

ASSESSMENT OF THE DIFFERENTIAL CONTENT OF
SHAME AND GUILT THROUGH THE USE OF THE TAT

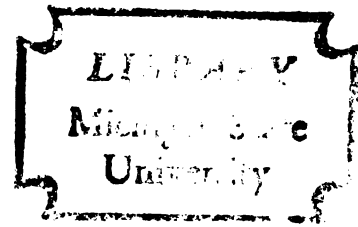
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ABSTRACT

ASSESSMENT OF THE DIFFERENTIAL CONTENT OF SHAME AND GUILT THROUGH THE USE OF THE TAT

By

Thomas F. Negri

The present study investigated the difference in the experiential content of shame and guilt, in an attempt to elucidate the part played by shame as a factor shaping personality. Early psychoanalytic theory has been called to question for its one dimensional assessment of shame as a manifestation of the exposure of a sexual act in childhood (Freud), and for the analytic tendency to subsume the shame experience under the more limited affective state of guilt.

Contemporary theorists (Piers, Lynd, Lewis) have more broadly focused on the structure of shame and have differentiated it from guilt, suggesting that shame arises from a conflict between ego and ego-ideal, and guilt, from a conflict between ego and superego. These theorists hold that shame and guilt differ experientially.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the qualitative differences between shame and guilt as a conflict between two different aspects of the superego, each involved with the ego.

It was hypothesized that guilt would be manifested by the concurrent experience of transgression, fear of punishment, recognition of the need for retribution and negative evaluation of the self via the

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commission or omission of the act. It was expected that shame would be demonstrated by the concurrent experience of failure to achieve an idealized self-expectation, subsequent negative self evaluation for being inadequate, anxiety about having exposed a shortcoming, fear of a loss of esteem or respect in the individual's own eyes and the fantasized evaluation by others, and fear of abandonment. Additionally, it was hypothesized that some individuals would demonstrate a tendency to respond modally with one state more than the other.

To assess these hypotheses a six card series of the TAT (cards 1, 3BM, 3 GF, 7 BM, 7GF, 17BM) was administered to 29 male and 67 female undergraduate psychology student volunteers. Story responses were evaluated by the above criteria for the presence of overt or implied shame or guilt affect.

Reliability testing, based on the blind scoring of 30 protocols, demonstrated a complete agreement level of .734. With the inclusion of cases where disagreement occurred over whether the response was implied or overt, though the raters agreed on the basic emotion, an overall agreement rate of .824 was demonstrated.

The results of this study show that the expected differences in experiences of shame and guilt were consistent with the hypotheses. Additionally, it was found that the overall appearance of shame was greater than that of guilt when viewed across sexes; that both shame and guilt were higher for males than for females; that a group could be isolated that responded modally with shame, and another that modally responded with guilt.

It was found that the occurrence of shame or guilt responses were expressive of two different experiences, and that some individuals tend to respond with one state more than the other. It was felt that the experiential differences in shame and guilt could be interpreted in light of developmental experience in early childhood. It was suggested that shame arises in the child as a result of early lack of parentally offered affirmation, and guilt arises from the parental setting of taboos, in order that the child learn impulse control.

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ASSESSMENT OF THE DIFFERENTIAL CONTENT OF SHAME
AND GUILT THROUGH THE USE OF THE TAT

By

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A THESIS

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*Dedicated
to the memory of
Bill Kell*

*Your tree stands firm and solid,
in rich, brown earth,
and we your branches love you,
for you have nurtured and supported us,
We shall grow, having been affirmed by you.
We shall give life in celebration of you.*

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I would further like to acknowledge Dr. Bertram Karon, who willingly stepped into the Chairmanship of an ongoing project and who continued on with me, and to Dr. Arthur Seagull and Dr. Dozier Thornton whose suggestions were helpful in structuring and preparing this paper.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis will study shame, in an attempt to assess and differentiate the experiential content of shame from that of guilt. Both shame and guilt will be explored to elucidate their dynamic structure and function.

The lack of breadth and depth in the early reference to shame has prompted a return to, and reappraisal of, the experience of shame by psychological theorists and researchers. This has given rise to a climate in which previously accepted descriptions of shame are being challenged and reassessed, hopefully to give way to a more lucid, comprehensive picture of shame, its place in psychological theory, and its implications for treatment.

I

As has been discussed by Lynd (1958), the experience of shame has been relatively little studied. She attributes this to the tendency of researchers and theorists to subsume the shame experience under guilt. Lewis (1971) also speaks to the neglect of shame, particularly by psychoanalytic theorists, attributing it, at least in part, to the ambiguity of the position of shame within the traditional Freudian theory. Although discussed by Freud in the context of self reproach for a sexual act in childhood (p. 23, Lewis), the notion of shame was a relatively neglected phenomenon. Bassos (1973) suggests that the disregard of the shame experience arises from its lack of easily identifiable cues, and

further, that the powerful nature of shame prompts the individual to defend against the experience by substituting more clearly limited feeling states and labels.

As the present writer looks at the neglect of shame, he understands it as arising from early theory building, such theories being a product of their time and culture. It is thereby suggested that the early neglect of the shame experience arose as a result of the position and interest of the culture in time. The outcome of this is that the shame experience has been subsumed under the heading of guilt, based on their similarities, but their qualitative differences have not been adequately explored. As we shall see further on, the ambiguous and pervasive nature of the shame experience, and more specifically, the difficulty in its communication, makes it ripe for being subsumed under a more articulate, clearly defined and limited affective state, i.e., guilt.

Lynd (1958) suggests that contemporary society, with its social dislocation and fast paced change, provides more ambiguous role models. This in turn has given rise to a heightened awareness of a need for self-definition, i.e., identity. Erikson (p. 14, Lynd, 1958) is noted as saying that identity, i.e., Who am I?, ". . . has become in our time as strategic as sexuality was in Freud's time." With the increased interest in identity, shame with its focus on the self and involvement with identity development, has also become a phenomenon of interest. Kaufman (1973) discusses the involvement of shame with identity in the context of the individual need for affirmation of the self. He views the shame experience as a manifestation of an early established,

distorted self view, influencing at each point in time, the developing identity.

Although the shame experience has been discussed by several writers of psychological theory, there is in contrast to guilt, little well developed information and less actual research into the specific topic of shame. Because of this, one must look beyond the dearth of literature applying directly to shame, and entertain peripheral areas that are seemingly shame-linked and shame-based: identity, perceptual modes of experiencing, self-esteem, internality-externality, body image, ego ideal and sex roles.

The writer will now discuss what we mean by shame, including a review of related research and literature that this writer and others view as linked to the shame experience.

II

As has been noted, Freud (1896) proposed that shame arises from the exposure to others of a sexual act in childhood. He later expanded this theory, citing shame as nearly synonymous with disgust and loathing, and acting as a force to oppose the voyeuristic, and more generally, sexual drives (1905). He suggests that in order for a shame reaction to be established, the presence of the disapproving 'other' is necessary. Once established, shame could be evoked in the absence of others. Further elaboration (1914) prompted the differentiation between a "sense of guilt" and the "dread of conscience," the latter of which was linked to shame, functioning to insure narcissistic satisfaction by seeing that the ego measured up to the ego-ideal.

Fenichel (1945) presented shame as ". . . the specific force directed against uretral-erotic temptation" (p. 69), and counterposed it to ambition which fought against this shame. The shame experience was attributed to severe humiliation during bladder training.

Shame is also said to be related to sexual impulse by Levin (1967), particularly as linked with overexposure and subsequent rejection by significant others. He projects further that this fear of exposure prompts individuals to take on a "chameleon-like" quality, in which these persons develop the ability to 'read' their environment and change themselves to suit and satisfy those populating their surroundings, relying on repression, poise, and facade to do so.

These theorists provide a view of the early characterization of shame, grounded in psychoanalytic theory. These viewpoints, while grasping some aspects of the shame experience, do not fully recognize the essential dynamic structure and implications of shame.

Gerhart Piers (1953), a major contributor to the literature on shame, suggested that ". . . only Erikson and Alexander have ascribed to shame an importance equal to 'guilt' in human pathology" (p. 11). He refers to Franz Alexander's paper (1938) in which the latter discusses the experience of 'inferiority feelings.' Although Alexander attributes both guilt and inferiority feelings to tension between the ego and ego-ideal, he suggests ". . . that they are fundamentally different psychological phenomena, and as a rule their dynamic effect on behavior is opposite" (p. 10, Piers). Piers adds that ". . . it would seem imperative that emotions phenomenologically and dynamically so different would also differ structurally" (p. 10).

Erikson (1950), in presenting his ego development sequence, recognizes the development of a sense of shame as a potential hazard arising during that period in which we note the beginning of autonomy in the child. He discusses the implications of this in early and later development. Among his most salient points, which later contributed to the work by Piers (1953), are the use of the phrase 'a sense of shame,' implying a state that both pervades 'surface and depth, consciousness and unconscious' (p. 251). It is also noted that '... senses are at the same time, ways of experiencing, accessible to introspection; ways of behaving, observable by others; and unconscious inner states, determinable by tests and analyses' (p. 251, Erikson).

These two factors are valuable in that they broaden the focus with which to view the shame phenomenon, and further, they attribute to shame particular perceptual, experiential and behavioral components, which create a three dimensional system, as opposed to the previously accepted single dimension, relating shame to sexual impulse.

More specifically, Erikson describes the shame experience as coupled with doubt, and counterposed to autonomy. He discusses the development of this stage in terms of the move toward autonomous functioning and learning to 'let go.' This is an extension and abstraction paralleling the physical development and muscular maturation of the child, and in Western society parallels too, the task of learning sphincter control over bowel movement. Erikson attributes importance to the parenting agent at this stage, who may show respect for the child's autonomy, while acting as a vigilant protector against shame and doubt producing failures. This approach communicates to the child a

Humiliations

recognition of separateness; the availability of the parent of the child; and facilitates the child's recognition of self-worth and competency, as well as discretion. When this is not followed, and further, when active 'shaming' or exposure of the child's shortcomings occurs, the child experiences a sense of badness that seems all pervasive. Weigel (1974) suggests that active shaming by parents prompts the child to feel that he is different and 'bad' because of his shortcomings. This then causes the child to hold himself responsible, not because he did (or did not do) a particular act, but because he is a certain way. This gives rise to self-doubt and shame in the individual.

Piers (1953) presents shame and guilt as forms of intrapsychic tension, each quality equally important in the manifestation of pathology and in ego development. More specifically, he differentiates between shame and guilt, attributing shame to a tension between ego and ego-ideal, and guilt to a tension between ego and superego. Further, guilt arises at those points where the superego boundary is touched or transgressed, and shame occurs when there is a failure to meet or reach a goal as set by the ego-ideal. Simply put, guilt arises of transgression; shame, of failure. Piers (1953) speaks to the experiential component of each, viewing the anxiety arising in guilt as the fear of castration, and the anxiety arising in shame as fear of abandonment.

The ostensible separation of the superego and ego-ideal by Piers is resolved and elaborated by Lewis (1971), who views the superego construct as having multiple functions. Of these, she specifically speaks of the superego as a psychic monitoring device, which has as its purpose the regulation of the individual's self-evaluation, in an attempt to

maintain stasis. ". . . Guilt and shame are among the psychological states evoked by the monitoring agency" (p. 19). In this view the superego then acts both to regulate human drives, and is active as an integrative force dealing with the development of human values and ideals.

Further, Lewis (1971) speaks to the Freudian hypothesis that superego development involves an identification phenomenon. The internalization of the moral code can occur due to castration threat, and is likened by Lewis to negative or avoidance conditioning, as demonstrated by parental attachment of negative consequences to certain impulses, prompting these impulses to be viewed as 'wrong' by the child. *2 modes of identification*

A second route of identification is through the imitation of the beloved/respected parent, giving rise to a positive modeling of that figure, and facilitating the early development of the ego-ideal. This direct involvement of the child with the model involves the threat of loss of parental love and hence, as far as modelling has occurred, self-love and the loss of esteem in the eyes of the valued other. Lewis describes these identification patterns as non-mutually exclusive. Both may exist with few differences evident, often one overriding and/or modifying the other, as each is likely experienced at one time or another by the child.

This writer views shame as arising from early lack of demonstrated caring by significant others. This in turn prompts a conflict between the ego, and ego-ideal aspects of the superego, experienced as inadequacy and inferiority. The basis of shame is the feeling of 'not being enough to gain positive response.' It suggests an early

established fear of abandonment, and rejection, by those from whom affirmation is most needed, i.e., parental figures. Thus the experience of shame has early developmental roots.

The shame-prone individual has unreasonably high needs for achievement with a concurrently high fear of failure. This is an expression of a need to arrive at the idealized self view. Subsequent failure or inability to live up to the ego-ideal, manifests itself as an acutely negative evaluation of the self, anxiety about exposure, and loss of esteem, regard and respect in the eyes of the individual and in the fantasized evaluation by others, i.e., shame.

III

This section will discuss additional ways of describing the experiences of shame and guilt, and will provide a framework with which to discuss other aspects of the problem, particularly those concerning the differential content of the experience of shame and guilt.

The Shame Experience

It is suggested by Lynd (p. 18) ". . . that one may transgress no code, commit no proscribed act, meet all the standards of society and the experts in personality and yet feel a meanness and inadequacy which violates the core of oneself."

Piers chooses the use of the word shame to imply an experience that transcends the focus on comparison with external figures that is connoted by "inferiority feelings," as described by Alexander. This is not in an attempt to negate the importance of such figures, but to allow for the inclusion and recognition of a more internalized tension between

the ego and ego-ideal. Writers in this area have also attempted to recognize in shame, something more than shame as linked to sexuality. That shame ". . . is not to be ashamed of loving on account of exposing or surrendering of the body, but to be ashamed that love is not complete . . . that something inimicable in oneself keeps love from reaching completion and perfection" (Hegel, p. 18, from Piers).

Linguistically, a tracing of the sources and definitions of each word provides additional information as to their qualitative differences. Guilt, having its derivation in Old English, focuses on: "a transgression; a crime; a violation of a specific taboo or boundary." The shades of meaning imply a specificity of offense and subsequent penalty or debt. Shame, having an Old English root, but appearing in all Germanic languages, carries the meaning of: "a wound or exposure thereof." It includes a self reference, more acutely focused than in guilt, and can imply "self-degradation; a wound to ones self-esteem; unworthiness in ones own eyes, as well as in the eyes of others." There is no act of repayment or legal reference, as in guilt, nor is there necessarily transgression of a code (Webster Dictionary, 1950).

In addition to the qualitative differences in meaning, there exists a difference in focus. Of particular importance is the self referent present in shame, the self acting as the registrant of activities, attitudes, and feelings, recognized by the person as his own. Lewis (1971) suggests that in shame there exists more "self" consciousness than in guilt. The primary focus in the experience of shame is directly about the self, and the evaluation of the self. In guilt,

the self is not the central focus, but rather, is the "act" or "thing done." The self may be negatively evaluated in connection with this, but is not itself the focus of the experience.

Lynd (1958) expands on this premise, describing shame as an experience ". . . that affects and is affected by the whole self . . . and that discrete acts or incidents, including those of seemingly extreme triviality, have importance. Because in this moment of 'self-consciousness,' the self stands revealed" (p. 49), and to himself, the individual is exposed for what he is, and is not. Again, this refers back to an acute momentary awareness of discrepancy between ego and ego-ideal. It brings to light a factor of major importance in the shame experience, that of exposure, particularly unexpected exposure. In relating this to his developmental sequence, Erikson describes shame as an experience of complete self-consciousness, complete exposure, and an awareness of being wholly visible, both for one's external being, and internal life and thoughts; visible "for all one's badness," whether an audience is present or absent. This speaks of not only exposure to others, but of a sudden awareness of some incongruously negative aspect of the self, an exposure in one's own eyes. Erikson has best described this as ". . . a wish to sink, then and there, into the ground" (p. 252).

Early experienced shame is, according to Erikson, primarily rage turned against the self, arising from the exposure of an inadequacy or failure, by some "significant other." Ideally, the shamed individual would like to force the "eyes" to look away, but must retreat into his own invisibility and denial of self. Erikson suggests that in shame

the superego 'sees,' and shame is manifested by feelings of extreme smallness in relation to others' as well as one's own ego-ideal. *Vishal Rajput*

Kell (1973) further suggests a discrimination between primary and secondary shame. As described by Bassos (1973), ". . . primary shame experiences occur at that point where some previously unsuspected or naturally evaluated part of the self becomes associated with shame for the first time. Secondary shame occurs when some aspect of the self that had previously been labeled shameful is suddenly exposed" (p. 1).

Kell (1973) describes the genesis of the shame experience in a developmental model within the family structure. He suggests that when a need (for attention, contact, care, love) or expectation is expressed directly or indirectly (for a child this may be magical thoughts of parental foreknowledge), and this need is ignored, shame may occur for having had the need. Further, if such happens and the individual to whom the request was made later realizes and attempts to respond to the need, the shamed individual will experience a secondary shaming and rage, based on the exposure of the primary shame. It is suggested that within the shame experience, the individual directs rage at the self for having expressed a need, wish or attitude that could go without response from another. That as such, the individual recognizes not the ignorance of the beloved or respected figure, but demeans the self for having had this need, and having had the audacity to express it. There is an assumption that in order to be loved and to gain response the individual must be like the beloved object, and if an expression of

need goes without receiving a response, the individual experiences this as a deviation from the ego-ideal, which may have been modeled on the beloved individual. In doing so, he sees the need as illegitimate, the self as imperfect and "not enough" to be loved. In this sense, shame, and the anxiety arising from it, relate to the terror of interpersonal disdain, and when internalized, the ongoing fear of abandonment for having had or expressed any need, thereby risking the rejection of the beloved figure.

Kell (1973) also suggests that in addition to giving permission to an individual to have and express needs, that if one responds to a need late, i.e., after an initial shame reaction occurs, that the lateness of the response and the initial insensitivity to the request be communicated. This, then, allows the individual the need; recognizes the shame; removes the stigma of its having been requested; and re-establishes the interpersonal bond, often lost (with the loss of trust) as a result of the shame experience.

When such a "mending" does not occur, the shame experience can be integrated as a testament to one's lack of worth and badness. It may become unattached from the actual situation and held as a non-verbalized self experience. This internal conflict may occur in the absence of others and be carried on as a primary mode of perceiving and experiencing in adulthood.

Another view of the genesis of primary shame has been offered by Bassos (1973). He bases his discussion on a split brain concept, attributing to the left cerebral function, a reflective capacity, enabling man to ". . . predict, control and manipulate his environment"

(p. 3). To the right cerebral function is attributed a non-reflective capacity, which is characterized as non-verbal, spontaneous and "unconscious." He suggests that the non-reflective mode is experienced as "an effortless being," in contrast to the "doing" quality of the reflective mode. In the reflective doing mode one experiences an objectified self, whereas in the non-reflective state one is 'at one with' or absorbed with the experience of the moment. It is further suggested that each of these modes are aspects of the self, and that both modes of consciousness are simultaneously involved in the experience of shame.

On the basis of these yet untested assumptions, Bassos (1973) differentiates between objectified and non-objectified relationships. The former are viewed as "I-you" or "I-it" relations, where there is an objectified self and many "not I" objects. Here the reflective mode predicts and controls the distance between the objectified self and the object. Inherent in this type of relationship is a recognition of separateness. In the non-reflective mode, non-objectified relationships are experienced. Bassos finds "at oneness" more suitable than "relationship" here, for ". . . there is no discrimination of a self or other, no attempt to control or predict the self, other, or the psychological distance . . . the individual being filled with the other and focusing intently on that" (p. 4).

With regard to primary shame, the stage is set when an individual in a non-reflective state approaches another individual. The shame experience occurs when the individual is not received and

experienced in that same mode, but is met with a "finger pointing" response to some aspect of his being (which he is not aware of while in the non-reflective spontaneous state). It is suggested that this causes a startling "self" awareness and a desperate search of the self for the cause of the finger pointing of others. He becomes the focus of all attention, including his own; sees himself as responsible and feels himself objectified; alone and denied "at oneness." This is described as an undesired separation via objectification. The result is a jarring back into reflective activity, with an awareness that one has just been out of (self) control. This is the (reflective) self now objectifying the (non-reflective) self. The final outcome is an inability to organize behavior, helplessness and discrimination, until the reflective capacity is fully restored.

Bassos (1973) further suggests that developmentally, shame arising from a rejection of the child's need for "at oneness" (non-reflective relationship), prompts a feeling of power; power to cause rejection by others. To the child's mind the rejection is the outcome of his being in a non-reflective state. Essentially he experiences his "being" as rejected. In an attempt to control his world and see to it that his needs are met in the future, the individual (in the reflective mode) plans and behaves in ways to regain the lost love. Yet the individual in doing so gives up "being" in non-reflective state, and any response he gets will be to his "doing" reflective mode. The outcome may be a sense of futility and impotence, to affect those around him, as it is he who causes others rejection, yet cannot cause others to accept him.

Modigliani (1968) lends further support to the disorganizing effect of the shame experience on behavior, finding that shame-embarrassment are highly correlated with inadequacy. He suggests that exposure of some incongruity or socially inappropriate expression throws off the interactive continuity, giving rise to momentary identity loss and loss of role consistency.

The descriptions of early theorists act as a structure on which Kell (1973) and Bassos (1973) have developed ways of viewing the early establishment, subsequent occurrence and predisposition to shame experience.

When viewed developmentally, they suggest that shame can arise from active shaming behaviors on the part of the parents, e.g., ridicule, showing contempt for the child, indicating disappointment in or dislike of the child as a person. Additionally, shame may arise from natural or inadvertent disregard for the child's immediate needs. If not remedied, this can set the stage for the development of an individual who will view the self (particularly the non-reflective or "non-doing" self) as unworthy of response or regard, and engender an introjected rage resulting from the perceived parental withholding of "at oneness," closeness and affection. In the psychotherapy setting this may be seen in individuals who describe all parentally offered affection as contingent on accomplishment, to the exclusion of simple loving regard for the youngster as a person. The subsequent fear of exposure of the already established shame, can give rise to secondary shame if exposure does occur. Often this is seen in a client's refusing to allow himself needs or the expression thereof. This expresses both the fear of

exposure, and the recalling of the initial shame and self label of unworthy, as well as the unexpressed rage at the parent, for the lack of response to the original need.

The outcome for the developing child is one of having a fragmented, non-affirmed sense of self; who would believe that 'being' (in the non-reflective sense) must be controlled or avoided for fear of secondary exposure of the initial primary shame. This may further generalize into evaluating the self as worthless, and all needs as illegitimate, having the power to drive away or cause the loss of the beloved object.

The continuance of shame experiences (primary and secondary), suggests a development and accumulation of such non-affirming experiences, fostering more and more desperate attempts to please (the parent or parent symbol) and accomplish, in order to get the earlier deprived love. It also gives rise to the description by Levin of a chameleon-like individual, whose "other-directedness" is an attempt to control both the self (avoiding non-reflective experience) and the environment, in order to avoid further shame. In being "what the environment demands" there is an attempt to gain affirmation.

This is further discussed by Guntrip (1969) who, in his work on schizoid phenomena, describes the development of the schizoid personality in terms of early experienced deprivation and lack of affirmation. He suggests that once this pattern is established, an individual may desperately attempt to please others, in hope of regaining the love missed as a child. At the same time he fears that 'letting go'

(Erikson, Bassos) into true union with another, will be overwhelming and devastate the brittle sense of self. Hence an "in-out programme" becomes established where the individual approaches relationships out of need, but must recoil out of fear of exposure; fear of emotional insatiability; and fear of the expression of early experienced rage. Insatiability of emotional needs is a major concern of shame experiencing individuals, and is tightly controlled, because of the early experience that the expression of any need causes pain, frustration, lack of fulfillment and ultimately, loss of the other, and abandonment.

Jennings (1972) suggests that shame experiences and the inability to be less than perfect, may arise in the individual who's childhood has been characterized by a symbiotic relationship with the parent(s). Additionally, in these cases the child has usually been viewed as a responsible adult who must look after the parents, and whose needs have been secondary to the protection and care of the parental figures. It is as if these individuals have not been given permission to ask for gratification from others, and that such requests would be responded to with shaming of their weakness and lack of independence.

Lynd (1958) suggests that shame can also be felt for other individuals, and points out that shame for one's parents, or loved ones is oftentimes more hurtful than shame for oneself. Again this seems to be based on the individual's experiencing the parents or some inconsistency or incongruity in their behavior, as a deviation from the individual's ideally viewed assumption of them. This too, prompts a shaking of the individual's faith in his own perceptions, prompting a shame response.

It has been this author's purpose to trace the roots of the intrapsychic shame structure as described by Piers, Lynd, and Lewis, and to provide a developmental set with which to view the possible genesis of the shame experience.

Four basic characteristics arise to describe the shame experience: unexpected exposure, involvement of the whole self, incongruity and inappropriateness, threat to trust (Lynd, 1958).

With the self as the focus of evaluation, we see the shame experience as sudden and total, yet its basis in early interaction with significant others, and subsequent integration as a deviation from the idealized self view or ego-ideal, allows us to appreciate that one's entire life may act as a preparation for the continuing manifestation of just such startling experiences. As dealt with here, the shame response is seemingly attributed to interpersonal interaction, but once integrated the shame experience is also an exposure of the self to oneself, and being so, whether others are present or absent, can have the same intensely dramatic effect.

Within an established shame-prone system, incongruity, loss of or threat to trust, or unfulfilled expectation may bring to the fore acute feelings of unworthiness and failure, experienced as shame by the individual. The oftentimes trivial nature of those occurrences provide the additional problem of communicating the shame experience. Lynd suggests that shame, as it occurs, is a wordless, emotionally and physically preoccupying state. The difficulty in its communication involves several factors. First, there is a loss of trust in the self as an accurate monitor of reality, and an acute awareness of having

built on false assumptions about one's self or others. Second, there may be a loss of trust for those populating the environment, either based on a fear of "being seen through," at a time when the essence of the self is exposed, or based on a realization of having misplaced one's confidence, or of having falsely anticipated some particular response that is not manifested. Third, the nature of the shame experience, being one of momentary implosion of the self, via self rage and disdain, prompts a need to move away from others, retreating *W/Draws* into oneself, in order to regain and solidify the self. Finally, the stimulus that prompted the shame may be trivial, in which case the individual experiences not only the primary shame, but shame as well for the over-response to such triviality.

It is the unexpected exposure; the acute awareness of self; the clarity of the discrepancy between what is, and what one wishes it to be, that are the experiential core of shame. Behaviorally, the shame experience is marked by blushing, tremors and sweating, which Laing (Lewis, p. 37) describes as an "implosion of the self," where the eyes close and body turns inward upon itself, to make the person as small as possible, both for protection from further hurt, and in response to exposed vulnerability.

Shame has been appropriately described as a total, body felt experience, where the senses are flooded, both by autonomic over-stimulation and shame thought and imagery.

In the shame-prone individual, exposure, in becoming public can have a variety of effects. It may engender shame and its concomitant fear of ridicule, self-loathing and abandonment. Partial exposure

can also act to protect the individual from the true depth of pain attached to an experience or a trait in private. Likewise, self-mockery or self-degradation acts to defend against shaming by others or the involuntary occurrence of exposure and a shame experience. This can often be seen in individuals who use bitter humor against themselves in an attempt, not only to avoid others' shaming them, but also to insure against it by training others in their milieu to negate such behaviors with support. If one discovers that one is not alone in having a certain trait it may lessen the impact of the shame experienced, but if the shamed individual is unready to accept himself, or if the relationship with the 'other,' who shares the trait, is not trustful, the shamed individual may extend the self-loathing to the other. Guilt too, as a limited act having definite boundaries, can act as a defense against the more pervasive, powerful sense of underlying shame (Lewis). It is felt by Bassos (1973) that shame itself may allow man to ignore the limits of his control. That in fact, shame, and its accompanying sense of "if I could be different then they would care," can act as a defense against an awareness of how little control we do have over others' responses to us, and more importantly, keeps us out of touch with our ultimate aloneness.

The experience of shame differs from that of guilt. In shame, there is no pardon, no atonement, and no undoing. It is not an act, separate from the self, but an exposure of the core and essence of the self.

The Guilt Experience

Guilt exists as a psychological state evoked by the superego, and has acted as a shorthand description of the motive which regulates drives, in the interest of social and moral concerns. We have attempted to question and reassess this global use of the term. Here again, we emphasize that guilt, while acting as a regulator of drives, has as its function a more self-contained focus than may have been earlier recognized.

Guilt seemingly arises out of a conflict between ego and super-ego, as an internal tension generated by the transgression of a barrier or boundary consisting of conscience, ethics or moral code, erected by the superego. These transgressions are usually, but not necessarily, aggressive or sexual impulses, which are unacceptable to the early formed internalized punishing image. In more general terms, guilt occurs when an individual becomes aware of doing something, or of an impulse to do something, which is not acceptable to, or violates the limits set by the conscience. To this Piers (1953) adds, that the anxiety arising in guilt suggests a fear of punishment by castration.

The popular meaning of guilt suggests this concern with transgression, implying debt, and the necessity for subsequent restitution. Specifically, guilt concerns itself with the real world; of acts done, or left undone, and events for which one bears responsibility. It is suggested by Lewis (1971) that the individual, having engendered guilt, attempts to assess and determine the extent of his own culpability; the extent of the injury that one has caused; and the reparation and/or

punishment one must necessarily experience in order to amend the transgression (p. 43). There is an objective quality to this assessment. "In cases of irreparable injury, guilt may lead to despair, which in turn also may evoke shame, as a reaction to the helplessness of the self to reverse the course of events" (p. 44). This may prompt an additional clouding of the realistic assessment of the injurious act. Likewise, it may be seen that the more self-contained, articulate experience of guilt may act as a defense for the more ambiguous pervasive feelings of shame. This may be demonstrated in individuals who, after mending the guilt-incurring transgression, continue to carry the guilt ideation. One might suggest also that within western society there is an institutional recognition of guilt as a mode of experience, and appropriate ritual for its expiation. This is not the case with the shame experience.

In noting the focus of the experience in guilt, we recognize that the "act" retains the central focus. This does not preclude the possibility of attaching a negative evaluation to the self, but if done, it is via the act and the self does not become the center of the experience. In this sense, the self is intact and can actively pursue an objective evaluation of the situation, and a rational assignment of responsibility and subsequent reparation. The preoccupation with these factors may prompt the guilt affect to subside, leaving guilt ideation, and thoughts about the problem that have an insoluble quality. Unlike shame, there is no further becloudment by acute awareness of the self. The intactness of the self in guilt also allows for the directing of

hostility, which might be turned against the self, outward on to others in the environment.

Lewis (1971) proposes that hostility against the self arising in guilt takes on the quality of righteous indignation, which through the righting of a transgression is discharged. In shame, the hostility directed against the self is a humiliated fury that is not expressed outwardly, and is discharged ". . . only by repair of the psychic injury to the self" (p. 45).

In summary, we can characterize the basic qualitative differences between shame and guilt as a conflict between two different aspects of the superego, each involved with the ego.

In guilt, the impulse limiting, transgression-oriented superego function is active, with its subsequent fear of punishment, expected need for retribution, and negative evaluation of the self via the commission or omission of the act.

Shame is more appropriately characterized as arising out of the ego-ideal aspect of the superego and its conflict with the ego, manifested as a failure to achieve the idealized-self expectation, subsequent negative self evaluation for being inadequate, anxiety about having exposed a shortcoming, and fear of a loss of esteem or respect in the individual's own eyes and the fantasized evaluation by others.

Review of Related Research

It has been previously stated that oftentimes there is difficulty in distinguishing between shame and guilt experiences; that the

two states may arise from the same experience, and modify and disguise one another. Lynd (1958) proposes that guilt and shame exist on separate axes and that individuals have positions of proneness on each. Both guilt and shame may be experienced by individuals, and it is suggested that both are crucial to the development of one's sense of identity. Dreger and Barnett (1969), in an attempt to differentiate between custom and conscience components of the superego, find that most individuals respond to both guilt-inducing and embarrassment/shame-inducing situations. Perlman (1953), in differentiating between guilt- and shame-prone medical students, attempted to use final exam stress to demonstrate an increased anxiety condition for shame-prone individuals in evaluative situation. Perlman attributed the lack of significantly increased anxiety to the fact that the situation did not evoke the stress expected for either group. It was found that extreme proneness to shame and guilt could be isolated. In follow-up interviews, individuals showing extreme guilt proneness, expressed concern for aggression and impulse control, while extremely shame-prone individuals demonstrated preoccupation with adequacy and inferiority issues.

Lewis (1971) proposes that both shame and guilt contribute to neurotic functioning. In turn, low self esteem and high need for approval, reflecting a devalued self concept, are linked to field dependence. In evaluation of five minute verbal productions in which the subject could associate to any personal, dramatic life experience, it was found that those subjects assessed previously as field dependent, produced significantly more shame oriented associations, based on the

shame structure presented by Piers (1953). Likewise, field independence was linked with guilt oriented verbal production, in a lower but significant correlation. Lewis suggests that her findings demonstrate an exclusivity of experiential mode, with consistent shame responses from field dependent individuals and consistent guilt responses from field independent subjects.

In related research, Phares, Ritchie and Davis (1968) have found that individuals having internal locus of control of reinforcement respond to threat situation, i.e., negative feedback, with a greater desire to change and correct the deficit, but also are more likely to forget negative feedback in order to avoid self-debasement. Individuals who show an external locus of control of reinforcement tend to rationalize more and lay responsibility beyond themselves, increasing the distance of the threat and hence fearing it less. Ludwig (1969) proposes that the presentation of negative feedback may have the effect of significantly lowering the self evaluation for young males, when given by an esteemed 'other.' This is also demonstrated on the DAP self-drawings as a decrease in height, but subsequent defensive increase in "athleticness."

It is suggested that a network of connections exists between the research that has been cited. Taken as a whole, the work describes and parallels the guilt and shame structure, suggesting that cognitive, perceptual and experiential differences in superego style do exist.

PROPOSED RESEARCH

This research has as its purpose the further clarification of the dynamic structure and experience of shame. A theoretical framework has been developed in an attempt to present and support the premise that shame and guilt are distinguishable psychological states, and further, that the experiences of each differ, both qualitatively and in content and focus.

As has been noted, shame and guilt are not held to be mutually exclusive. It is not the premise of this paper to imply that one or the other accounts for the totality of an individual's experience, but that either may occur.

It is hypothesized that some individuals will modally perceive, experience and respond with one more than with the other, and that these groups can be distinguished from a population that may show no such consistency, or in which the interaction of guilt and shame act to mute the clear appearance of either. It is suggested that when individuals are presented with an affectively ambiguous stimulus, this difference in experience can be demonstrated, and further, in a series of such stimuli, there will be a tendency toward continuity and consistency in responding modally with either guilt or shame. We hypothesize that in the construction of stories in response to these stimuli that shame or guilt proneness will generate stories oriented toward failure or transgression respectively.

Additionally, it is suggested that other characteristics attributed in theory to the experience of each state will arise in the story production. In particular, we expect to find that the self focus of these stories will differ, and that expressed anxiety will be manifested for shame as a fear of abandonment; for guilt, a concern with punishment.

These hypotheses are presented to suggest a structure with which to view the data, and in an attempt to assess the value of the broader discriminations offered in theory. This research is exploratory and in being so, we will take license to look into other trends in the data, and additionally, to highlight individual cases and response series when such are demonstrative of some aspect of the guilt or shame axis.

Selection of Stimulus and Rationale

The Thematic Apperception Test was chosen as the stimulus for this study. While providing a structure, it was felt that the TAT would allow for a maximum use of personal constructs, memories and experiences. Weigel and Richard (1962) have found that Kelly's theory of the importance of personal constructs in the individual's viewing of the world is demonstrable when item meaningfulness is assessed. They suggest that testing situations that do not allow for their recognition and use oftentimes prompt indifferences and lack of sharply focused affective responses.

The TAT provides a series of ambiguous social situations and allows for interpretation and projection that would reveal the present and past experiences of the individual (Morgan and Murray, 1935). It was felt that the use of actual pictures would, while providing an

objective situation, lessen defensiveness and facilitate the revealing of inner thoughts, feelings and fantasies. As our hope is to explore interpersonal, as well as intrapsychic factors, we contend that the TAT stimuli that include people would maximize the possibility of eliciting identification with the figures. Additionally, it would allow us information on the quality and content of their interactive life with significant others in their environment.

II

The criteria for selection of specific cards employed arises from the problem we are attempting to clarify. The shame and guilt structures, as presented, seemingly call for a tapping of both intrapsychic and interpersonal functioning. It was felt these could best be revealed by reality based, humanly populated stimuli.

Our interest focuses on several areas of functioning. An assessment of the aspiration level of the individual, as both a child and adult, is necessary. The feelings and structure attached to the striving, or lack thereof, would be of importance in determining the extent of development and focus of the superego and ego-ideal. Additionally, it would provide information on stress levels, coping mechanisms, and the experiential content of this aspect of life.

A second area of interest centers on the interpersonal aspects of the individual's life. Of importance is the type and quality of interaction and relationship between the subject at varying ages and parental figures, as well as between the self and peers. The purpose also is to be able to trace any changes in experience and response over time.

The final broad area of interest is in providing stimuli that do not call for identification. It is felt to be valuable to observe how individuals of one sex perceive, experience, and respond to cards usually appropriate for the opposite sex. It is thought that these will provide a frame of reference for evaluation of the same numbered, sex appropriate card. It is further hoped that unfulfilled wishes of the self, percepts of opposite sexed siblings and peers, as well as feelings that the individual might see as inappropriate for expression within his, or her, own sex, would be manifested.

Taken together, these areas provide a view of the individual's inner thoughts, personal and interpersonal world, providing a backdrop on which to project his own ways of perceiving, expressing, and responding.

METHODOLOGY

Instruments

Two series of TAT cards were presented. Initially, a nine card series was administered to ten male and ten female undergraduate psychology student volunteers. The cards included were: 1, 3BM, 3GF, 7BM, 7GF, 10, 12M, 17BM.

1--Boy gazing at violin.

3BM--Ambiguous sexed figure next to sofa, with head hidden by arm, and gun along side.

3GF--Female emerging from darkened background through door, stooped with hand covering face.

5--Female opening door, about to enter room.

7BM--Older male with younger male.

7GF--Older female, looking at young female, who holds doll and gazes away.

10--Male and female embracing.

12M--Male figure with outstretched hand, looking over young figure.

17BM--Naked male on rope.

Based on the results of this pilot study (see Appendix), it was felt that enough material would be garnered from the 6 card series and it was decided to omit cards 5, 10, and 12 M, in an attempt to limit the

size of the task. The additional twenty protocols with the additional three stories will be dealt with separately and labeled as such. Other than the number of cards administered (nine card series to nineteen students; six card series to seventy-seven students), the task varied in no way.

Subjects

Overall, the TAT was administered to ninety-six undergraduate psychology student volunteers. The task/experiment was described as a study of the TAT and no information was provided relating it to shame and guilt. There is a greater than two to one ratio of female to male respondents, with sixty-seven females and twenty-nine males. Although unequal in proportion, the focus on interpretation of content in the study lessens the importance of this condition.

Testing

The tests were administered in a group setting, ranging in size from two to six students. The groups were given up to seventy minutes to complete the nine card series; with up to fifty minutes to complete the six card series. The TAT cards were reproduced in slide form, and presented in a setting that allowed for clear viewing of the pictures, as well as simultaneous writing of the stories. Students were asked to write stories for each of the stimuli with the following instruction:

You will be viewing some pictures, one at a time, and your task will be to write down as dramatic a story as you can for each. Please tell what has led up to the event in the picture; describe what is happening at this moment in the picture; what the characters are thinking and feeling; and

then give an outcome of the story. Write the thoughts as they come to you. If you must change something, simply run a line through it. Please do not erase. The slides will be changed when the entire group has completed the task. If you have any difficulty viewing detail, walk up to the slide screen. If you have any questions during this work, ask the person administering the test. Thank you.

On completion of the test, students were asked if they had any questions. It was suggested that the TAT was a test of imagination and creativity, a form of intelligence, and further recognized that individuals may have felt that the stories revealed parts of themselves or their life experiences. This was discussed as a feedback mechanism for how they may have dealt with, fantasized, or wished to deal with various occurrences in their lives. Specific information and details on the variables being measured were not provided, nor were the students offered individual test results. Subjects were invited, if interested, to discuss the results of the study during the fall quarter.

Evaluation Procedure

II

The protocols were placed on a two dimensional grid, separately listing male and female subjects, and the responses to the series of TAT cards administered. Story responses were recorded for all subjects on each card, and included story theme, affective states described, and focus of the experience, constituting a blind rating of the data.

The presence of shame, guilt, both shame and guilt, neither shame nor guilt (labelled as unscorable), were recorded on the grid where appropriate. Responses were labelled shame experiences, in the

presence of specific references to: a need for achievement, fear of failure, with subsequent failure and negative evaluation of the self; anxiety about the loss of esteem, regard or respect in the respondent's own evaluation or fantasized evaluation by others. Guilt responses were recorded for individual's describing: partial or full responsibility for an act of transgression against personal, normative or legal codes; anxiety experienced as a fear of punishment; an expectation of subsequent need for restitution; negative evaluation directed toward the act or toward the self as an extension of the act. In cases where components of each state were evident, yet neither markedly dominant, both states were attributed to the experience. In the absence of clear characteristics of either state, the primary affective theme of the story was recorded. Additionally, a note was made where the implication of shame or guilt material (or both) was present.

The concept of "proneness" to one or the other experiential modes was based on the number of times the hypothesized characterization of shame and guilt were expressed throughout the response series, and the overall focus of the protocol. Individuals who responded with the characteristics of either state in the majority of instances were labelled shame- or guilt-prone.

Story responses were evaluated on this basis by the writer. The lack of cross-validating testing and the fact that only one set of evaluations was available leaves open the possibility of single rater bias. To avoid this bias and to check our own evaluation of the protocols, an advanced psychology graduate student, familiar with the TAT,

was asked to blindly rate 30 protocols from the sample. The criteria, as presented above, was made available, and a random selection of protocols were scored.

RESULTS

It was found that the TAT cards selected for the task generated information on those areas that they were expected to assess. The presentation of this set of stimuli did elicit differences in response type.

Table 1. Total Responses

Total subjects	96				
Total responses	622				
Total scoreable responses	185	.2812	Guilt	61	.0819
			Shame	84	.1350
			Both	40	.0643
				<u>185</u>	
Of unscorable responses	622	.7188	31 implied guilt		
			24 implied shame		
			9 implied both		
			guilt and shame		

Individuals exhibited response material previously hypothesized as describing the experiences of shame and guilt. The content of the shame and guilt responses differed, and accordingly supported this writer's expectation of: shame, arising from the ego-ideal function and linked to failure, abandonment, self-focus of evaluation; guilt, arising from the superego function, and linked to transgression, punishment and act focus of evaluation.

It was found that neither shame nor guilt was an exclusive experiential or response mode, and that either state could occur in the same individual. In forty stories there was an expression of both states being experienced concurrently, demonstrating neither as dominant. Eighty-four stories demonstrated overt shame and sixty-one stories demonstrated overt guilt.

Characteristics connoting shame, when expressed on cards 1 and 17BM were, for 13 respondents found in the remainder of the response series as either implicitly or explicitly stated failure. Guilt characteristics, expressed in cards 3BM and 3GF were, for 6 subjects, supported by fear of punishment as the source of motivation in card 1 (see p. 83). In this sense, it was possible to establish a small group who modally perceived the stimuli in ways that prompted a response or description of shame, and a small group of individuals who modally perceived the stimuli in terms of guilt. The concept of modal experience was thus demonstrated, but the response mode was not exclusive even for those groups.

Note as indicated in Table 2 that for males, more overt shame was expressed, than overt guilt. This occurred even more markedly when expressions of implied shame and guilt were included in the overt guilt and shame scores. For females, overt shame was more often expressed than overt guilt. When implied shame and guilt were included, no difference between shame and guilt was found.

Table 2. Male and Female Responses

Male responses

Number of males	29				
Total responses	197	Guilt	26	.1319	Of unscorable responses:
		Shame	40	.2030	6 implied guilt
		Both	19	.0964	8 implied shame
		Unscore	112	.5685	3 implied both

Female responses

No. of females	67				
Total responses	425	Guilt	35	.0823	Of unscorable responses:
		Shame	44	.1035	25 implied guilt
		Both	21	.0495	16 implied shame
		Unscore	325	.7647	6 implied both

Both shame and guilt ratings were found to be higher for males than for females. The overall appearance of shame is greater than that of guilt when viewed across sexes.

Table 3. Rater Reliability

Protocols	30	122	in complete agreement
Total responses	166	26	not in agreement
		15	disagreement over overt or implied shame or guilt

Reliability testing, based on the blind scoring of thirty protocols demonstrated a .734 complete agreement level.

Fifteen disagreements occurred over whether the response was implied or overt shame or guilt, though the raters agreed on the basic emotion. The inclusion of these discrepancies into the overall agreement reliability rate allows for a .824 agreement level.

Average word count per protocol showed no significant differences when viewed by sex. Average word count for males, 110; for females, 107.

II

The remainder of this section is given to presenting the results of the TAT task. It is felt that this would best be accomplished by viewing the data in the context of the cards that elicited the material. This allows for the expression of general findings as well as detailing of differences between the shame and guilt-influenced modes of experience.

The cards are discussed in pairs, linking cards #1 and 17BM, 3BM and 3GF, 7GF and 7BM. (The rationale for this linkage is that the first combination demonstrates aspects of the aspiration level, and the second and third pairings are sex-appropriate cards of the same number on the TAT.) Comparisons across the series of stimuli are also made in an attempt to assess modal responding, as well as requisite and modifying factors present in each state.

Cards #1 and 17BM

These cards assessed aspiration level for both male and female respondents, providing information on primary motivation as linked to the superego and ego-ideal.

Shame Respondents

Ego-ideal dominated, failure-abandonment experiencing and self-focusing components were evident in these story responses. Exemplifying the characteristics, a response to card #1 by a female (F28):

The boy is mentally retarded. He has just approached the desk where his father, a violinist, has left his instrument and sheet music. The boy loves his father very much and has great admiration for his playing. He is contemplating the violin as a symbol of the high professional competence of his dad which he can never achieve. The boy runs away from home.

The story, while focusing on the aspirations of the child, does demonstrate the presence of a high ego-ideal. Also evident is the identification with and modeling after the beloved father. The respondent describes a preoccupation with and fear of failure, and implies the exposure and experience of inadequacy in the child. It is suggested that the running away from home is also related to the shame experience, in that it is a removal, by self-banishment and isolation, of the child from the shame experience. The focus of the story is on the inadequacy of the self, and no mention is made of active shaming on the part of the father.

In some cases, parental desires, demands, and needs are expressed as expectations for the child. It has been found that the response to such pressures vary, and that shame-responding individuals

tend to internalize these expectations in order to please the parents. It also allows the individual to avoid the loss of that valued other's love and esteem, and thereby maintain his own self-worth. When expectations are not met, a shame response is engendered, which, while having an external source, has been integrated into the self-concept.

This boy is discouraged. His grandfather and father are both renowned violinists and he (the boy) is expected to follow in their footsteps. He has taken instruction for 3 years with no improvement: he hates the violin. Right now he feels pressured, and inadequate. He is subject to constant nagging of his parents and their scorn of his lack of accomplishment. The results will be that he will be inadequate as an adult. A failure in the eyes of his parents, he will also consider himself a failure. Feeling inferior he will become a non-descript, insecure person, probably unable to obtain a good job and keep it (Female, 53).

Fear of failure and a need to prove one's competency and adequacy were major motivations for shame respondents. This was viewed as the constant striving to attain the unrealistic ego-ideal goal and to avoid the shame engendered by failure in one's own eyes or in actual or fantasized evaluation by others. In responding to card #17BM, the following male demonstrated the compensation and often empty victory that occurs in an attempt to avoid the shame experience:

The circus performer is descending from the trapeze where he has just accomplished an amazing feat of human perseverance. After many months of long practice, the show is finally over. The standing ovation from the crowd brings a smile to his lips and contentment to his heart. He does not yet contemplate an additional repetition, but in his mind he knows he shall never be able to stop being on exhibition in the center ring. His life centers around the applause he receives, his fate depends on success, and his life inevitably will be smashed with failure. He recognizes this, but can do little about it (Male, P5).

Other respondents who tend to experience shame as a result of failure, describe "crushing failure" and being "completely broken" by such experiences.

It is suggested that the emphasis on compensating for inadequacy, while correcting specifically experienced deficits, may not act to lessen the focus on self, nor more rationally assess the ideal held, i.e., to change the experience. It may in fact have the opposite effect of increasing the awareness of inadequacy and self-loathing, giving rise to further fear of exposure, anxiety and depression, or a defiant shamelessness.

Lynd (1958) suggests that the transcendence of shame may occur through a modification of the ego-ideal demands placed on the self. It is not implied that the individual then feels no inadequacy, but that a broader set of personal, social, and cultural values may be adopted that help the individual to maintain perspective on the self. This broadening may also allow the individual to feel affirmed on some level that transcends failure-shame concerns.

The response of a male to card 17BM demonstrates the needs to please and be accepted, and the humiliation and both literal and figurative exposure willingly experienced to gain these. It also speaks to a re-evaluation of the normative code and a transcendence thereof.

As a wild fraternity initiation, this guy has been forced to climb down and then up a rope suspended from the top of Beaumont Tower. He, furthermore, was forced to do this in the nude (as, to me, he appears in the slide). He is very uneasy about the whole thing and is putting up a feeble effort to appear unconcerned and thrilled by the experience. His facial expression tells us this. He is

really petrified that he will be busted by the police and has come to the conclusion that the whole idea is asinine. He will not be caught, but he will not join the fraternity (Male, 17).

Guilt Respondents

Guilt respondents were characterized by superego domination, and transgression-punishment experiences, with the primary focus of negative evaluation on the act committed or omitted, rather than directly on the self.

Individuals who responded with guilt also expressed aspiration concerns, exhibited some needs to please significant others, and to accomplish goals for themselves and others. One interesting finding was that these individuals responded to card 1 with more stories reflecting a recognition of the parental investment in the child's playing the violin or accomplishing the task, and an awareness that this was external to their own need system and ego-ideal. Typically, stories suggested that parental pressure was demonstrative of some parental need to accomplish through the child; to provide discipline learning; to broaden the child's experience whether the child consented or not. Cases in which the child was motivated intrinsically were rare, and in those cases parental pressure was applied to insure the continuance of the practice or training. In this sense, the valued task of the parent was felt by the child as an intrusion of will and domination. The most consistent response to this intrusion was anger directed at the violin or the parental figure(s). Concerns did not revolve around frustration or resentment at the "too high" expectation set for the child by the parent, but with the parent's right to determine or dictate

the area of accomplishment for the child. Stories also focused on the parents' right to insist on the "willing participation of the child." The most consistent experience in this situation was, therefore, seeing the parental insistence on the task as a punishment that was unwarranted. In the pursuance of the task and the experience of the resentment, the prescribed act, i.e., playing the violin, was integrated into the super-ego as something that 'should' be done in order to avoid transgressing a taboo as defined by the parent. The focus, in cases of transgression, was usually on the act and rarely did it imply a negative evaluation of the self. This lack of guilt for a transgression is demonstrated by a female response to card #1.

Yech, I hate this violin. I hate my parents for making me play it. I don't want to do this. Just think, I could be out at Glassmound Pond fishing or I could be out horseback riding. All the guys are out there. When I told them I couldn't come, they all laughed. They think I'm a sissy because I'm sitting at home practicing my violin. I hate my parents. Wait, I'll fix them. He reaches down and smashes his violin against the wall and runs . . . runs as fast as he can (Female, P5).

The response is reflective of an arrival at a guilt experience only after going through the process of evaluation of the extent of the transgression and the individual's culpability. In this case, the violin practice, seen as an unjust punishment, has engendered rage that prompts the breaking of the violin. This may be a transgression of an internalized superego boundary and there is an implication of expected punishment, but the culpability for the act is modified by the previous experience of practice as punishment. This quality typified many of the stories where the activity was not a voluntary one, and the child's commitment was not genuine. Dynamically, it would seem that the intact

ego was able to modify the intrusion of the parentally fostered superego, allowing for assessment of the situation and extent of culpability.

It was found that whether the child complied with or resisted the parental pressure, resentment and anger were mobilized and expressed. The appearance of anger as a component of, or resistance to the experience of guilt seems to arise from a focus on the transgression, allowing for an evaluation of responsibility, and shift or distribution of some or all of it onto those populating the environment. Exemplary of this is guilt arising from the transgression of a masturbation taboo with subsequent punishment and residual resentment.

The young man has done a terribly bad thing in the eyes of his parents, i.e., masturbating. He loves to play the instrument that is in front of him so as punishment, his parents are making him sit there looking at it but not able to play with it. Resentment, hatred, mixed with confusion fill the boy. By this time he has learned to control his feelings, so that his parents can't see them. Later that afternoon he goes out in the neighborhood and beats the shit out of a kid two years younger than him (Female, 39; card #1).

Apparent shame was more evident for shame responders than guilt was for guilt responders. The cards employed in assessing aspiration level, were better able to link the integration of the parentally influenced ego-ideal, subsequent high self-expectation, and the occurrence of the shame experience. Responses involving the integration of the parentally influenced superego, transgression-punishment orientation and the appearance of the guilt experience were tempered by the external imposition of the taboo and subsequent resistances and anger involved in the guilt process. The presence of stories which implied both conditions

were often masked in that neither shame nor guilt emerged clearly. This suggests that shameless defiance, as a reaction to high internal expectation, may have escaped analysis. The "mixed" response also demonstrated the presence for a large group of individuals, of a balance between both shame and guilt experiences, suggesting ego-ideal and superego components of comparable influence, and active involvement of the ego in situational assessment and response

Cards 3BM and 3GF

These cards generated information about both intrapsychic and interpersonal experiences. Both assessed types of situational stress experienced, as well as the content of those experiences.

It was possible in some cases to demonstrate differences in the perceptions of stressful situations. Within the situation, the experiential content and coping style could be determined. Cases of shame and guilt oriented responses could be viewed by focusing on failure, abandonment and self-preoccupation; and transgression, punishment and act-preoccupation, respectively.

The overriding themes for both male and female respondents were focused on the pictured figure experiencing stress, either internally or interpersonally generated. The subject of the stress response was most often a reaction to loss of a significant other or some valued object. This occurred in the context of death; through illness, accident, murder, suicide; or by the termination of a relationship by divorce or separation from parents, peers, or mates. Experience of such loss manifested themselves in the feelings of

grief, hurt, anger, despair, disbelief, shock, frustration, resentment, and depression. The focus of concern varied, but included the loss of nurturance or love from the "other." Where the individual pictured had not acted to bring about the loss of a beloved object or figure, abandonment was often experienced. Where the beloved figure terminated the relationship, rejection was described. Where the pictured individual consciously brought about the loss of an individual or object, or when fantasies existed to that effect and occurred inadvertently, it was accompanied by an ambivalence of anger, relief, and guilt.

The behaviors in response to the stress of loss varied from relief to intense grieving, with little to complete subsequent readjustment. In cases where a return to "normal" life did not occur, emptiness and purposelessness were expressed, often prompting insanity or suicide.

Shame Respondents

Shame characteristics were noted in the responses to these cards and typified by their preoccupation with a failure to achieve some goal. The emphasis of the striving included both personally set compensation for a deficit, and interpersonally expressed needs to please or to achieve perfection in their own lives or in relationships. The focus of the negative evaluation was directly on the self, seeing any deviation from the ego-ideal as failure, experienced as shame. Though abandonment was experienced by a large part of the population sampled, shame responders typically experienced this not as a result of the death of a beloved figure, but as a rejection by abandonment due to

some failure on their part. In response to a friend's leaving town, a female respondent describes:

. . . The girl in the picture feels that she is worthless and not even good enough person to keep a friend and sees the future as empty and holding nothing for her but loneliness (Female 29, card 3BM).

The intense feelings of emptiness, isolation, and aloneness are typical of these stories. Likewise is the sense of shock, resulting from a betrayal of trust or confidence.

Last night the young woman thought that she and the guy really had something going. (Now it's morning.) The man is gone, and nowhere to be found. All she feels is emptiness and shame. The woman has never been very stable. She is unable to cope with many things in life and ends in suicide (Female, 23; card #3GF).

This is reflective of the sudden recognition of the self, as being unable to realistically assess and interpret the environment. Interpersonal situations, where failure and shame occur, are marked by experiences of loss of face, humiliation, embarrassment, and ridicule.

Rhonda was ashamed and hurt. She had been so proud of her painting and all her father had said was "Can't you do anything but paint? I spent good money to send you to school and you can't read or write, all you do is paint! You'll never grow up enough to earn your keep." Rhonda has been so hurt and ashamed that she ran into her room crying and her father ripped up her painting and drank his beer (Female, 27; card #3GF).

In this case, a sense of pride in achievement is responded to with active shaming and non-recognition of its value.

Shame is also expressed by the pictured figures with reference to peers, siblings, parents, and mates. The experience of shame for a significant other arising as a result of the identification process and reflection on the self.

Guilt Respondents

Guilt-oriented responses were typified by transgression of some internalized boundary and subsequent punishment. The pictured individual in numerous cases was described as being punished for an act of commission or omission. Focus of the negative evaluation was on the act or transferred to the self via the act. This included an awareness of the act as a "wrongdoing," and the person as "wrong for doing it."

The transgression of personal superego boundaries as related to normative and legal codes were often described. The content of these stories usually included the murdering of stress-inducing individuals, either in response to abuse experienced and subsequent anger, jealous rage, or as a punishment for some wrongdoing. There was a tendency to disbelieve or deny the action taken, and also an assessment of culpability in an attempt to distribute responsibility for the act. Where this was not possible, despair occurred and shame qualities emerged, with direct reflection on the self.

"I can't believe what I've done," she exclaimed sobbing into the worn mattress. She's trying to reassure herself for poisoning her husband's mistress. I couldn't take it any longer--the thought of him being happy with her. She's a no good tramp. I want my husband. He's mine. Stealing morphine wasn't so awful. After all we'll be much happier without her. From the back of the house Janet heard the door open. It's her husband with a sleek black shining gun. He screams and yells. She's destroyed his only happiness. Then bang, he destroys his only pain (Female, 46; card #3BM).

Punishment in some cases occurred by suicide or, as above, in the guilty individual being murdered. Other cases describe a paralyzing disbelief, imprisonment and "tortured aloneness."

The experience of guilt tended to seek expiation whether institutional or self-inflicted (physical or psychological) punishment occurred. Guilt for transgressions of personal, non-legal codes, were experienced as obsessive preoccupation with having committed or omitted an act. Restitution, as an active attempt to expiate guilt feelings, also occurred.

Card 7GF

This card provided additional information about the quality of the parent-child interaction. It also allowed for the assessment of the relationship of the subject to the same and opposite sex parent figures.

The stories provided by both male and female respondents to card 7GF, typically describe limited interaction between the figures pictured. They were most often seen as mother or motherly figure (tutor, grandmother, governess) and daughter. The young girl was characterized as experiencing boredom and particularly in female responses, actively daydreaming during the mother-child interaction. The quality of the interaction varied, but was most often described as minimal, and structured, based on the mother reading, lecturing, or preaching to the daughter from a Bible, or about sexual behavior or etiquette.

The disinterest of the young girl was rarely expressed directly to the mother for fear of punishment or offending. There seemed to be a focus on the parent's need to give to the daughter, whether or not the child was responsive. This was particularly evident for female

respondents who viewed the "intrusion" and "demand" of the mother with anger, disdain and rage. A central theme arising as conflict, centered around the young girl's wish to grow up or remain a child, with the mother resisting the daughter's decision. This was experienced as an additional strain on the relationship. The mother was rarely seen as truly responsive to the child's needs, and the young girl was seen as resigned to the lack of communication.

Whereas male respondents did not attribute shame or guilt to the figures in 7GF on this theme, women respondents were more prone to do so. In six cases, shame was experienced by mothers and daughters, for themselves or for each other. This arose for the mother, as a failure in her ability to parent the child, and for the daughter for some failure in her own eyes and in the eyes of her mother.

In several cases, a young girl and her tutor-governess were described. Consistently, the response to the situation was one of hurt and resentment for having been abandoned by the parents. The girl, in these situations, was described as experiencing inadequacy and worthlessness as a result of the rejection by the parents.

Sibling rivalry was also described in cases where the infant/doll figure was viewed as a newborn sibling. For both female and male respondents, the feelings expressed were hostile and jealous, with the older child fearful that the sibling would deny her the attention of the mother.

Card 7BM

Both males and females most often described the figures in 7BM as father and son. Though some variation in their identities occurred, there was a recognition of the authority of the older figure. Stories by most males and females described a request for advice, counsel, wisdom, or consolation by the young man, to which the father figure supportively responded. Support was demonstrated through the sharing of paternal experience, offering advice, and bolstering deflated esteem engendered by the son's sense of failure.

More female than male respondents viewed that father figure as beneficent. This may be explainable by the traditionally closer relations between father and daughter, than between father and son. The focus of the conflict centered on the young man's need for independence and increased self-direction. This was most often related as the father hampering or pressuring the son to achieve a goal; to satisfy some parental need for recognition, achievement, or continuity of parental status or position.

As in the female response to 7GF, males attributed shame to the figures in 7BM, based on personal failure and failure to achieve within the father and son roles.

Guilt reactions were described most often in the context of an admission of wrongdoing to the parental figure. Typically, this was responded to by a joint assessment of the situation, and options for retribution. More rarely, when a transgression of a parentally-influenced taboo occurred, the parental response was to take part

in legal action against the son, to which the son typically reacted with anger, engendering guilt in the father figure.

Cards 5, 10, 12M

These cards were selected originally to assess: exposure (5), parental relationship stability (10), and dominance-submission (12M). The original nine-card stimulus series, including these three cards, were administered to ten males and ten females, in an initial attempt to determine the final selection of cards for the experimental task. These cards were deleted in an effort to shorten the task, and not because they lacked information. It was felt that the information they provided could be attained adequately by the remainder of the TAT series.

Card 5

For both males and females this card provided some information on exposure, but most stories focused on noises heard, ghosts, and practical jokes. For three women respondents the stories did reflect an inadvertent exposure of some behavior to the pictured female figure. These described a mother witnessing her daughter's preparation for elopement; a mother catching her daughter and the daughter's boyfriend petting; one sister seeing another sister "snooping" in a drawer full of personal letters. In these cases it was found that the three women respondents who described exposure also tended to respond with shame characteristics to other cards in the series.

Card 10

For both males and females, this card led to a description of a husband and wife mutually supporting or consoling, reminiscing about their life together, or experiencing a reunion after separation.

Card 12M

Approximately half of the respondents identified father and son characters with the remainder labeling the individuals as faith healer-patient and hypnotist-subject. The situation described was one of submission for the prone figure and authority for the standing figure. There was no difference in terms of shame or guilt in the identification of the figures. It was noted that for individuals who offered responses reflective of a high ego-ideal on card 1, the standing figure was viewed as beneficent and successful in healing or curing the prone figure. Respondents who describe guilt experiences or resistance to parental pressure on card 1, more often described an outcome of death for the prone figure, as a result of illness or suicide and subsequent grief and guilt on the part of the standing figure. This may be differentially related to shame and guilt by attributing healing power to the authority figure based on identification and integration of the ego-ideal in the case of shame; or responsibility and punishment in response to parental transgression in the case of guilt.

The results of the evaluation of TAT protocols suggests a continuity of response style across the stimulus series. This is primarily evident in the linkage of responses to cards 1 and 17BM, and the manifestations in 3BM and 3GF for shame-oriented responders, of the presence of high ego-ideal, shame-engendering failure, anxiety attached to abandonment, and the self as the focus of evaluation. There seems also to be a continuity within the guilt responses as manifested in cards 3BM and 3GF, and linked to transgression or resistance, with the focus of evaluation on the act in card 1.

Since card 12M was only given to a small number of subjects (20), it cannot be stated that over the entire sample studied, the results would have been maintained. The smaller group did show a linkage of high ego-ideal, on card 1, and beneficence on the part of the authority figure in card 12M. Conversely, resistance to parental pressure on card 1, was expressed in 12M as impending death to the prone figure. The former outcome is suggestive of positive modeling, attribution of power to the parental figure, and early establishment of an ego-ideal. The latter suggests an identification with the parent based on early set taboos, and fear of punishment. Each is consistent with the earlier presented Lewis (1971) description of the superego development in the child.

Finally, there seemed to be no differences between males and females in their abilities to experience shame or guilt. This would counter early suggested, analytically hypothesized, expectations of females experiencing more shame than males, based on the supposed

experience of inherent inferiority arising from the absence of male sexual organs, i.e., penis envy, and subsequent shame at the absence of the organ in women, and greater guilt in males due to castration anxiety. This study suggests that in fact there is a greater overt expression of both shame and guilt for the male than for the female, and that males show twice the rate of expression of shame than do females (see Appendix).

DISCUSSION

The present study demonstrated the value of the Thematic Apperception Test as an information source in determining the differential content and experience of shame and guilt. The ambiguous stimulus input allows for the projection of individual modes of perception, experience and response. Our methodology allowed for rating of the protocols based on specific criteria for shame and guilt. In a reliability test these same criteria allowed for a high degree of agreement.

In support of our hypotheses, the findings suggest that a small group of subjects concern themselves with the attainment of goals and achievements (often unreasonably high). As seen in response to cards 1 and 17BM, these most often seem to be an expression of an integration of parental values. The parent(s) in these cases are viewed positively, and there is an expression of modeling, and a wish to be like, and to please the beloved parent, through the striving and attainment of the goal. There is also the preoccupation with a fear of failure, where the task or goal, if not achieved, causes the loss of self-esteem and the loss of love and respect of the valued other. There are implicit and explicit expressions of abandonment concerns in the responses of these subjects, as well as a focus on the self as the source of action and the object of negative evaluation.

These same subjects respond with an exposure (to self or others) of a failure to attain goals, on cards 3BM and 3GF. This exposure consistently evoked self-denegration, fear of love loss, abandonment, and shame. It is noted that this is exhibited in both personal and interpersonal modes.

Within the initial group of twenty subjects who responded to card 12M, a small group described a beneficent and powerful authority figure, willing and able to heal the pictured prone figure. These descriptions were found in cases where responses to cards 1 and 17BM, suggested positive modeling after the parent and needs for achievement.

The story responses of this group are expressive of the hypothesized criteria for the shame response and descriptive of the shame experience, as outlined by Piers (1953), Lynd (1958), and Lewis (1971). Additionally, there is expressed support for the theory (Lewis) that the ego-ideal aspect of superego development is an extension of a modeling after a beloved and respected parental figure. Further, it is found that shame arises as a result of failure or shortcoming, prompting the individual to view and evaluate the self as unworthy of love or regard.

In contrast, a second group of individuals was isolated who, in response to 1, 3GF and 3BM, described transgression of moral or legal codes and parental rules. Typically this was accompanied by guilt ideation, and an expectation of having to provide retribution, or experience punishment for their act of commission or omission. As hypothesized, their focus of evaluation was on the act or on the self via the act.

This response mode was expressed on card 12M as a demonstration of the punishing power of the authority figure, capable of causing the death (or conceding to the death) of the prone figure, with subsequent feelings of guilt, grief and loss.

The responses of these individuals are expressive of the criteria for guilt, and the guilt experience, as discussed by Piers. They suggest a well developed and actively functioning, impulse controlling superego. Additionally, it was found that in these cases, the self was left intact and was actively involved in assessing the extent of transgression and expected punishment.

It is evident that in this process, superego, impulse-controlling aspects, and ego-ideal, attainment components, can be differentiated in their interaction with the ego. Further, each is shown to have different characteristics and foci. The manifestation of these processes, when in conflict with the ego function are demonstrated in the differential experiences of shame and guilt. Though shame and guilt are not found to be mutually exclusive in their occurrence, they are suggestive of experiences that differ in quality, focus, developmental structure, and source of conflict.

There is evidence based on the data suggesting that a small group of individuals tended to modally respond by describing one state more than the other. This occurrence is of interest in light of the fact that the correlation of continuity across cards in the TAT series is usually not found to be high. We suggest that the appearance of continuity in the card series administered, reflects the presence of

differing, yet relatively consistent modes of perceiving and experiencing the self, and the self in interaction with the environment.

With particular reference to shame, the findings of this study demonstrate its presence as an experiential state, which in its scope extends beyond its early theorized linkage to exposed sexuality. Our study suggests that the internalized state of shame is comparable to guilt in its influence of the personality. It is further suggested that the widely used "umbrella" label of guilt, as a description for both shame and guilt, is inappropriate, and that a recognition and awareness of the qualitative differences of the experiences would enhance appreciation of each as contributors to dynamic structure and function of the personality.

We will now attempt to integrate our own and previous findings concerning shame and contrast these to guilt.

Shame: An Integration

The integration of a parentally influenced ego-ideal, expressed in the need to attain goals; the avoidance and fear of failure; subsequent failure and shame, composed of the exposure of some basic ingrained inadequacy; a sense of 'wrongness' and acutely focused negative self evaluation; fantasized or reality based fear of abandonment due to failure. These qualities have been discussed by theorists as shame attributes, and have been found for some subjects in our sample.

We have suggested earlier in this paper that shame is a widely experienced state. It is a total, body felt and emotional experience.

If so, it can be asked, why is it not more visible? Why has so little effort gone into studying shame? It is felt by some (Bassos, Lynd, Kell) that it is because shame is so intense and in its expression, so diffuse and overwhelming, that the individual attempts to limit the extent of the feeling. This may be done by intensely focusing on one aspect of the experience; or an energetic repression of the experience; or a reinterpretation and limiting of the experience. We have also discussed the fact that shame, as it occurs, is an experience of unwanted exposure of the self (or some aspect of it), that as such, the natural tendency would be to 'cover' or to avoid the communication of the experience in order to avoid further exposure, vulnerability, and hurt.

We have, in this paper, discussed and demonstrated the dynamic structure of shame, the process of the experience of shame, and have offered several views concerning its genesis. It is of interest to note that most theorists, particularly Kell, Kaufman, and Bassos, suggest that shame arises from deprivation and non-response (or a series of such experiences). The deprivation can occur when the need of an individual is not met (Kell), or when the individual is not allowed 'union' with another (Bassos). We have additionally presented these in terms of a developmental scheme and applied these theories to early childhood and adult experiences. We feel legitimized in doing so based on the dynamic structure of the shame experience. As Erikson (1950) suggests, the shame/doubt-autonomy stage, arises after the initial trust-mistrust stage of infancy, and precedes the guilt-initiative stage of development. In essence we are dealing with an

experience that has its roots in the very early years of development, but which continues to be expressed throughout life. It is for this reason that Kaufman (1974) suggests that shame arises as a result of an early lack of affirmation and has implications in later life for identity development. It is felt by this author that the shame experience and the implications thereof are best viewed in a developmental model, with particular focus on the first five years of life. This additionally provides a structure with which to view the development of guilt, and the differences between shame and guilt.

More specifically, we find it important to reintegrate what has already been found concerning shame. Of particular importance is the fear of abandonment, that Piers (1953) suggests is at the core of shame. This seems valuable in that, via a developmental model, it can explain the later needs to please; to be perfect; to achieve and avoid failure; and to fear for the exposure of vulnerable aspects of the self, with the final outcome of feeling totally self-controlling yet totally at the mercy of the environment. This fear of abandonment and the inability to non-defensively confront life, are suggestive not only of some maladaptive resolution of the shame/doubt-autonomy stage of development, but also of an unadaptive resolution to trust-mistrust concern in infancy.

The literature on early deprivation and the effects of mother absence on child development, suggests severe adjustment problems, often irreversible for the child who has experienced no consistent mothering (Bowlby, 1966). Bowlby's discussion includes a view of the

debilitative process, suggestive of a mourning response in the face of separation. This sequence proceeds from anger, rage, and tantrums, in hopes of causing mother's return, to one of alternating hope and despair, and finally to depression, despair, and detachment at the loss of the mother. Spitz (1945), in his early work, chronicles even more severe outcomes for the child. In cases where physical contacting was unavailable to the child for an extended period, there was a resulting lessened involvement in life, and if not remedied, eventual debilitation and death for the infant.

The implications of early and extensive deprivation, even when later counteracted with placement in foster families, continued to find expression in the form of a decreased (or lack of) ability to establish relationships with others. Although the above studies focused on massive deprivation of infantile needs, it is felt by this author that they may be present in the less intense form, in partial deprivation, where the parent, though present, may demonstrate emotional absence or in some way breach the early primary trust.

Bowlby (1966) suggests:

. . . that the ill effects of deprivation vary with its degree. Partial deprivation brings in its train acute anxiety, excessive need for love, powerful feelings of revenge, and, arising from these last, guilt and depression. These emotions and drives are too great for the immature means of control and organization available to the child (immature physiologically as well as psychologically). The consequent disturbance of psychic organization then leads to a variety of responses, often repetitive and cumulative, the end products of which are symptoms of neurosis and instability of character (p. 12).

This author suggests further that such partial deprivation plays a part in the genesis of shame and later predisposition to its recurrence. As it appears in the Eriksonian scheme, infancy is characterized as that period in which the child is fully dependent on the parental figure(s). During this period few limits are set on the infant and much parental discomfort may be tolerated. It is during this period that the first and primary bond between the mother and child is usually formed. In its occurrence the child learns to trust the parenting agent and the self. This period precedes one in which the child must confront the environment, and acts as a preparation for that by providing support, contact, affirmation, and love (Erikson, 1951; Kaufman, 1974; Montague, 1972). It is assumed here that the parent is responsive to the child's needs for contact, and can herself enjoy this contacting. As Lowen (1969) suggests, the infant identifies the mother as the source, not only of support and nurturance, but more basically, as a necessity of life.

In relating this to the occurrence of shame, we restate the description offered by Kell (1973), in which he suggests that shame arises when a need, assumed by the child to have been communicated (possibly by crying in the infant), goes without response. Kell suggests that these needs may inadvertantly be ignored or misinterpreted. To the infant, we suggest, this triggers first, rage at the parental non-response and terror of abandonment and fear of imminent death. The infant has no time sense, nor until later, the awareness of the likelihood of mother's eventual appearance. In early infancy it is not even likely that the child can differentiate the mother as a separate entity.

In cases of total deprivation, no care taking response is forthcoming. In partial deprivation maternal response eventually does occur, yet these situations give rise to a breach in the trust of child to mother. Its effect is to threaten the solidity of the trustfulness between them. Lowen suggests additionally, that such breaks in this primary bond may result in rage, and a desperate oral clinging, for fear that mother will leave again. We suggest that this is reflective of the later fears of emotional insatiability.

In the normal course of development, the child learns to cope with increasing amounts of mother absence, but we suggest that early unresponsiveness to the infant's needs, when extensive, can have the effect of damaging the mother-child bond. We also suggest that the fear of abandonment may be based on early experienced unwanted physical separation. Kaufman (1973) suggests that affirmation of the self arises from affirmation by the parental figure at this stage, and is communicated by body contact and maternal presence. It is a lack of affirmation, forced emotional or physical separation, and the refusal of 'union,' that Bassos suggests sets the stage for the later appearance of shame.

Bassos (1973) also suggests that non-reflective/spontaneous approaching has as its purpose, union. This approaching, when not responded to, can be interpreted by the child as a rejection of the 'self'; of an affirmed being; of 'being' at all, resulting in a self view of unworthiness. We suggest that this is experienced as a breach in trust, and further that it effects the transition into autonomous functioning. The child's survival is dependent on the parent(s), but

already the child is in doubt. The doubt revolving around the lack of parental affirmation of the infant, and possibly, on a very basic kinesthetic level, some infantile awareness or confusion about the parental unwillingness to affirm the child. Since deprivation is not complete the child can survive this trauma, but the child is confronted on a visceral level with an inconsistency. In this sense the child views the presence of the mothering agent and recognizes it as such, yet internally, there is the absence of fullness; of affirmation; of completeness. It is with these limitations that he faces the world. Lowen (1972) suggests that the lack of response by mother may give rise to an early and subtle mourning over the loss of the mother, which is expressed in the lack of trust for others (particularly mother who is physically, if not emotionally present), non-expression of needs, and turning in on the self. The physical presence of mother generates confusion, given the experienced emotional absence, but also allows the child to avoid or defend against dealing with the early loss of mother (having no reality to base it on and no ability, as a child, to see that it is not the loss of the physical mother, but of her consistent affirming behavior and contact).

In this sense shame, ". . . there is something drastically wrong with me--that's why I can't be loved," acts as a defense, a defense against the primary deprivation that cannot be remedied, and the horror of that experience, the hurt, loss, and rage, as well as mourning the loss of mother, and as a defense against the awareness that nothing can be done to guarantee love from another, or affirmation. A defense, very basically, against becoming aware that we are essentially alone in the world.

The self-definition of shameful or 'not valuable enough to be loved,' acts as an explanation to the self, for the parental non-response. It is because the self is unworthy that response and affirmation are not forthcoming.

This can continue to be reinforced by parents as the child meets the environment in the later developmental stages. Bassos suggests that this occurs as a result of a communication to the child that he is the sole cause of events or actions of others--that he caused his mother to respond rejectingly, and causes all others later on to do the same. We suggest that the growing child accepts this again and again in order to avoid the rising to consciousness of the feelings of primary deprivation.

The outcome suggests that if he can accomplish thier externally imposed goals, he will be loved. These goals and self-expectations are integrated into an unreasonably demanding ego-ideal. This allows the child (and later the adult) to see himself as all-powerful, i.e., able by his behavior and his very 'being' to determine others' rejection of him. It also prompts the fantasy that accomplishment of the ego-ideal will allow for the missed love. Yet the individual is faced also with the fact that after all his acts of good will, and accomplishment, he is impotent to cause others to affirm him. He may, through striving, be reinforced for his behavior or actions, but such reinforcement is age appropriate, and does not act to fill the emptiness of the early deprivation.

As an adult, this process may continue. The individual experiencing shame on the occurrence of the exposure of some aspect

of the self (to the self or others). This, either newly generated as an acute awareness and negative evaluation of the self, or acting to regenerate an earlier shame experience. In shame, the body turns in on itself to avoid further hurt and to protect the self from being seen. For the individual, what may be seen is the essence of the self and the needs of the person. These, in past memory, may have been shamed openly, or ignored, prompting shame and rage in the individual.

The early message of shamefulness, lack of worth, and inadequacy, causes a tight control over spontaneous being, yet prompts a searching for affirmation and a sense of "OK-ness." In this sense the individual wishes to have his non-reflective self affirmed, yet his self-definition of 'unworthy,' based on his sense of responsibility for the early rejection, leaves him unable to approach others with his needs. He fears further exposure, hurt and shame. The outcome can be continual frustration of the need to remedy the early deprivation, and the expression of this need in inappropriate ways. The needs to please, to accomplish, to attain and avoid failure, are expressions of this, and are further expressive of an unreasonably demanding ego-ideal.

It is our position that such behaviors often have as their purpose the avoidance of shame, and that shame, in turn defends against an awareness of deprivation. Further, that such behaviors rarely end in satisfaction, even when the individual does succeed, but more often prompts empty victories, further frustration, awareness of continued emptiness, and maintenance of the fantasy that early missed parental affirmation is recaptured by achievement. It is not the achievement of the goal that allows for a reevaluation of the unreasonable ego-ideal

demands, but an 'awareness that the achievement is empty' (Lynd). We suggest that only through the uncovering of the conflict, i.e., primary deprivation, and through a knowledge and awareness of the experience of shame, as its representation, can the ego-ideal function come into awareness, be reevaluated, and placed in perspective.

Both Kell (1973) in his description, and Kaufman (1973) in his elaboration, suggest that the process is reversible and that the interactive bond can be restructured. Kell (1973) speaks to this in his discussion of owning parental ignorance of needs and recognizing the lateness of the response. This, allowing the need and expression thereof. Kaufman (1973) sees this as essential in the case of the infant and young child, where the need is affirmation and where physical contact is a reassurance for the child. It is on this base that the first sense of trust is built, where the child can get a sense of a friendly world, and a world in which he can have an impact. Given the precarious state of total dependence for survival on the parent, this is an important communication to the child, in order for the child to get a solid sense of who he is, and a sense of basic OK-ness and a right to live.

In individuals who presently experience shame, we find that psychotherapeutic intervention is often effective in providing the previously missed affirmation of the non-reflective/spontaneous aspects of the self. The individual can be made aware that their feelings and needs can have an impact; that they have a right to their feelings; that they can gain positive response from others. Conversely, their fantasized power to cause rejection can be dealt with and reevaluated,

as can the unreasonably high demands for achievement and perfection placed on the self. The psychotherapeutic setting also provides for that individual to involve himself in a corrective relationship with the therapist. Plyler (1969) suggests that cases, suggestive of early deprivation, are responsive to recapitulative experiences, in which the client is allowed to take and be provided with affirmation on the age appropriate level of the needs. This is usually done in a male/female multiple team arrangement, where the client is allowed to take and is given to, without having to ask for the need to be filled. This is most often done in holding the client. The sequence (paralleling the developmental model) progresses to a second phase where the client learns and is reinforced for becoming aware of and communicating the specific needs, by asking that they be filled. Finally, out of the solidity of the affirming experience, an awareness that he can reciprocate to the therapist pair is established, and in his giving, he can come to know that his offering will be respected and appreciated by the therapists. In this way the client, within the therapeutic setting, is allowed to regain some of the missed affirmation and solidity of self. Additionally, he learns to take; to ask that his needs be met; and to give to others, not out of the desperate need to please, but out of genuine caring. Finally, the client learns that relationships can be hopeful, and responsive to the individual's needs, and need not be experiences in which shame is generated by the ignoring, by others, of the individual's needs.

Women and Shame

II

The early theorized link (Freudian) between women and shame, based on the premise of penis envy, and the inherent feelings of inadequacy in women, was not supported in this study. There was no apparent special predisposition to shame in the women studied. We suggest that shame, expressed in the response series by both males and females, is more relevantly attributable to early lack of affirmation and deprivation.

Guilt: A Reassessment

Guilt arises through transgression and essentially speaks to a later developmental stage, where the child is up and around and involved in the environment. Erikson (1950) suggests that guilt arises as a viable 'sense' as a result of that period when the child must come to grips with infantile sexuality, incest taboos, and for the male child, castration fears. He suggests that the child, energized by the successful resolution of the Autonomy-Shame/doubt stage, directs his energy outward, in a more focused way. In doing so, ". . . attack and conquest," for the male, and ". . . catching and making oneself endearing," for the female, become major endeavors (p. 225). It is the vehemence of this energy and the vestiges of infantile sexuality that promote the occurrence of guilt. Erikson suggests that the increased genital awareness; the last desperate attempt to establish a sphere of unquestioned privilege with the mother; and the usual failure in this

realm, prompts resignation, guilt and anxiety. It is at this point that the child moves from an exclusive involvement with the parents, to one of modified, externally directed initiative. This is a resolution via compromise, where the child learns to regulate his wants to deal with the external reality. In the male child, this seemingly arises from the resignation to the loss of the mother, at least partially out of fear of castration by the father. It is at this point that rules take on relevance for the child. More generally it is a time of rule setting, where the parents delineate codes of behavior and ethics, and set expectations for compliance. In their commission or omission, transgression prompts punishment, and with the integration of parental values, self-regulation and guilt.

Both Lewis (1971) and Piers (1953) also discuss the development of guilt as arising in the early oedipal stage, when the child is being socialized and where punishment is meted out on the occurrence of a boundary transgression. The experience of guilt, as we have said, arises from behaviors proscribed and prescribed, and culpability, with the evaluation reflecting on the doing or not doing of the act, or on the self via the act. It does not concern survival for the child, and in its occurrence may follow adaptive responses to the trust-mistrust and shame/doubt-autonomy stages of development. Being so, it can be limited to the act as occurrence in time. It is not integrated as a wordless self-denigration or questioning of the right to live, but involves an assessment of culpability and evaluation of the retribution. In guilt the ego is intact, as opposed to being shattered or dissolved in shame.

Shame and Guilt

It is not particularly relevant to discuss the primitiveness of shame as opposed to guilt. Shame has been viewed developmentally as a precursor to guilt, and this seems to have support. But unlike its description of being external (Singer, 1953), as opposed to internal (guilt), we view guilt and shame as both having experiential components and both reinforced internally and from societal, family or other external sources. We view both as very real experiential phenomena, and in tracing their appearance and qualitative differences, suggest that their genesis differs, as do their manifestations throughout life. Each is a major influence on personality development. We do put forth that the previous neglect of the genesis, manifestation and intensity of the shame experience, should be reassessed in its significance, as the development of each speaks to the development of very different types of people

Lynd (1958) suggests that where guilt provides a concretized, dichotomous way of viewing and interacting with the world, shame, when it is articulated and when an awareness of it is integrated in the individual, can give rise to a broader sense of morality, capable of seeing the relativity of the universe. Further, when shame is fully confronted, it allows for a lessening of ego-ideal demands, facilitates an awareness of aloneness and separateness, and through that separateness, a sense of wholeness and union within the self.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The following grid (pp. 74-81) includes a listing of this writer's evaluation of each response in the TAT series, for each subject, on the basis of their being termed shame, guilt, both shame and guilt or unscorable (based on no clear emergence of the criterion aspects of shame and guilt). Additionally, for unscorable responses, implied guilt, shame, or both, were listed, as was the affective theme.

The responses, originally evaluated blindly, have been represented in this form to allow for the evaluation of each protocol, as well as for the evaluation of the total responses to each card in the series.

The grid presents pilot males (9); males (20); pilot females (10); females (57). Total population sampled was 96. Total responses: Male, 197; Female, 425. Total responses: 622.

A key of abbreviations used, is located on page 82.

On page 76 are listed: The number of shame, guilt, both and unscorable responses to each card in the series for males (pilot and non-pilot). The total number of shame, guilt, both and unscorable responses by males. The percentages of shame, built, both and unscorable responses by males.

These are similarly listed for females on page 81.

On page 81, there is also a listing of the total percentages of shame, guilt, both and unscorable responses.

Additionally, an evaluation of each protocol has been done to assess modal response in the direction of shame, guilt, both (with neither obviously dominant) and unscorable (no clear emergence of shame or guilt in any form). These are listed separately for males and females, and an index of protocols (p. 83).

Table 4. Pilot Subjects--Male

	1	G	3BM	3GF	5	7GF	7BM	10	12M	17BM	Within Protocol		
											G	S	BO US
1	G	(lost) US	BO	BO	BO	(proud) US	G	(reunion) US	(murder) US	G	3	0	2 4
2	G	S	S	S	(murder) US	(boredom) US	(death) US	S	(healer) US	S	1	4	0 4
3	BO	S	G	G	(robbery) US	(boredom) US	S	BO	(grief/loss) US	G	2	2	2 3
4	S	S	S	S	(noise) US	(boredom) US	S	S	(healer) US	S	0	6	0 3
5	BO	(joy/denial) US	S	S	(mistrust) US	G	G	(content) US	G	S	3	2	1 3
6	G	S	BO	BO	(ghost) US	BO	(support) US	(reunion) US	(hypnosis) US	S	1	2	2 4
7	(identification) US	G	S	S	(noise) US	(abandon) US	(anger) US	(reunion) US	(grief,loss) US	S	1	2	0 6
8	S	S	(murder) US	G	G	(sex/bored) US	(support) US	(support) US	(support) (escape) US	US	1	2	0 6
9	G	S	S	(IG) US	(IG) US	(grief) US	BO	(close) US	(grief) US	(pride) US	1	2	1 5 IG-1
TOTAL													
G	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	2	13		
S	2	6	5	0	0	0	2	2	0	5	22		
BO	2	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	8		
US	1	2	1	7	7	7	4	6	8	2	38		

Table 5. Subjects--Male

	1	3BM	3GF	7GF	7BM	17BM	Within Protocol			
							G	S	BO	US
1	G	S	BO	-	G	(IG) US	2	1	1	1 IG-1
2	(IS-IG) (loss) US	(murder) US		-	(IS-IG) US	S	0	1	0	4 IS/IG-2
3	(fail-IS) (robbed) US		S	-	(support) (potency) US	US	0	1	0	4 IS-1
4	(IG) US	S	(grief) US	-	G	G	2	1	0	2 IG-1
5	(IS-IG) (growth) US	US	G	(bore-angry) US	BO	(joy) US	1	0	1	4 IS/IG-1
6	S	S	S	(aba-denial) (frus) US	US	(achieve) US	0	3	0	3
7	(IG) US	(anger) US	(anger) US	(IG) US	(support) US	(IG) US	0	0	0	6 IG-3
8	(IS-IG) US	S	(anger-pun) US	(ang/pun) (IS) US	(IS) US	(IS) US	0	1	0	5 IS/IG-1 IS-2
9	(fear/fail) US	BO	S	(sib riv) (IS, support) US	(escape) US		0	1	1	4 IS-1
10	S	BO	(IS) US	(fantasy) (fail) US	US	S	0	2	1	3 IS-1
11	(bored) US	(fail) US	(murder) US	(bored) US	(betray) US	(joy) US	0	0	0	6
12	(ach) US	(aban) US	(separ) US	(depriv) US	S	(ach) US	0	1	0	5
13	(ach) US	BO	(grief/loss) US	(anger) (IS, anger) US	(ach) US		0	0	1	5 IS-1
14	(bored) US	BO	G	(support) (support) US	(ach) US		1	0	1	4
15	G	BO	(aba, grief) US	BO	G	(need to ach) US	2	0	2	2
16	BO	(IS-IG) (murder/grief) US	(bore) (bore) US	(need to ach) US			0	0	1	5 IS/IG-1
17	(bored) US	S	(IG) US	G	(banished) (empty victory) US	US	1	1	0	4 IG-1
18	S	S	(aba) S	(aba, anger) US	G	(fear fail) US	1	3	0	2

con't

	1	3BM	3GF	7GF	7BM	17BM	Within Protocol			
							G	S	BO	US
				(fire)	(fear punish)	(fail)				
19	G	S	S	US	US	US	1	2	0	3
			(punished)	(sib riv)		(ach)				
20	BO	G	US	US	G	US	2	0	1	3
<hr/>										
TOTAL										
G	3	1	2	1	5	1	13			
S	3	7	5	0	1	2	18			
BO	2	5	1	1	2	0	11			
US	12	7	12	14	12	17	74			

Table 6

Total male responses (pilot and experimental groups) - 29

	1	3BM	3GF	5 (pilot)	7GF	7BM	10 (pilot)	12M (pilot)	17BM
G	7	2	3	1	2	7	0	1	3
S	5	13	10	0	0	3	2	0	7
BO	4	5	3	1	2	3	1	0	0
US	13	9	13	7	21	16	6	8	19

Total responses -Male 197	Guilt	26	.1319
	Shame	40	.2030
	Both	19	.0964
	Unscored	12	.5685
		197	

Of the unscoreable responses; 6 Implied guilt
 8 Implied shame
 3 Implied both guilt and shame
 17

Table 7. Pilot Subjects--Female

										Within Protocol		
	1	3BM	3GF	5	7GF	7BM	10	12M	17BM	G	S	BO US
1	BO	(sui, anger) (support)	(IS-IG)	(IG)	(mourn, joy)	BO			(ach)	0	0	2 7 IS/IG1 IG-1
	US	US	US	US	US				US			
3	US	(IS, proud) (grief)	(pressure) (support)	(support)	(support)	US			(ach)	2	0	0 7 IG-2 IS-1
	US	US	US	US	US				US			
2	US	(grief) (exposure)	(IG)	(IG)	(support)	US			(ach)	0	0	2 7 IS-1
	US	US	US	US	US				US			
4	S	(bored)	(IG)	(anger)	(reunion)	(grief)			(escape)	1	1	1 6 IG-1
	US	US	US	US	US	US			US			
5	US	(despair) (aband) (bitter)	(empty)	(murder)	(energy)	US			(energy)	1	0	0 7 IG-1
	US	US	US	US	US				US			
6	S	(death)	(IS) (support)	(grief)	(hypnosis)	US			(ach)	1	2	0 6 IS-1
	US	US	US	US	US				US			
7	US	(insecure) (grief) (depress) (suspicious) (IS)	(depress)	(grief)	(depress)	(grief)			(IS)	0	0	0 9 IS-2 IG-1
	US	US	US	US	US	US			US			
8	S	(self defense) (death, aba) (shock) (sib riv)	(grief)	(grief)		G			S	1	3	0 5
	US	US	US	US								
9	US	(anger)	(anger)	(grief)	(grief)	US			(ach)	3	1	1 4
	US	US	US	US	US				US			
10	US	(IS-IG) (grief)	(murder)	(grief) (astral travel) (frustr)		US			(astral travel) (frustr)	2	1	0 6 IS/IG1
	US	US	US	US					US			
TOTAL												
	G	0	2	0	2	2	0	3	0			11
	S	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	1			8
	BO	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0			6
	US	6	7	8	6	7	10	6	9			64

Table 8. Subjects--Female

							<u>Within Protocol</u>			
	1	3BM	3GF	7GF	7BM	17BM	G	S	BO	US
1	S	(grief) US	(phobic) US	(bored) US	-	(ach) US	0	1	0	5
2	S	S	(IG,grief) US	(anger) US	-	(fire) US	0	2	0	3 IG-1
3	S	S	(sui,grief) US	(bored) US	-	(treachery) US	0	2	0	3
4	(empty vict) US	BO	(murder) US	(bored) US	-	(fire) US	0	0	1	4
5	S	(aba) US	(aba,grief) US	(bored) US	(grief) US	(ach) US	0	1	0	5
6	(IG) US	(aba) US	(IG,grief) US	(bored) US	(disgust) US	(fail) US	0	0	0	6 IG-2
7	(IS) US	S	(grief) US	(daydream) US	(anger) US	(ach) US	0	1	0	5 IS-1
8	(IG) US	(depressed) US	S	(bible) US	(giving) US	(ach) US	0	1	0	5 IG-1
9	(IG) US	G	S	(bored) US	(support) US	(need to ach) US	1	1	0	4 IG-1
10	(IG) US	(depressed) US	(grief) US	(daydream) US	(closeness) US	(happy) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1
11	S	G	(anger) US	(sib riv) US	(support) US	(ach) US	1	1	0	4
12	(IS) US	(beaten) US	(rejected) US	S	(failure) US	S	0	2	0	4 IS-1
13	(IS) US	(aba) US	(rejected) US	(bored) US	(fear,fail) US	BO	0	0	1	5 IS-1
14	(IG) US	(depress) US	(grief,loss) US	(support) US	(conflict) US	(ach) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1
15	G	(loss,depress) US	(murder) US	S	(grief) US	(suicidal) US	1	1	0	4
16	(IG) US	(aba) US	(grief,loss) US	(aba) US	(conflict) US	(joy) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1
17	(IG) US	(fail) US	(grief,loss) US	(trap) US	(grief,sui) US	(fail) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1
18	(IG) US	(ach) US	(grief,loss) US	(conflict) US	(support) US	(ach) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1

con't

	1	3BM	3GF	7GF	7BM	17BM	Within Protocol			
							G	S	BO	US
19	BO	S	(rejected, IS) US	(IG) US	(support) US	(joy) US	0	1	1	4 IS-1 IG-1
20	(IG) US	(IS, grief) US	(grief, loss) US	(support) US	(fear fail) US	(joy) US	0	0	0	6 IS-1 IG-1
21	(conflict) US	(depress) US	(rejected) US	(protect) US	(IS) US	(need to ach) US	0	0	0	6 IS-1
22	(aba, grief) G	(rejected) US	(bored) US	(conflict) US	(fail) US		1	0	0	5
23	(bored) US	(grief, insane) US	(conflict) S				1	2	0	3
24	S	G	(rejected, IS) US	(IS) US	BO	S	1	2	1	2 IS-1
25	(support) US	(depress) US	(IG, punish) US	(protect) US	(support) -	US	0	0	0	5 IG-1
26	(grief, insane) BO	(aba) US	(support) BO	(IG) US			0	0	2	4 IG-1
27	G	S	(grief, loss) US	(sib riv) US	G	(grief, loss) US	2	1	0	3
28	S	S	(IS-IG) S	(IG) US	(ach) US		0	3	0	3 IS/IG 1 IG-1
29	G	S	(grief, loss) US	(IS) US	(support) US	(ach-fail) US	1	1	0	4 IS-1
30	(depress) BO	(grief, loss) US	(support) US	(support) US	(ach) US		0	0	1	5
31	(IS-IG) US	(ill) US	(reject, angry) US	(sib riv) US	(fail) BO	US	0	0	1	5 IS/IG 1
32	G	(aba) US	(grief, sui) US	(bored) US	(frustrate) US	(ach) US	1	0	0	5
33	(IG) US	(alone) US	(depress) US	(fantasy) US	(wisdom) US	(free) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1
34	(anger) US	(tired) US	(fear) US	(lonely) US	(fearful, IG) US	(empty vic) US	0	0	0	6 IG-1
35	(IS) US	(depress) US	G	(bored) US	(fail, IS) US	(ach) US	1	0	0	5 IS-2
36	(IG) US	G	(IG, grief) US	(sad) US	(conflict) US	(ach) US	1	0	0	5 IG-2
37	(IG) US	(IG) US	(bad marriage) US	(sex) US	(fear) US	(ach) US	0	0	0	6 IG-2

con't

	1	3BM	3GF	7GF	7BM	17BM	<u>Within Protocol</u>			
							G	S	BO	US
38	G	S	(grief,murder) US	(aba,IS) (IG) US	(no cares) US		1	1	0	4 IS-1 IG-1
39	G	BO	(shame,rage) US	(empty) (nude) US			1	0	1	4 IS-1
40	(IG) US	G	(conflict) (IS,anger) BO US	(freedom) US			1	0	1	4 IS-1 IG-1
41	(IS-IG) (depress) US	(murder,IG) US	(grief,aba) US	(ach) G			1	0	0	5 IS/IG 1 IG-1
42	S	S	(failure) S	US	S		1	4	0	1 IS-1
43	(IG) (depress) US	(grief,loss) US	(aba,fear) (tolerant) (sui) US				0	0	0	6 IG-1
44	(IG) (grief) US	(accident) (sib riv) US	(fire, IS) G				1	0	0	5 IS-1 IG-1
45	(suicide) BO	(vague) (no communication) (conflict) (ach) US					0	0	1	5
46	S	G	(grief,loss) US	(insane) (ach) BO US			1	1	1	3
47	(IG-IS) US	(bad marriage) (daydream) (bitter) (ach) G					1	0	0	5 IS/IG 1
48	(ach) (depress) (divorce) (support) (IS) (fail) US						0	0	0	6 IS-1
49	(frustr) (grief,loss) (anger) (alcoholic) (empty vic) BO						0	0	1	5
50	(IG) (IG-IS) (grief,loss) (happy) (support) (escape) US						0	0	0	6 IG/IS 1 IG-1
51	(aba,sui) (grief,insane) (happy) BO				-	-	0	0	1	3
52	(suicide) G	(aba,IS) (IS,fail) (fire) US					1	0	1	3 IS-2
53	(IS) S	(escape) S					1	3	0	2 IS-1
54	(ach,IG) (loss) (grief) (sib riv) (disagree) US					S	0	1	0	5 IG-1
55	(depress) (robbery) (vague) (supportive) (enjoy) G						1	0	0	5
56	(proud) US	(grief,loss) (sib riv) (support) (ach) S					0	1	0	5

con't

							<u>Within Protocol</u>			
	1	3BM	3GF	7GF	7BM	17BM	G	S	BO	US
		(IS-IG)	(anger)	(bored)		(fail,death)				
57	<u>G</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>US</u>	1	1	0	4 IS/IG 1
<hr/>										
TOTAL										
G	10	7	1	1	5	0				24
S	10	11	6	3	1	5				36
BO	6	2	3	1	2	1				15
US	31	37	46	52	44	50				260

Table 9

Total female responses (pilot and experimental groups) -67

	1	3BM	3GF	5 (pilot)	7GF	7BM	10 (pilot)	12M	17BM
G	10	9	3	0	3	7	0	3	0
S	13	12	6	1	4	2	0	0	6
BO	7	2	5	1	2	2	0	1	1
US	37	44	52	8	58	51	10	6	59

Total responses -Female 425	Guilt	35	.0823
	Shame	44	.1035
	Both	21	.0495
	Unscore	325	.7647

Of the unscoreable responses;

25	Implied guilt
16	Implied shame
6	Implied both guilt and shame
47	

Total responses of both Males and Female (including pilot subjects)

Total responses - 622	Percentages	Guilt	.0819
		Shame	.1350
		Both	.0643
		Unscore	.7025

Key - Abbreviations

IG - implied guilt
IS - implied shame
IS-IG - implied both guilt and shame
fail - failure
bore - bored
aba, aban, aband - abandoned
frus, frust - frustration
ach, achieve - achievement
pun - punished
sib riv - sib rivalry
separ - separation
betray - betrayed
need to ach - need to achieve
sui - suicide
empty vic - empty victory
trap - trapped
protect - protective
support - supportive
depress - depression

Table 10

Intra-protocol - evaluation of modal response.

Male	Guilt	Shame	Both	Unscoreable	#Subjects
pilot	1	2	2	4	9
non-pilot	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>20</u>
Total	3	6	4	16	29

Female	Guilt	Shame	Both	Unscoreable	#Subjects
pilot	2	2	2	4	10
non-pilot	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>57</u>
Total	3	7	11	46	67

Listing of subjects evaluated as: shame, guilt, both, unscoreable.

Male: Guilt - PM1, M4, M20.

Shame - PM2, PM4, M6, M8, M10, M18.

Both - PM3, PM5, M1, M15.

Unscore - PM6, PM7, PM8, PM9, M2, M3, M5, M7, M9, M11, M12, M13, M14, M16, M17, M19.

Female:

Guilt - PF2, PF9, F36.

Shame - PF6, PF8, F12, F24, F28, F42, F53.

Both - PF4, PF10, F2, F19, F23, F27, F38, F39, F40, F46, F52, F57.

Unscore - PF1, PF3, PF5, PF7, F1, F3, F4, F5, F6, F7, F8, F9, F10, F11, F13, F14, F15, F16, F17, F18, F20, F21, F22, F25, F26, F29, F30, F31, F32, F33, F34, F35, F36, F37, F41, F43, F44, F45, F47, F48, F49, F50, F51, F54, F55, F56.

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