it seems as if Jobs lived a busy and fulfilled life. Men who are able to create a satisfactory life structure, would experience Middle Adulthood as the most fulfilling and creative season of their entire life cycle (Levinson et al., 1978). This was true for Jobs.

The Age 50 Transition (age 50-55)

This period can be regarded as one in which to modify the life structure formed in the mid-forties and to explore the concept of the self and the world, in order to further or consolidate the process of individuation (Levinson, 1996; Stroud, 2004). It could serve as a time of crisis for individuals who have changed too little during their Mid-Life Transition and then built an unsatisfactory life structure in the previous 10 to 15 years (Levinson et al., 1978).

7.3.5.2. Fighting Cancer: The Legacy (2005-2011)

During Middle Adulthood, the individual becomes a senior member of his own particular world, which enables him to become responsible for and encourage the development of young adults, which further enhances his/her quality of life (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004). In 2005, Jobs decided to give the Stanford Commencement Address. He was in a reflective mood after his health scare and on turning 50 (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs could clearly be perceived as a senior member of society who contributed to the encouragement and development of young adults. He imparted wisdom to them by sharing three of his life lessons with them in the speech. One could assume that the commencement speech enhanced the quality of Jobs's life during this era.

Jobs's illness motivated him to continue working on his career and the development of innovative products (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 2005, he started

developing the iPhone, which was launched in 2007 at one of Jobs's most dazzling product presentations (Isaacson, 2011) and itself a great success (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs was able to launch the iPhone 3G in 2008, but by this time his health was visibly declining (Isaacson, 2011).

In 2008, Jobs's cancer had spread and he was losing a great deal of weight (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). In 2009, it became clear that he would need a liver transplant to save his life and chose to focus on his health for a period. Jobs received a liver transplant and took 6 months of medical leave from Apple (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011: Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He would occasionally become depressed during this period because of his health as well as the realisation that Apple was doing well without him and he might not be indispensable to the company (Isaacson, 2011). This realisation was a developmental crisis for Jobs, who still wanted to work and be actively involved in Apple. Levinson (1996) stated that such a crisis is common during this period. Later in 2009, he returned to work and launched the iPod Nanos (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011: Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). During 2010, Jobs threw himself back into his work, launching the iPad (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

Levinson et al. (1978) suggested that one also develops a greater capacity for intimacy during Middle Adulthood which may improve the quality of love relationships. In 2010, Jobs was able to attend his son's high school graduation, describing it as one of the happiest days of his life (Isaacson, 2011). His thankfulness to be alive could be interpreted as the successful modification of his existing life structure and one of the first steps in initiating a new structure. Jobs was also able to take a trip to Kyoto with his daughter, Erin (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). One could hypothesise that he spent more time with his children because he had a greater capacity for intimacy as proposed by Levinson et al.

(1978). At the end of 2010, Jobs was experiencing inner turmoil because it became clear that his cancer had reappeared and that recovery was unlikely (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). He would often become emotional and depressed over the fact that he was going to die and that he would not be able to celebrate any of his children's birthdays with them again (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Jobs struggled to resolve this developmental crisis, which made it difficult for him to create a new life structure at this stage.

Despite his failing health, Jobs continued to be productive at work. He also sustained his process of individuation by exploring and making changes to his concept of the self and the world. The theory proposed by Levinson et al. (1978) thus finds strong support in Jobs's life events at this stage.

The Culminating Life Structure for Middle Adulthood (age 55-60)

This is a relatively stable period that is devoted to building a second middle adult structure, which enables individuals to rejuvenate themselves and enrich their lives (Levinson et al., 1978). This could be a period of great fulfilment because the individual evaluates all aspirations and goals nurtured or developed during this era (Levinson et al., 1978; Stroud, 2004). This period is similar to that of settling down in Early Adulthood (Levinson, 1996; Levinson et al., 1978).

7.3.5.3. Fighting Cancer: The Legacy (2005-2011) (continued)

Due to Jobs's health problems, this was a difficult period for him and he was not able to engage in the developmental task of this stage. Levinson et al. (1978) proposed that the second structure allows an individual to rejuvenate himself or herself and enrich their lives. Jobs's impending death made this a difficult task, although Stroud (2004) agreed with

Levinson et al. (1978) that this could be a period of great fulfilment because the individual evaluates all aspirations and goals nurtured during this era. Jobs could experience a sense of fulfilment during this period because he was able to celebrate his 20th wedding anniversary with his wife (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Isaacson, 2011). He also reflected on his own personality, his shortcomings as a father, and his success in life (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.7.13), he was also able to settle unfinished business by having conversations and repairing relationships with a few people, like Lisa Brennan, Larry Page (Google's co-founder), Bill Clinton, John Markoff, Steven Levy, and Bill Gates (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). According to Levinson (1996), making peace with all the enemies of the self and world is important towards building a life of integrity, which Jobs tried to do. Jobs knew that he was mostly an absent father for all his children (Isaacson, 2011), which could indicate an unsatisfactory life structure with respect to family as a central component.

Jobs made peace with his imminent death and resigned as CEO in August 2011 (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). One afternoon, Jobs sat in his garden with Isaacson and reflected on death and the meaning of life (Isaacson, 2011). Levinson (1996) declared that development at the end of the life cycle meant coming to terms with the process of dying and preparing for one's own death. Jobs was clearly busy with this developmental task. The ultimate involvement with the self is the final sense of what life is about and being ready to give it up (Levinson, 1996). Jobs gave up his role at Apple, he carried out much reflection, and he was prepared to die, which indicated the ultimate involvement with the self during the process of individuation. Steve Jobs passed away at the age of 56 (All about Steve Jobs, 2015; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015).

In conclusion, Levinson's (1996) theory has been applied to Steve Jobs's life and found to be relevant. His life largely reflected the eras and transitional periods as proposed by Levinson et al. (1978). The findings also supported Levinson's (1996) concept that the central components of an individual's life have a significant impact on the person's life structure development and that the process of individuation guides development. The findings of the study thus supported the use of Levinson's (1996) theory to gain psychological understanding of Jobs as an individual.

7.4. Conclusion

This chapter started with a conceptual outline. Thereafter, the findings regarding Jobs's psychosocial personality development across his lifespan were presented. Levinson's (1996) theory of psychosocial development was used to guide the discussion and solidify the psychological understanding of the most important experiences and events in Jobs's life. The findings were presented and discussed according to the conceptual matrix presented in Chapter 6. Jobs's life was, in most respects, in line with the eras of development theorised by Levinson et al. (1978). The following chapter concludes this study by providing a discussion on the limitations of the study and making recommendations for future research. The researcher also provides general comments and a brief reflexive analysis.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Chapter Preview

The study is concluded in this chapter. The aim is revisited and a summary of the research findings presented as are the limitations and value of the study, while recommendations for future research are made. Lastly, general comments and a brief reflexive analysis close the chapter.

8.2. The Aim of the Study Revisited

This research provided a psychobiographical account of the life of Steve Jobs (1955-2011), the primary aim being to explore and describe his lifespan development according to Levinson's (1996) psychosocial development theory. This objective reflects the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study, which can be found in the in-depth exploration and thick description of a single case situated within a specific socio-historical context (Edwards, 1990; Geertz, 1973; Yin, 2009). A biographical and historical account of Jobs's life was presented in Chapter 2.

The secondary aim of this study was to test the content and aspects of Levinson's (1996) psychosocial development theory. This objective reflects the descriptive-dialogic nature of the study, which involves the testing of theoretical propositions and conceptualisations by comparing biographical research findings with expected outcomes or theoretical models or theories (Edwards, 1990; Fouché, 1999). The secondary aim of the study thus required a comparison of the said findings with the propositions and

conceptualisations of Levinson's (1996) psychosocial development theory. The theory was presented in Chapter 3 and the research findings in Chapter 7.

8.3. Summary of Research Findings

Levinson et al. (1978) theorised psychosocial development as four eras and three transitional periods through which the lifespan of an individual progresses. The time frame presented by these authors was applied to Jobs's life to follow his development. There was a correlation between Jobs's life and the eras and transitional periods as proposed by Levinson et al. (1978). The findings of the study thus supported the use of the given theory to gain psychological understanding of Jobs as an individual.

The study also confirmed the assertion by Levinson et al. (1978) that the central components of an individual's life have a significant impact on the person's life structure development. Jobs's career was a central component throughout his life. While family was also an important component, it did not however appear to be the focal point. The study also illustrates the significance of building a life structure which helps to achieve personal goals that ultimately contribute to a satisfactory development of this structure. Jobs was able to develop one that made it possible for him to pursue and realise his aspirations and dreams.

Although his life reflected many conflicts, contradictions and personal developmental crises, he was able to achieve much career success. Initially, he found it difficult to maintain long-term relationships; however, he was later able to maintain such a relationship with his wife to whom he was married for 20 years. He also remained productive until his death at the age of 56. Jobs developed through the on-going process of individuation, as proposed by Levinson et al. (1978), which guided his development as a man, entrepreneur, businessman, creator, innovator, CEO, husband and father. It is the researcher's opinion that Levinson's

theory was applicable in creating some understanding of how a personality unfolds throughout one's lifespan. The following section provides a discussion on the limitations of the study and accompanying recommendations for future research.

8.4. The Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

8.4.1. The Psychological Framework Used

Levinson's (1996) theory does not cover all the areas that might be important in the development of an individual's life. Some of these issues highlighted in the study include adoption, spirituality, self-esteem and the impact of a chronic illness on development. Since Levinson's theory focuses primarily on adult development it provides little detail on the era of Pre-Adulthood. This is a limitation because Jobs's first developmental crisis occurred at birth when he was given up for adoption. Additional information on his development during Childhood and Adolescence could have possibly created alternative routes for discussion and interpretation. Future research might consider using another developmental or personality theory in addition to Levinson's, to gain a deeper understanding of Jobs's era of Pre-Adulthood.

As discussed in section 3.11, Levinson's theory has been criticised for its research methodology, differences in socio-cultural aspects and the issue of gender (Louw & Louw, 2009). This critique is however not relevant to this particular study. Levinson based his initial theory on a small sample size of 40 participants, specifically white, educated males (Levinson et al., 1978). Levinson's theory is consequently useful for examining Jobs's life, in that he was also a white, educated male.

8.4.2. The Subject of the Study

A limitation related to Jobs as the chosen subject of the study was the limited amount of information in the data sources regarding his personal life and relationships. The majority of the sources focused on his career. The researcher was obliged to rely heavily on the works of Isaacson (2011) and Schlender and Tetzeli (2015) because they provided rich biographical accounts of Jobs's life, including both his career and personal life. The researcher recommends that future psychobiographers choose a subject for whom there is a much greater quantity of biographical information available on all aspects of the said subject's life.

As discussed in section 5.2.5, some critics may regard the choice of Steve Jobs, as a research subject, as elitist and unnecessary in the South African context. Jobs was chosen as the research subject for this study largely based on his actions and unique personality, though, not because of his social class. Therefore, the criticism of elitism appears to be unjustified for this study. Steve Jobs, as a subject, is also relevant for the South African context because a psychobiographical study of him, as with any other exemplary individual, is aimed at enriching and further developing psychological theory related to personality development.

8.4.3. Psychobiographical Research

The criticisms of psychobiographical research methodology and the preliminary methodological considerations were discussed thoroughly in Chapter 5. The relevant methodological issues include: researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural differences, analysing an absent subject, elitism and easy genre, infinite amounts of biographical data, inflated expectations, validity and reliability. The recommendations to address these issues, as well as the strategies employed to address them in this study, were also discussed in

Chapter 5. The reader is referred to this chapter in order to avoid the duplication of content. Additional limitations regarding the use of the given method in this particular study are examined below.

The study has relatively low external validity and transferability because the findings regarding Jobs's psychosocial development cannot be generalised to the larger population. However, the goal of the study was not statistical generalisation, but rather analytical generalisation, which aims to generalise findings to a broader theory (Yin, 2009). The aim of this specific study was to generalise the findings to Levinson's psychosocial development theory.

The study also has relatively low internal validity regarding causal relationships. However, the aim of the study was not to explore these but rather to investigate and describe Jobs's psychosocial development over his lifespan. It was nonetheless important that a high level of credibility be maintained to make inferences throughout the study (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This was achieved through a prolonged engagement with and in-depth analysis of data samples, data triangulation, investigator triangulation, and reflexive analysis (see sections 5.2.8.1.2 and 5.2.8.2.2).

It is essential to note that the findings of this study are tentative and restricted to Levinson's psychosocial development theory. The researcher acknowledges that there are various other theories and approaches that could be used to explore and describe development of this type. The findings of this study should not give raise to any inflated claims but should rather aid alternative descriptions and explanations of Jobs's psychological development. This study may be considered as a point of departure from which additional research on him could be conducted.

Psychobiography has often been criticised for being a lengthy and time-consuming endeavour (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004). This relates to the very considerable amount of biographical data that was discussed in section 5.2.6. The data collection, analysis, presentation and discussion of findings required a great deal of time due to the qualitative nature of the study. The researcher advises that future researchers intending to undertake a psychobiographical study should acknowledge the extensive, time-consuming nature of the approach. The following section provides a discussion on the value of the study and accompanying recommendations for future research.

8.5. Value of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

8.5.1. The Psychological Framework Used

Levinson's (1978, 1996) theory of psychosocial development has been widely used for psychobiographical studies (see section 3.12) (Fouché et al., 2007). It is the simplicity of the theory that makes it appealing (Schulz & Ewen, 1993). It provides a valuable framework of human development within which we can study the lives of individuals of all classes and genders (Sheehy, 1997; Stroud, 2004).

The applied theory proved to be a valuable framework for this psychobiographical study. It enabled the researcher to chronologically track, explore, analyse and describe the life of Steve Jobs holistically and longitudinally over his entire lifespan. The findings of the study also supported the use of this theory as a means to gain psychological understanding of an individual; therefore it might promote the continuing relevance and applicability of the theory.

The theory's conceptualisation and framework also enhanced the reliability of the study. It enabled the researcher to construct a timeline and conceptual matrix that was used to

extract, contextualise and analyse the relevant biographical data in a systematic manner. This resulted in a consistent pattern of data extraction and categorisation, which enhanced the consistency, reliability, and auditability of the study. By providing clear conceptualisations of the factors that influence human development, the theory also improved the construct validity of the study.

8.5.2. The Subject of the Study

Various life history researchers have supported the study of great or exemplary individuals in an attempt to discover the reasons why they became great and the lessons they can teach humanity (Howe, 1997; Simonton, 1994). Steve Jobs served as an exemplary individual with an exceptional, multi-faceted personality. Vast amounts of biographical data are available on the life of Jobs; the relevant information could thus be extracted from it. The researcher would, however, suggest that Jobs's life be studied from other perspectives as well, in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the intrapsychic, historical, and cultural forces that contributed to his greatness.

8.5.3. Psychobiographical Research

The value of psychobiographical research was previously discussed in Chapter 4 (see section 4.8). The value of following such an approach in this study is discussed below.

Firstly, the study highlighted a new and different dimension to Jobs's life that has not previously been presented in biographical form. Secondly, it presented a detailed biographical account of Jobs's life to which a psychological theory was applied in order to gain a psychological understanding of his development and functioning. This illustrated the value of biography for psychology, and *vice versa* (Elms & Song, 2005; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Finally, this study added to the limited, yet growing, number of completed

psychobiographies in South Africa and contributed to the field's growth within academic psychology.

8.6. General Thoughts and Remarks

As previously stated, psychobiography is a highly personal endeavour for the researcher (Ponterotto, 2014). Reflexivity refers to the researcher's awareness of and contribution to the meaning and knowledge construction during the research process (Willig, 2008). It is important to understand any researcher's personal motivation for undertaking the study. Therefore, the researcher would like to conclude by briefly noting the following general thoughts and remarks regarding her psychobiographical research on Steve Jobs.

This study was loosely informed by her interest in controversial figures that have the ability to achieve great success. Many people described Jobs both negatively and positively (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015), as in the descriptions by family members, friends, and colleagues (Isaacson, 2011). These contradictions were confusing to the people in his life (Isaacson, 2011; Schlender & Tetzeli, 2015). Due to the personal nature of psychobiographical research, the researcher also experienced Jobs's personality in this way and occasionally felt confused by his actions. The process of journalling made her aware of these feelings so that she could consciously focus on staying non-judgmental.

The researcher has a strong belief in a non-judgmental state of mind. This value influenced the research in the sense that she focused on this belief whenever she was confronted with choices made by Jobs that differ from her own morals and values (e.g., his drug use, his harsh attitude towards people, his disregard for rules and authority and his spiritual orientation). The researcher's aim was never to judge, but rather to try to understand Jobs's choices in the light of his unique personality and socio-cultural background. This

allowed her to provide possible explanations for his behaviour and experiences; yielding a more holistic and integrated portrayal of him.. Psychobiography contributed to the researcher's ability to conceptualise an individual's life in depth. Ultimately, it contributed to her growth as a psychotherapist.

8.7. Conclusion

This chapter concludes the study. The aim was revisited and a summary of the research findings presented. Furthermore, it also provided a discussion on the limitations of the study, its value and recommendations for future research. Lastly, general comments and a brief reflexive analysis brought the chapter to an end.

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