11

MONEY, MEANING, AND IDENTITY: COMING TO TERMS WITH BEING WEALTHY

STEPHEN GOLDBART, DENNIS T. JAFFE, AND JOAN DIFURIA

John is a 43-year-old software entrepreneur whose startup company produced stock options worth \$45 million.¹ He took his options and left the company, spending a year buying everything he had always dreamed about: a vacation home in the Caribbean, a sailboat, a larger family home, and every electronic toy he wanted. However, financial success and the freedom to do whatever he wanted did not turn out to be a bed of roses. He observed:

Having money has turned out to be more emotionally complicated than I could have ever imagined. . . . I feel uncomfortable with some of the comments and reactions I'm getting from people. . . . I should be happy, but deep inside I feel something is missing. Now that I have the option to spend my time any way I choose, I'm no longer sure of what I really want to do. I used to tell myself I would do all sorts of things, "if only I

¹All of the cases reported in this chapter come from the clinical practices of the authors. Names and identifying information have been changed to protect the individuals involved.

had the money." I've bought all the toys I've wanted. Now I have to face the truth: I really don't know what's important to me.

Sylvia, a successful 47-year-old advertising executive whose unexpectedly large inheritance increased her life choices but caused a downturn in her relationships, said:

I'm excited about the freedom and opportunities that my inheritance affords me but I'm afraid to show my excitement because I might turn off my friends . . . even my closest friends to whom I can usually speak freely about everything from my work life to my sex life. Now I fear that my recent purchases and travels will only trigger envy and jealousy. . . . I even feel constricted with my husband. He's excited, but we both wonder whether this money will affect the power balance in our relationship. I never thought that the benefits of wealth would be so troublesome!

The last decade of the 20th century saw an unprecedented growth of wealth in the United States. Even with the economic downturn of the new millennium, people like John and Sylvia, minted with financial independence at a young age, are facing enviable life choices. Included in the rising tide of new wealth are a growing number of people, most of them baby-boomers in their 50s, who are coming into sizable inheritances, selling their businesses, or just harvesting the results of their good work and good fortune, giving them room to consider other options. In each case, they have more wealth than they ever imagined; in many cases, it has had unintended consequences in their lives, both positive and negative.

They are finding that money may lead them to confront difficult and challenging questions such as these: "What can I do to feel productive?" "How much money is enough?" "How much of my assets do I want to spend on things for myself?" "Do I dedicate time and money to philanthropy?" "How can I raise my children to appreciate the value of work and money?"

Having arrived at an unprecedented crossroads, this fortunate cohort and their heirs are forced to come to terms, sometimes for the first time, with their attitudes toward money, and many are struggling with its impact on their life. Eight years ago, we started seeing more individuals with these issues in our practice at the Money, Meaning & Choices Institute in the San Francisco Bay area (www.mmcinstitute.com). We coined the term *sudden wealth syndrome* to describe the emotional challenges and identity issues that ensue from coming into money. Many people have come to us suspecting that, with their primary focus on work and financial gain, they have lost their moorings somewhere along the way. Unlike those who come from "old money," many of our clients have not grown up with wealth and therefore are not well-equipped to deal with both its challenges and opportunities. The experience of sudden wealth includes anxiety and overconfidence as well as guilt and depression, as people come to terms with their good fortune.

In this chapter, we explore how the acquisition and experience of money varies in accordance with the core psychological attitudes and beliefs that comprise what we call *wealth identity*. We present a developmental model of wealth identity and of the dynamics of establishing a balanced relationship with wealth and money in one's life, share case vignettes to illustrate the meaning and potential applications of the model, and conclude with some of the implications of the model for helping people come to terms with their privilege and decide how to use their wealth for socially responsible, and personally fulfilling, outcomes.

Although we focus on an affluent group that represents less than 1% of the U.S. population, we do not want to neglect or minimize the issue of wealth distribution. Our concern here, however, is with the choices that this select group makes about using their wealth. It is our hope that, in light of this special focus, people of privilege will make choices that include a substantial commitment to social issues.

MONEY AS A CHALLENGE TO PERSONAL IDENTITY

The psychological challenges of having and inheriting money are amplified by social and cultural beliefs about wealth. In a society where big money is touted as the cure to life's problems, it is hard to readily recognize or have much sympathy for those who suffer from a windfall. Most people only dream of having such problems. However, those who do come into money also confront the limitations of most people's view of the American Dream, which is, "If I had all the money in the world, I would be happy and fulfilled." Contrary to conventional wisdom, recent studies on the relationship between wealth and well-being suggest that money, at least for those living in economically developed nations, does not buy happiness. As Csikszentmihalyi (1999) reported, the relationship between material success and a sense of wellbeing is complex and ambiguous; the wealthy are no more likely than their economically disadvantaged counterparts to report that they are in fact, happy. These findings are further supported by Myers (2000), who suggested that the American Dream has become "life, liberty, and the purchase of happiness" but that even the very rich are only "slightly happier than the average American" (p. 59). Myers went on to note that the number of people reporting themselves "very happy" has slightly declined between 1957 and 1998 and that the divorce rate doubled and teen suicide tripled. He noted: "we are twice as rich and no happier" (p. 61). These findings are consistent with our clinical experience. Whereas money provides for sustenance and enables a multitude of choices otherwise unavailable, it also poses profound new, and often difficult, challenges to identity and purpose in life. Simply put, wealth in and of itself does not answer deeply held questions of personal meaning and fulfillment.

Herein lies the problem: Since the 1980s, the driving force in American culture has been financial gain, overshadowing other criteria for having a successful life, such as family cohesiveness, intimacy, aesthetics, and the pursuit of wisdom. There is nothing wrong with people making money, but maintaining balance and perspective is critical. At this historical moment, however, too many people have mixed up personal and psychological well-being with financial well-being. Not surprisingly, the real value of consumption as a form of psychological gain can be as confusing as the real meaning and purpose of wealth itself.

Philosopher Jacob Needleman (1991) explored the moral and psychological dilemmas that money poses for people. If you don't have it, he observed, its pursuit can dominate your life. When people get enough to make a real difference, many mixed feelings emerge. There are two ways our society values the pursuit of money: on one hand, it is touted as the most important task, while on the other hand it is viewed as evil. Needleman suggested that balance occurs when one simply has money without emotional conflict. One uses it to pursue one's values, one's life goals, and meaning. However, he also suggested that the path to this is rocky and difficult, even for those who find themselves with substantial wealth.

Money alone is not the issue. Social status and recognition come with wealth, leading to feelings of power and entitlement, but also to feelings of entrapment and isolation. Society has a highly mixed attitude toward wealth. Admiration toward those who have achieved financial success is mixed with jealousy and resentment, particularly when the wealth-holder is viewed as a person who has not earned it or does not deserve it. We now recognize how acquiring and inheriting money has a marked impact on people's core identity, on the beliefs and values that map how wealth-holders see themselves and on how others see and treat them.

To a degree, the longer one has to grow accustomed to the challenges and opportunities of wealth, the more likely one would have the chance to master its difficulties. So sudden wealth may have a greater psychological shock value than being born into wealth or obtaining an expected inheritance. However, many people who come from "old money" do not necessarily fare better than those who have recently earned or inherited it. Remember Dudley Moore in the movie *Arthur*, the story of a young man whose family money undermined his motivation and sense of responsibility. Several accounts by heirs themselves have described the psychological wounding they experienced. For example, O'Neill (1997) offered a personal account of growing up in the "gilded ghetto" of wealth and told many stories, including her own, of living in isolation, alcoholism, and other forms of abuse that she felt are common among the wealthy in society. Blouin, Gibson, and Kiersted (1995) and Schervish, Coutsoukis, and Lewis (1994) both offered a series of accounts of people who attribute experiences ranging from feeling abandoned

by caregivers, isolation from society, guilt about having money, aimless and unable to commit to life work, and other painful wounds directly to the fact that they grew up wealthy. Sedgwick (1985) presented a particularly sensitive account of his own and other heirs' response to inheritance:

For all rich kids, the act of inheritance is entirely passive. Yet this sometimes makes the guilt more severe, and more permanent. True criminals, at least, have something to confess. They can receive forgiveness; they can reform; they can put their sins behind them. But rich kids start to feel that they are the sin themselves, and every crime that was committed out of greed now hangs on their heads. They see the inequity that lies about them, or read about it in their money mail, and they think they are responsible for it. Because they are on top, they must be squashing those on the bottom. This is the true embarrassment of riches. . . . To clear themselves they often feel . . . an unspecified and diffuse need to do penance, to suffer in some way as to square things with the almighty dollar. (pp. 106–107)

We find that wealth poses a psychological challenge to a person's core beliefs and psychological resources. At first it is experienced, not surprisingly, as an extraordinary gift. However, this gift may mean altering patterns and ways of living that are familiar and comfortable. This simple but very powerful idea has been supported by contemporary thinking about psychological development. Colarusso and Nemiroff (1979), researchers on adult development, provided a useful approach. They proposed that psychological development is a continuous process from birth to death. In childhood and adolescence we *create* a sense of self. During adulthood, we *evolve* and *refine* this sense of self. Our core images of ourselves, the beliefs and emotionally charged ideas that make up who we are, are very important to our psychological stability. When life events are congruent with these early beliefs we feel grounded and safe. Continuity does not imply goodness or badness of feeling, but satisfying the psyche's love of predictability and consistency.

When life events are discontinuous with one's core images and beliefs, one is challenged to either evolve one's sense of self or to act in ways to resolve the disparity between past and present. In summary, people must "change or regress." Life today presents people with many discontinuous events—unexpected death of a spouse, loss of job, career difficulties and failures, and business downturns. When facing such discontinuities, one must make shifts or alterations in identity to come to terms with the new realities. Identity is less subject to change during the money earning—wealth accumulation phase of life, as people are so focused on their job or company that they do not have time to step back and wonder who they are. Yet when the newly affluent stop working, they confront the challenges of an inner transition, as described in the stories of John and Sylvia with which this chapter began.

In the process of becoming wealthy, people often leave their old world and culture. As with survivor guilt, they may feel guilty about their fortune, wondering why they have been luckier than others less fortunate. Consequently, they may be left feeling uncomfortable in both their old and their new environments.

So not unlike other major turning points in psychological development, coming into money may herald a series of life challenges and transitions. At best, understanding the place of money in a person's life can be the beginning of a new life stage that offers more choices but still poses issues of meaning, personal empowerment, and social responsibility. After sifting through the impact of money on self-esteem, personal relationships, work, and community, people are better able to embark on new ventures with an invigorated set of priorities. With clarity of values, people can define exactly the kind of lifestyle they want. By aligning life and legacy plans with a family consensus on core values, people's time and money resources are more likely to be used in a satisfying and fulfilling way. Clarity of values combined with a solid sense of identity enables people effectively to steward their wealth, making choices in service of a life filled with meaning and pleasurable purpose. The responsibility of wealth is finding the right direction for the multitude of choices available and balancing needs to take care of oneself, one's family, and one's social legacy.

How do people reach clarity of values and find surefootedness in their experience of wealth? Our clinical experience with people of new wealth has helped us understand the transition into wealth as a rite of passage into a new identity and life stage. People grow into their money following a maturation process that we call the *developmental stages of wealth identity*. This model describes the journey to wealth as a set of developmental opportunities and tasks. It can be used in the same fashion as other popular models of adult development such as Gail Sheehy's (1984) *Passages* or Erik Erikson's (1980) stages of life development. Our ideas, which grow from contemporary psychoanalytic object-relations theory and self psychology (Goldbart, 2001), explore the effect of coming into wealth on one's life. Progress toward a positive and stable identity as a wealthy person is affected by several elements of prior personal development and social context, which we review below.

Personality-Character Style

Stability and coherence of identity certainly help people weather any significant psychological challenge, including wealth. Those people who have a history of instability of self structure, who have weak ego strength, and who have a rigid all-or-nothing defensive organization (e.g., found in individuals with borderline and narcissistic personalities) have greater difficulties mastering the developmental tasks of wealth identity.

Life Stage

The presence of money must become integrated into one's personal journey through various core life developmental tasks. During young adulthood, the issues of personal growth are made more complex by the temptations that come with having money. In middle adulthood, the ways in which identity is defined through work or professional achievement are important factors. Moreover, identity is affected by whether one has earned the money or inherited it and how much time and planning one has had to prepare for it.

Family System

Parents, siblings, and other important people are models of money-related behavior and beliefs. Generally speaking, people have an easier time if they come from families that demonstrated clarity of money values and beliefs, two-way communication about money matters, and effective means to resolve money-related conflicts than if their families were confused or uncertain about money values or viewed money as a taboo subject or a source of difficulty and conflict. People benefit from having a stable, cohesive, and supportive family as they grapple with the developmental tasks of wealth identity.

Cultural and Religious Beliefs

As with family style, culture and religion play important roles in the development of wealth identity. Culture and religion provide many, if not most, of the people on this globe with an organized set of beliefs about money. Some cultures have a prescribed way of understanding the role of money in life, providing a useful, if not overly rigid, structure for handling the emotional challenges of wealth. Cultural beliefs like "money is the root of all evil" can play into a client's pre-existing anxiety or guilt, increasing the likelihood of self-defeating behaviors or stalling progress through the four stages of identity development.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES OF WEALTH IDENTITY

The point at which one receives a substantial amount of wealth, becomes aware of having it, or gains control over it is a significant milestone in one's life. Like all powerful events, however, the event only signals the start of a process of internal response to the new status. This section presents the Money, Meaning & Choices Institute model of the stages that people experience in coming to terms with themselves as wealthy and highlights the

challenges and opportunities that occur along the way. We identify four developmental stages of wealth identity: (a) honeymoon, (b) wealth acceptance, (c) identity consolidation, and (d) achieving balance. These four stages map a person's progression from the early experience of coming into wealth to the development of a mature wealth identity that brings together optimal lifestyle time management, an empowered sense of wealth stewardship, and a legacy plan.

This model can be a useful diagnostic tool to help therapists and their clients assess where they are on the journey of wealth identity development. The model can also help answer questions as to why some people are more vulnerable to psychological problems associated with having and inheriting money. Simply put, money-related psychological issues very well may be the consequence of the ability to master and complete these four stages of wealth identity development. Knowing where a client stands and what tasks they are grappling with enables therapists to better understand, empathize with, and facilitate a client's maturation.

Stage I: Honeymoon

This stage marks the psychological awakening to wealth, when a person stops and begins to consider what it means to be wealthy. Its psychology shares characteristics with what Mahler, Pine, and Bergman (1975) described as the height of normal narcissism, the 1-year-old child's feeling of being both the center of the world and having a love affair with the world. People in this stage experience an incredible sense of elation and power, viewing the "world as their oyster." Anything and everything seem possible. With sudden wealth, there is an adrenaline-raising blend of excitement and disbelief, as well as feelings of being blessed, lucky, and all-powerful.

In many ways it is like the honeymoon phase of a love relationship. Feeling powerful and invulnerable, many people go on a spending spree, buying the things and pleasure pursuits that they have always wanted. Purchasing power becomes synonymous with psychological power and egocentric joy. For those who pursue this phase with an almost manic-like energy, "I buy therefore I am" seems to be their philosophical guideline. For those who had insufficient loving attention from their parents when they were young, this stage is an opportunity to fill the psychological emptiness with the things and people that money can buy.

The stage comes to an end when people recognize the limits of their egocentrism but are able to spend without guilt or in ways that are not ultimately self-destructive. They buy things that have meaning and they buy things that are for fun. Sally, for example, reported:

During the first year or so of being truly wealthy I was on a "spending high." I bought everything I wanted and everything I really didn't need.

Then I settled down: Now I'm free to enjoy my wealth, but I also detest waste. I've found my balance point for spending without guilt.

There is a continuum of difficulties during this stage. At one extreme lies narcissistic overengagement with wealth and at the other stands schizoidparanoid engagement with wealth. The first speaks to those who become overengaged with their egocentric self-interests and overidentified with their wealth. For them, "party time [is] all the time." These are people who display unrealistic money practices and are unaware of the impact that money might have on self and others. During the high-flying days of the 1990s we worked with many young, instant, "dotcom" millionaires who saw themselves as invulnerable, who spent wildly and did not diversify their portfolios. Many of them ended up in the "sudden loss of wealth" sector, their journey being characterized by "hubris turning into humility." The more they over-idealized themselves as wealthy, the harder it was for them to readjust to the return to their old status. Not all people stuck in this stage were wild consumers. Some kept their consumption in check but distanced themselves from others by maintaining a narcissistic self-image: an attitude of "I'm holier than thou better than you—because I'm rich."

Opposite difficulties are experienced by people who are markedly inhibited in their capacity to experience the pleasures and power of their wealth. In a schizoidlike style, their fears, feelings of shame and guilt, and excessive anxiety block their ability to experience this stage. In the worst of cases we see people who are so paranoid about the physical and emotional risks associated with their wealth that they buy a lifestyle that is autistic in character. They hide themselves from others, refusing to communicate about their money concerns with even the closest of intimates. Think here of Howard Hughes, a man impaired and imprisoned by his own wealth. Over time he became more anxious and suspicious, living in a fortress that protected him from the world.

Stage II: Wealth Acceptance

If Stage I is associated with the psychology of being a 1-year-old, Stage II reflects the toddler stage of psychological development. At this age, children begin to realize the limits of their egocentricity. They also confront the disquieting reality that mom and dad are both good and bad, nurturing and limit-setting, available and unavailable. The developmental challenge is the achievement of *integration*, the capacity to bear mixed feelings about self and others and to bring together the powerful narcissistic view of the self with the reality of vulnerability and limits in self, others, and society.

During this phase the experience of wealth is characterized by emotional complexity and contradictions. There is increased awareness of the variety of ways in which wealth has made life more interesting and rich and also more complicated and difficult.

There is a fall from the grace of narcissistic self-involvement of Stage I. The impact of money on self-image, self-esteem, and relationships with family and friends is felt. Successful resolution of this phase means accepting the emotional complexities of wealth and in so doing, mobilizing the capacity for integration. This can be seen in the person's capacity to find "the middle ground" between the opportunities and obstacles of wealth.

Some problems do not go away and others can arise. Coming into this stage, the person struggles with challenges such as feeling overwhelmed by complex emotions. Furthermore, the belief that money is the key to everything sometimes results in self-defeating choices, anxiety, or depression, as well as in difficulties dealing with partners, family, and friends.

People who are overwhelmed by the challenges of wealth to self and relationships are often unable to move from the honeymoon phase to the level of acceptance. Such people behave as if money is the key to all of life's entitlements and find they are sorely mistaken.

For example, one woman reported that she had difficulty engaging in an intimate postdivorce relationship because she could not handle having more money than the man she loved. Another man believed he could buy both friendship and his way out of emotional conflicts with his wife. Both of these people found that money, far from being a solution, only made their original challenges with intimacy and self-worth more complex.

Money and people's ambivalence about having it often make choices fraught with angst. One female heir felt it would not be fair for her to take a job as it would take food out of the mouths of those who needed to work. She therefore worked for foundations without pay but then undervalued herself for not earning money. With her financial advisor, she felt so overwhelmed by her mixed feelings about her money that she would listen and take notes, but make no choices. She lived an ultra-frugal life, experiencing great difficulty in moving from an apartment to a small house that she could easily afford. She just could not allow herself to feel good about her wealth.

Feelings about wealth may be projected outward. One client of a financial advisor wanted more tax write-offs. When the advisor told him that he could afford to buy a bigger house and a second home, the client felt offended, believing that his advisor envied him, and stopped returning the advisor's phone calls. He fled the relationship because of his own inner inability to come to terms with his new wealth.

Stage III: Identity Consolidation

During this stage money-related changes begin to be integrated into a new, evolved sense of self-identity. People are able to find middle ground on the continuum of identity consolidation: between over-identification with wealth ("I am my money—it defines my identity") at one end and underidentification with wealth ("I am not my money—I will deny the impact it has on me") at the other end. By facing these struggles, they begin to resolve them and integrate them into a complex whole.

They consciously sort through, develop, and select past and present money-related attitudes, beliefs, and principles. They define their own values around relationships, giving, and lifestyle, and they attain a personal comfort zone with their wealth. Not feeling forced in any direction by having money, they are now able to choose on the basis of their values, needs, and desires. They re-evaluate the efficacy of past and childhood money values and beliefs. Over time, their choices are internalized into an expanded self-definition. Successful resolution of this phase results in a person who is both comfortable with and an effective steward of wealth.

Some of the difficulties that can arise in this stage include the following: (a) feeling stuck in a money-related identity crisis of meaning and purpose; (b) finding it difficult to make peace between past and present money beliefs and values; and (c) being caught between past and present, unable to fully enjoy life and feel empowered.

At this stage people ask themselves, "Now that I accept the fact that I am rich, who am I to be?" The conflicts and challenges of earlier phases are now perceived as reflecting conflicts between past and present money-related beliefs and values. Some past money beliefs and values may no longer seem relevant. Yet many people have difficulties making peace between past and present money values and end up feeling guilty or not entitled to the new identity that wealth offers. Some people come to this stage haunted by the past in ways that disrupt or impede the present. Others remain caught between past and present in a purgatory of having money and not letting themselves fully enjoy it or letting it fully empower them. For example, one heir had a "hidden life" where she worked part time as a writer and artist. She dressed down and lived frugally, not wanting to be seen even by progressive philanthropy groups as "a person of money."

Stage IV: Achieving Balance—Time, Stewardship, and Legacy

By the end of Stage III, wealth becomes a solid part of one's identity. In Stage IV the person achieves full responsibility for the wealth through the initiation of a life plan where money is seen as a resource to fulfill personal needs, goals, and values. One is able to see that one can implement any set of values with money: One can spend and enjoy it, invest it, or give it away. Clarity of money values, consciously determined while mastering Stage III developmental tasks, provides direction for making choices about how one will make both short- and long-term time and energy investments. In summary, the person comes to terms with having money, determines the values

and principles to guide his or her financial behavior, and designs a plan for what to do with it and how to use it.

So the essence of this last stage is planning and implementing money and lifestyle priorities that reflect identity consolidation, stewardship, and legacy goals. This stage has two components: (a) the creation of a plan for how one's life choices—in domains of self, relationships, productive activity, and community—reflect one's newly crystallized core money values²; and (b) the creation of an organized strategy for the implementation of this plan, with the collaboration of significant others (e.g., partner, family, friends, colleagues).

Without a plan, even a person with a strong sense of identity can be like a well-made ship without a map or direction. There may be forays into one domain of life without sufficient consideration of needs in other domains. We may see a lack of balance in time management that takes the form of insufficient planning for the impact of change on significant others and that may result in distracting, time-consuming conflicts, such as when a married partner acts independently or unilaterally without regard for the impact of a lifestyle change on the spouse.

Those who want to "do well" with their money, but feel overwhelmed by choices and options, can at this stage overcome inertia and the many demands from the social world by defining their own personal strategic philanthropy mission and plan. Their feelings and concerns about having wealth can now fuel a process of defining a legacy plan that is aligned with their values and beliefs. The person comes to terms with his or her choices by making a commitment to sharing with the community. Another feature of this stage is the commitment to a passionate interest that can grow with age.

For example, Randall took over leadership of a family foundation started by his grandfather that had a charter to fulfill certain of his family's values. He made the decision to move his family from a wealthy suburb in Northern California back to the Midwestern small town where his grandfather had made his fortune in order to lead the foundation's efforts to build the economy and education of this small town. His children have, in turn, become active in the foundation's activities in the community. Similarly, a Chinese family defined its legacy by setting up a family foundation in which significant amounts of money went back to China to build infrastructure in their homeland. The younger generation, however, was born in the United States and wanted to give foundation money to causes in this country that are more reflective of its own concerns. The family is respectfully engaged in deciding such issues in their family meetings.

²Money, Meaning & Choices Institute has developed a five-step Wealth and Life Planning System that people can use as a framework for mastering the developmental tasks of this stage.

ELEMENTS OF POSITIVE WEALTH IDENTITY

A second perspective on the development of wealth identity comes from looking at the specific areas where money affects one's life. We define five areas that relate to a person's sense of meaning and emotional connection to money. Each of the five areas concerns an important element of the psychological relationship to the saving, spending, and sharing of wealth. To develop a positive wealth identity, people must resolve conflicts and overcome their vulnerabilities in each one.

Self-Esteem and Personal Security

Folklore aside, money alone does not lead people to feel better about themselves or more personally secure. In fact, money may lead people to feel a great deal of anxiety. A sense of personal value, self-respect, and personal identity should be based on more than one's wealth. Unless people feel inner strength, the fear of losing their money may lead them to feel continually vulnerable, despite their wealth. A person must develop a coherent foundation of self-esteem and personal security not primarily dependent on his or her net worth. Even when coming into significant money, a person may continue to feel vulnerable and insecure. People who are stuck in Stage I or II of wealth identity may find that wealth plays a dominant role in their self-esteem and may overvalue their self-worth by the size of their assets. Conversely, they may have a sense of not deserving the money, accompanied by feelings of guilt and shame.

A solid core of self-esteem comprises a multitude of factors, including the capacity to love and be loved, to be recognized by and connected to family and community, and to be successful and productive. Certainly the achievement of financial independence, a symbol of success in our society, can enhance self-esteem. Earned wealth, being the result of successful achievement, can be an important building block of authentic self-esteem. However, money and work success alone may not provide adequate, stable self-esteem.

Jack, a handsome, competitive, 35-year-old Silicon Valley businessman, married with young children, took his small software company public. He awakened one morning to discover that he no longer had to work. Instead of feeling elated, he felt shocked and anxious about what to do with himself. He tried spending more time with his kids; he went sailing and took vacations, but ended up yearning to go back to the office. Like many who have committed their hearts and souls to their high-tech dreams, meaning and purpose in life was found at work. There he felt at his best. Although he claimed that his relationship with his wife and kids was all-important to him, in fact he had spent precious little time with them. Jack lived his passions at the office and passed the time at home. He claimed to be bored and under-stimulated

at home, but underneath this defensive veneer Jack felt uneasy, unsure of himself, and uncomfortable with the unpredictability and emotionality of ordinary family life.

At work, Jack was in charge and felt powerful; at home Jack was bumbling and impotent. Being at home reminded him of his "nerdy" years as a teenager, before he found his power and self-esteem in the computer industry. Family life was filled with memories of feeling inadequate, of being the last one picked for sport teams, and of not fitting into the in-crowd at school. It did not help matters that he had a more socially adept brother who was all he was not and was everything his father had ever wanted in a son. Jack lucked out, however: His teenage obsession with things high-tech paid off big, simultaneously (and artificially) raising the stock of his self-esteem. His father, a career salesperson who never made it to management, now admired his success; Jack had won the sibling rivalry for his father's attention.

However, like the stock of many startups, Jack's self-esteem was precariously balanced. Now faced with the benefits of financial freedom and a wife demanding that he become a full partner in the family, Jack needed to come to terms with the emotional business of his past and his defensive over-investment in work achievement so that he could be free to appreciate the pleasure and value of spending time with his family.

The impact of wealth on self-esteem can be even more problematic for inheritors than it is for earners of wealth. Inheritors may suffer far more from shame, doubt, and guilt than their counterparts among wealth earners. The luck of the bloodline does not automatically make for an increase in self-esteem or self-worth.

The struggle to develop a sense of self-esteem for wealthy heirs is recounted in scores of stories (e.g., Blouin et al., 1995; O'Neill, 1997; Sedgwick, 1985). Heirs often experience a difficult and multi-year struggle that lasts well into adulthood as they seek to find a sense of purpose and vitality and to overcome feelings of guilt, worthlessness, and depression.

Lifestyle

Lifestyle pertains to how people get pleasure from using their money, that is, the way they spend and the nature of their life. Positive identity is seen in those who feel genuine pleasure and satisfaction from spending their money and who spend in ways that are not ultimately compulsive or self-destructive. They buy things that are meaningful and they buy things for fun. Having mastered the developmental challenges of Stage III, they practice a value-based spending, balancing saving and sharing of money with spending. They enjoy spending without excess shame or guilt.

People can feel out of control in this area along two extremes. People sometimes over-spend and spend impulsively, resulting in ephemeral pleasure, a sense of waste, and potential negative financial consequences. Or, on

the other side of the spectrum, people sometimes radically underspend and feel inhibited by a sense of nonentitlement and feelings of shame and guilt.

Money can be a resource or a temptation to addiction and compulsive spending. Consider stories of people winning the lottery or inheriting and quickly spending it away. One might expect that they were not truly in control of their wealth and in the end it did not add to their lives.

Others spend their money to ameliorate psychological problems within themselves or in relationship to others. Sam, a 38-year-old high-tech executive, is 2 years away from his goal of \$8 million to retire. He works 12 hours a day, 6 days per week, as he has since he graduated from college. His wife and children feel they hardly know him, except for the summer holidays. Sam tries to make up for his absence by creating the perfect family vacation, taking his family to exotic places and hiring all the help he can get, including chauffeurs, cooks, and other personal assistants to meet all of their needs. Each year Sam planned a more extravagant family holiday: from the Bahamas, to Bora Bora, and then onward to a private Fijian island. He made sure that the staff at their destinations was ready to fulfill all of their desires. If his wife wanted a personal trainer, she got one; if his son wanted his own windsurfing coach for the week, no problem. However, Sam couldn't understand how unappreciative his family seemed to be. His 14-year-old son said it all: "Dad, without a doubt, you plan super vacations. But I don't really like them. You don't really know what I like, what I want. I don't really want to go on these vacations anymore."

In a money and meaning consultation session, Sam acknowledged his obsession with the perfect holiday as a kind of compensation for his absence from family life most of the year. He learned that he ran his vacations in the same fashion he ran his business. Sam was tired of the pressure, the number of e-mails and meetings, and the need to insure quarterly growth at almost any human cost. He knew this was a crazy way to live but feared changing the leadership style and culture of his very successful company. Indeed, even with all of his resources, he felt powerless to stand up for himself in service of a more balanced lifestyle. His only solution: "Look, in a few years, I'll cash out."

In fact, people like Sam often do not cash out. They become addicted to the cycle of intense work, big money, status, and consumption. They simply do not have an alternative. Their lives are a heady flow of adrenaline and narcissism, of sheer effort matched with intelligence and commitment leading to big spending. For people like Sam, it is a high payoff version of "workaholism" that offers big money and position, with the trade-off being diminishing self-care, psychological maturity, and family harmony. In the subculture of the New Rich, large amounts of cash inflows are matched by equally large outflows of consumption as an important symbol of success, overshadowing other aspects of adult psychological development. One's sense of self as a complete and responsible mature person is reduced to one's finan-

cial value, which creates a confusion between emotional well-being and financial well-being. In other words, one let the fraction define the whole.

Trust in Relationships

A person's willingness to trust others in a personal relationship is affected by wealth. The presence of money can make it hard to trust others, even as it attracts them. Wealthy people must learn how to select and trust special other people or they often feel that money undermines the nature of relationships. People can always wonder if someone likes them for their money or for who they are. A mature person finds ways to distinguish the personal friends who are genuine. When a person finds his or her personal comfort zone in handling the impact of money on personal relationships, he or she is able to trust other people and deal with money issues without poisoning or undermining relationships. Vulnerability arises when intimacy, trust, and stability are over-determined or undermined by money matters. Conflicts over money can contaminate relationships with loved ones, causing money-driven hardships and heartaches.

The arrival of a life-changing amount of money can be either a great blessing or a curse for a marriage. Opportunities abound, but choices about money can divide as rapidly as unite a relationship. Consider Ken and Helen Jones, who after 35 years of work and raising three children had the good fortune of a combination stock windfall and inheritance. Overnight they went from being middle-class Americans to having a portfolio worth \$50 million. It was all great until they tried to agree on how to spend their time and money. He bought a second house, a vineyard, and a sailboat. She felt the need to help children and families, so started a foundation. Helen hated his materialism; Ken hated her "holier than thou" view of the world. Unable to find a constructive way of talking out their differences, they each retreated into separate ventures and ended up divorcing.

Vulnerability can also be seen in people with exaggerated fears about being "taken advantage of" by others. Some people have irrational fears of contact with others of differing economic classes. Fears about how others may respond to money issues can result in secrecy or at its extreme, the "Howard Hughes syndrome" of privacy with a paranoid edge.

Emily, a 43-year-old social worker, found herself the unexpected heir of \$5 million that her parents had secretly squirreled away. They never talked to Emily, their only child, about money, except to say that they were "comfortable." Instead of feeling elated by her newfound fortune, Emily found herself feeling anxious about its impact on her life. Ultimately her feelings of guilt (her parents lived modestly and rarely took vacations) and concern about the potential envy of others (was it her imagination that her best friend was almost resentful rather than grateful that she had picked up the dinner tabs lately?) led her to continue her parents' secretive attitude toward money.

Instead of money providing more choices and freedom, Emily felt deeply disturbed, inhibited, and constricted by it. She needed to hide her money and was unable to use it to enhance her life.

Stewardship

Stewards see themselves as safeguarding a resource for the benefit of future beneficiaries. In mastering the developmental challenges of Stage IV, they view wealth as a multidimensional resource that is preserved and shared for the benefit of both current and future generations. Healthy individuals want to look around and consider what can be done for other people and for the future. Stewardship is reflected in having a "future sense" of money decisions, wanting to leave a meaningful legacy, and being thoughtful about the impact of distributions to future generations. Stewards plan for how wealth can make a difference in their own lives, as well as in the larger community. Success in this area is reflected in having a plan for the distribution of wealth and in leaving a value-based legacy for future generations.

We feel that people who view their wealth as primarily for their own use, who do not have or want a legacy plan, and who are not concerned about the future use of their money distributions are living in denial of the world beyond their personal sphere. They see wealth as a private resource for personal use and enjoyment, and they feel no further responsibility. Wealth does not, and should not, make someone a saint. Spending is not a sin. However, the presence of significant money can lead people to consider issues beyond themselves, such as how it can affect heirs and the community.

Sandra, a 48-year-old entrepreneur who had strong feelings about her future legacy, had this to say:

In our business we make sure that our employees know we value their hard work, but that we see their families as their top priority. We provide incentives for our employees to volunteer in their local communities as well. Where we live, housing is very expensive and the public schools are in poor condition. The cost of living is such that many parents have to work more than one job just to make ends meet. The real needs of my community are affordable housing, good public schools and jobs that pay better wages to working people . . . I want to be remembered as someone who took action to bring about lasting changes in my community. I want to know that my children will be able to live happily and safely here or wherever they choose to live.

Other wealthy people see their legacy as being primarily to society and give less to their children. Financier Warren Buffett has made it clear that he will leave his children enough to be comfortable, but most of his wealth will go to a foundation. Gary, a 52-year-old recently retired venture capitalist, is concerned about what money will do to his children, and he adopted an attitude that his heirs should be self-reliant:

My financial success is the direct result of endless hours of hard work and commitment. I strongly believe that self-esteem can only be earned. I don't plan to leave my kids anything more than is enough to complete their college education. I plan to give the majority of my earnings to the University business school that inspired my career. I believe that giving people money doesn't fix their lives, it ruins their lives, making it impossible for them to find their passion and place in our society.

A common pattern is for the next generation of heirs to inherit some money, but more important, to learn that their self-worth and life work lie in philanthropy. The Rockefeller family, after the founding fortune accumulated by John D. Rockefeller, has carefully cultivated careers of philanthropy and social activism in several generations of heirs. Other families of more modest means set up a family foundation and achieve purpose and meaning in their lives by using their time and energy to make a difference in society. This life focus can help heirs overcome any conflict they may feel about coming into money.

If one's life is no longer defined by having to make money, then the question becomes: What does one do to define who one is and what one stands for? As described in Stage IV, defining one's legacy and the meaning of one's wealth is a key step toward a full definition as a person of wealth.

Financial Awareness

This factor indicates the degree to which people are aware of money matters: how much they have, how it is invested, and how it is spent and shared. Not knowing about money is a way of denying it or not being responsible for taking care of it. Just as a person takes care of a prized possession, so people should take care of their money to insure their future. Such behavior indicates a solid hold on one's finances, characterized by the feeling of truly "owning one's money." Although details of wealth management may be delegated to a team of professionals, a mature wealth-holder is keenly aware and in charge of saving, spending, and sharing money. Delegating some aspects is fine, but a person who is fully in charge of money matters must be "in the know" about the spending, saving, and sharing of his or her wealth. Lack of awareness is seen in people who have difficulty claiming ownership of their wealth, or, even worse, avoid or deny responsibility for it altogether. They may behave as if the wealth is really not their own or is magically taken care of by others. These are the wealthy people who are prey to all sorts of schemes that relieve them of their money.

Many heirs and people who achieve sudden success are not really prepared to handle their money, because they have not been taught to do so. However, they need to inform themselves and begin a learning process. The existence of trusts and family financial advisors sometimes makes them feel

dependent and reinforces a childlike lack of awareness and oversight. This childlike dependency often leaves them feeling incomplete, undeveloped, and vulnerable. Sometimes after a setback or huge loss they take the reins. At other times they struggle to control their money against well-meaning but misguided financial advisors. Success here does not mean making all choices on their own or rejecting professional advice. Rather it means being informed about what is happening and taking part in major financial decisions.

Not infrequently we see contradictions between a person's money awareness at work compared to their personal wealth. For example, Sandy, a 38-year-old CFO of a high-tech firm in Silicon Valley, spends much of her day dealing with money matters, a role in which she has gained much professional and financial recognition. When asked about her personal money management, however, she becomes anxious and indecisive. She often feels confused and uncertain after hearing the advice of the three financial advisors she employs to manage her vast assets. When it comes to her personal money matters, in her words, "I act as if I'm stupid, unsure of myself, or as if it doesn't really belong to me, although I know it does!"

Inheritors also often suffer from difficulties with money awareness. Heirs are given money without necessarily being given the skills to manage their wealth. Some heirs feel disconnected from their money, as if it still belongs to the family member who made the distribution. One variation on this theme is the so-called "trust babies," those whose inheritance becomes an obstacle to growing up. Yet others feel guilty or ashamed about their "bloodline good fortune," hiding their wealth from others, as well as themselves. Maxine, a 45-year-old who worked part-time as a substitute teacher and art consultant, had lived off a trust her whole life. She had little idea of her net worth and avoided thinking about her money, fearing that if she focused on it, she would "break out in hives." She continued to use her parents' financial advisor, never questioning any of his decisions. When her financial statements arrived in the mail, she opened and filed them without reading them. Even talking about her money with her brother, a trusted ally and friend, made her feel anxious and distracted.

COUNSELING AND CONSULTATION

We have seen people pursue different paths to help them progress in their own development. First, and probably most available, there are workshops, groups, and support networks that are sponsored by investment banks, financial service groups, and philanthropy networks where people can discover what to do to preserve their money and how they can use their money as a vehicle for personal development, family unity, and social change. Such networks offer several things. They offer the support of people who are strug-

gling with similar issues and a safe and confidential environment in which to explore these issues. They also offer clear outlets where heirs can learn about issues from money management to philanthropy without feeling burdened by the pain and difficult choices that are put upon them by those in need.

Second, various types of personal and family counseling and coaching can help one discover a basis for making choices, develop understanding of one's mixed feelings, and chart a course for the future. At Money, Meaning & Choices Institute we have developed a Wealth and Life Planning System that provides a step-by-step strategy for helping clients to surface money-related emotional issues; define core values; and determine lifestyle, philanthropic, and legacy plans. We facilitate maturation of wealth identity and also encourage money dialogue as an opportunity for family unity: Family members have a chance to stop the action of daily life, take genuine stock of where they are today, and create value-based action plans.

A third option is to meet as a family. We find that families are coming together to explore the issues of wealth in their lives and to talk about the choices facing their children and heirs. The family can gather informally, at the family home or at a meal, or they can have a more formal gathering where they talk about specific approaches to money, be it investing, spending, or giving. We find that meeting as a family to discuss values, how money can be shared and used, and what is important to each member is an effective way for coming to terms with wealth (Jaffe, Goldbart, & DiFuria, 2003).

CONCLUSION: TAKING RESPONSIBILITY AND ACTION FOR HAVING WEALTH

We have looked at how individuals who experience sudden earned or inherited wealth must go through a process of self-discovery and personal development. As they progress through developmental stages and master the core issues associated with each stage, people come to terms with their wealth and integrate it into their lives. Some people proceed easily on their own through these developmental stages and tasks, encountering few obstacles or concerns. Others find support in family, friends, or in networks for heirs or philanthropists who are working on similar issues. Other people consult professionals like ourselves when they find themselves with unexpected or unwanted feelings or with difficult struggles related to aspects of their wealth.

At the beginning of this chapter we suggested that the world does not make this an easy task. We live in a society that overvalues money and promotes the belief that money removes all cares and problems. Our society also holds ambivalent feelings of envy and resentment that are projected onto wealthy people, further complicating their developmental journey. Some people have to contend with exaggerated feelings of guilt at having money

and the pressure of responsibility to do something with it. Often, such feelings cause the affluent to remove themselves from the company of all but other people of the same financial status. Although it may be pleasant living in "the gilded ghetto" (O'Neill, 1997), it is by no means a solution. If one is not comfortable or is unable to make one's way through all areas of the community, and to develop close relationships with people representing a diversity of social classes and experiences, one's life is diminished. The challenge of "achieving balance" in the final stage of wealth identity is finding a place for oneself in the world that maximizes wealth as a resource for self, family, and society.

We find that people who become wealthy must be aware that they have a journey ahead of them. They need to be aware that they will be invaded by a mass of difficult feelings and that their wealth will at first seem like a handicap to overcome or a burden disguised as a blessing. People around them may behave strangely, and they will have to make choices about gray matters that previously were cut-and-dried. What does one do if there no longer is a need to earn a living? What should one do if one has more money than is needed to live a rich and full life? Achieving a positive wealth identity means redefining one's inner psychological map and answering a question that most Americans only dream of having the opportunity to answer: What is the real meaning and purpose of my wealth . . . for myself, my family, and my community?

REFERENCES

- Blouin, B., Gibson, K., & Kiersted, M. (Eds.). (1995). The legacy of inherited wealth. Blacksburg, VA: Trio.
- Colarusso, C. A., & Nemiroff, R. A. (1979). Some observations and hypotheses about the psychoanalytic theory of adult development. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 60, 59–71.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1999). If we are so rich, why aren't we happy? American Psychologist, 54, 821–827.
- Erikson, E. (1980). Identity and the life cycle. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Goldbart, S. (2001). Mapping the terrain of the heart: Passion, tenderness, and the capacity to love. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Jaffe, D., Goldbart, S., & DiFuria, J. (2003). Family meetings that work. In H. L. Schneider (Ed.), Wealthy and wise (pp. 80–93). New York: Wiley.
- Mahler, M., Pine, F., & Bergman, A. (1975). The psychological birth of the human infant. New York: Basic Books.
- Myers, D. G. (2000). The funds, friends, and faith of happy people. American Psychologist, 55, 56–67.

Needleman, J. (1991). Money and the meaning of life. New York: Doubleday.

O'Neill, J. (1997). The gilded ghetto: The psychology of affluence. Milwaukee, WI: The Affluenza Project.

Schervish, P., Coutsoukis, P., & Lewis, E. (Eds.). (1994). The gospels of wealth. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Sedgwick, J. (1985). Rich kids. New York: Morrow.

Sheehy, G. (1984). Passages: Predictable crises of adult life. New York: Bantam.