

GENERAL CATEGORIES OF SHAME: ONTOGENESIS, EARLY RELATIONSHIPS, CONSEQUENCES

ОБЩИЕ КАТЕГОРИИ СТЫДА:
ОНТОГЕНЕЗ, РАННИЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ, ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ

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Аннотация:

В статье представлен обзор теоретических и эмпирических концепций стыда, существующих в психологической науке и практике. Материал включает ссылки на ключевые отечественные исследования второй половины XX века, в частности – исследования в области психофизиологии и социальной психологии. Рассмотрены биологические взгляды на проблему стыда, начиная с работы Ч. Дарвина. Наиболее широко освещены психоаналитические концепции. Стыд впервые появляется в названии публикации в 1942 году и далее занимает место в названии работ только 17 раз вплоть до 1971 года. Тогда же появляется работа о разграничении стыда и вины. Автор приводит виньетку, отражающую их различие. Опираясь на источники из общей психологии, психоанализа и словари собран и проанализирован набор критериев, определяющих стыд. Продемонстрирована онтогенетическая последовательность появления стыда в жизни индивида в теориях З. Фрейда и Э. Эриксона. Развернуто представлена локализация стыда в структурной модели. Изучив особенности стыда в различных теориях сделана попытка объединить стыд по признакам, включающим в себя стимул возникновения; продолжительность воздействия; период проявления в онтогенезе; степень охвата личности по глубине и широте. В результате анализа выделе-

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Abstract:

The article presents an overview of theoretical and empirical concepts of shame that exist in science and psychological practice. The material includes references to key domestic researches of the second half of 20th century, researches of psychophysiology and social psychology. Biological perspectives on shame, starting with the paper of Ch. Darwin, as well as a phylogenetic response of shame in the infant are reviewed. Psychoanalytic views are the most widely covered. Shame is first used in a title of a publication in 1942 and thereafter appears there only 17 times until 1971. Then the paper on the distinction between shame and guilt emerges. The author provides a vignette depicting their differences. According to the sources on general psychology, psychoanalysis and dictionaries, a set of criteria defining shame is collected and analyzed. An ontogenetic sequence of shame appearance in the individual's life in the theories of S. Freud and E. Erikson is demonstrated. Localization of shame in the structural model is expanded, a number of authors place it between Ego and Ego-Ideal. Also the analysis of the Greek myth is presented as an illustration. Having explored the shame characteristics in different theories, an attempt is made to group shame by attributes including stimulus of occurrence; duration of influence; period of manifestation in ontogenesis; degree of personality coverage on

ны общие категории: Внешний–Внутренний; Ситуативный–Хронический (характерный); Первичный–Вторичный; Интенсивность–Экстенсивность. Они подразумевают дополняющие друг друга характеристики «и/или» с целью создания объемного портрета стыда и личности.

depth and breadth. The following general categories are allocated as a result of the analysis: External–Internal; State–Chronic (trait); Primary–Secondary; Intensity–Extensiveness. They imply complementary 'and/or' characteristics in order to create a volumetric portrait of shame and personality.

Ключевые слова:

стыд; объектные отношения; детская травма; травма пренебрежения; нарциссизм; психоанализ

Keywords:

shame; object relations; childhood trauma; neglect trauma; narcissism; psychoanalysis

Introduction

In foreign psychology the study of shame is increasingly gaining popularity. In native psychology, the study of shame is spreading more slowly. However, the measurement of shame has encountered difficulties due to the lack of consensus on the definition of shame and the fact that direct assessment of the feeling is difficult [1]. Today, existing techniques are mostly being adapted and supplemented [2–6]. At the same time, research in recent years has shown inconsistent results when using the same measure [7, 8]. This underlines the necessity of a theoretical rethinking.

Despite modern society's need to evolve emotional intelligence, shame is still a widely used means to punish or to make the other defenseless. This is particularly acute in early relationships, where parents use shaming to elicit the necessary response from the child, even from the smallest one. To talk about the role of shame in the later life of such a person, it is important to distinguish categories of experience, each of which having different consequences.

Aim

Explore the understanding of shame, ontogenetic, individual and interpersonal features of its formation and expression. Divide shame into categories on the basis of that.

Objectives

1. To analyze the set of criteria that define shame;
2. To conduct a theoretical study of the emergence of shame in its ontogenesis; the role of the primary object's fantasy about the individual; the role of the relationship with the primary object and the father;
3. To classify and describe the categories of shame, basing on the theoretical analysis.

Understanding of shame

Shame is a specific recent notion. Its conceptualization is difficult, since there is no unified, unambiguous semantic content of the term. As a rule, explanatory dictionaries of the

Russian language allocate 2–3 meanings: '1) a sense of embarrassment, remorse from awareness of the reprehensibility of the deed; 2) disgrace, dishonor; 3) the same as nudity. Cover up the shame' [9]. In English there are also several meanings, they relate to the wish to avoid experiences of dishonor in order to preserve one's reputation [10].

Russian scientific school made attempts to study shame in the framework of general theory of emotions and feelings [11], the analysis of shame in preschool children as an indicator of moral development was conducted as well [12]. The notion of self-consciousness on the basis of anthropological theories was also investigated [13, 14].

Foreign psychology has paid much attention to shame in a frame of psychoanalytic approach [15–18]; psychophysiology examines psychobiological markers of shame [19]; social psychology studies the phenomena of 'collective' shame [20].

According to Web of Science database, psychiatry (11.8%) and clinical psychology (10.8%) currently have the most shame-related papers in the available period, and a further 3.4% have been developed within the psychoanalytic psychology field. It is until 1942 there are no publications with the word 'shame' in the titles of various medical and psychological databases.

According to the largest psychoanalytic electronic archive PEP-Web shame is first used in the title of a publication in 1942 and appears in the titles only 17 times until 1971. At this time the psychoanalytic work of H. Lewis on the distinction between shame and guilt [16] comes to light as a basis for fundamentalist scholars' questions about the measurability of their differences. However, there is still debate about the understanding of shame.

The majority of researchers today classify shame as a group of self-conscious emotions [1, 21]. This group is related to the perception of the Self, how people see themselves and how they think others perceive them, i. e. to self-consciousness. Along with shame, this group of emotions includes pride, envy, guilt, empathy, embarrassment and jealousy. Understanding of other self-conscious emotions is also necessary to distinguish shame from other concepts.

Shame involves the capacity to form stable self-representations and evaluate oneself according to internal and external standards. So, the concept of 'shame' is understood as an experience that triggers a negative assessment of Self [22], thus, it concerns the whole personality. In the experience of shame, the view is focused on identity.

The internalization of self-representations occurs during childhood in relationships with significant adults who mirror the child in some way. There is a research into the emergence of self-identification, carried out using a mirror, and its connection to cognitive development and to manifestations indicative of shame and other emotions [23]. Thus, shame arises as a result of a person's feeling of real or imagined nonconformity with the society of his or her individual manifestations and is shaped by the impact of the gaze.

There are 3 categories that have been attempted to distinguish shame from other similar concepts: a) type of determinant event: public vs. personal; b) nature of the misconduct: social vs. individual; c) level that the event covers: mistake of the Self vs. mistake of behavior.

However, other studies show that the type of episode matters little in the distinction of emotions. For one person an event may be associated with one feeling, while for another the same event may be associated with a different one [1, 21, 22].

Shame in human development stages

In the 'Studies in Hysteria' S. Freud and J. Breuer stated that hysteria is caused by latent affects, naming shame as one of them [24]. By the end of the book the message is put forward more forcefully: ideas that have been repressed cause feelings of shame, self-blame, psychic pain and point to the harm caused by revealing the part of the Self that wants to remain hidden.

Each of these concepts Sigmund Freud easily substituted for the other, a clear classification did not exist at that time. Nevertheless, since he saw scant evidence of shame in himself and in his male environment, and his self-analysis saved him from the shame of opening to another person in psychotherapy [25], he found it in his earliest patients – namely, in all women. Representing the ageism and sexism of his time, S. Freud seemed to think that shame was an emotion of children and women.

However, already in 'The Ego and the Id' we can find indications on an essential role of social emotions and attempts of their differentiation [26]. S. Freud gives a role of an indicator of internal conflict to guilt and shame is seen as a form to control sexual impulses, especially exhibitionism and voyeurism.

It helps to understand whether a subject is blaming oneself for a misconduct or is ashamed because of disappointment about the personality. However, such studies only led to variations in the degree of difference between guilt and shame, and in their sequence of appearance in ontogenesis.

Extending S. Freud's ideas, E. Erikson gives a place to guilt and shame in the model of age periodization. There are chronological dichotomous developmental stages in the course of which identity is formed. The first three of these are: 'trust vs. mistrust' or preverbal, oral (infancy), 'autonomy vs. shame' or anal phase (from 1 to 3 years) and 'initiative vs. guilt' or oedipal phase (from 3 to 6–7 years) [27].

Based on the phase name, we can see that the anal phase is considered by many to be the fixation point for shame. The shame here is all the more intense as greater pleasure which has been repressed, associated with bodily manifestations. Generally it is a muscular, controlled pleasure to defecate that the mother notices and reacts in one way or another. For this reason, shame is associated with a repressed desire for exhibitionism.

During early childhood, the infant develops increasing autonomy, which is reinforced by the use of speech, the learning of self-care skills, the strengthening of muscles and the ability to escape from the control of the primary object. If the stage fails, a sense of doubt and shame is laid down, which manifests as a fear of destruction from aggression or rejection by a significant adult. Thus, some author's link shame with a response to cultural norms, where it is ascribed a function of protection against rejection [28].

According to the structural model, shame is localized in the conflict between the Ego and the Ego-Ideal [29]. This is true as long as the difference between the Ego-Ideal and the Ideal-Ego is emphasized. In this way we move from the anal and oedipal stage, where shame is triggered by awareness of nudity, sexual difference and drives [24, 30], a defense against exhibitionism [31], to the oral level.

Infant observation shows that babies experience a basic form of shame already at this period. For example, when an infant reaches out to an adult and hides the face, frightened that he has mistaken the other for his mother. As early as 3 months of age, shame manifests itself by withdrawing, turning away and lowering the head if attempts to approach the mother are unsuccessful. An infant is ashamed because of his false expectation [17]. Therefore, shame exists even before culture suppresses exhibitionist urges [15].

It is necessary to consider the difference between the Ego-Ideal and the Ideal-Ego. S. Freud first defined the ideal Ego without separating them in 'On Narcissism', where he described it as the psychic remnant of the ideal Self of infancy, calling it primary narcissism. [32]. Mother in a merging relationship with an infant withdraws her own Self and both, if they go through the stage normally, enjoy their own ideality without having to change anything in themselves. R. Britton, on the basis of further discussions of S. Freud [26], believes that the Ego-Ideal is a remnant of the ideal child that once existed in the parents' psyche, which now resides in the subject's internal world and to which the subject continues to aspire [33].

For J. Chasseguet-Smirgel, the Ego-Ideal is the mother's fantasy space [34]. M. Fain defines it as a concept of 'prematurity of the ego'. Because of the early relationship with the mother, the child experiences the psychic expression of drives as an unbearable danger. The suppression of the hallucination capacity, i. e. desire fulfilment in dreams, becomes fundamental to the very early development of autonomy of the Self, which makes it over-adapted [35].

Unlike the Ego-Ideal, the Ideal-Ego emerges later as the child acquires an identity through projective identification. In 'The Ego and the Id', S. Freud describes the Super-Ego formula which contains two messages: 'Be such a person!' and 'Don't be such a person!'. The first one relates to the Ideal-Ego, the second one belongs to something that is known directly as the forbidding Super-Ego [35].

In the first case, personality development is a deviation from the general pattern and produces the type that S. Freud calls 'narcissistic' [36]. H. Kohut, who studied narcissism, does not seem to have separated the Ego-Ideal from the Ideal-Ego, as he says about the narcissistic type that many shameful people possess ambition rather than ideals [37]. However, we can see that H. Kohut's ideas are in line with the message of 'Be such a person!'.

In summary, the difference between the Ego-Ideal and the Ideal-Ego is that in the first case the mother's fantasy is internalized very early, and in the second one only later are the parental authority and the moral law [30].

S. Blatt gives a comparison of two depressed patients with suicidal thoughts. They may have similar symptoms and vegetative manifestations, but differ radically in their subjective feelings. The one has the idea of his moral imperfection and the thought that the world would be a better place without him, i.e. he feels guilty. The other feels not so much amoral as defective, internally empty and sees no meaning in life, i. e. feels shame [38].

The first one is filled with internalized objects saying he is bad because he has done something - the guilt is conceptualized in the ideas of the inner critical parent, or Super-Ego. In the second case there are no internalized objects to guide the patient. Shame is the feeling of being seen as bad, but the observer is outside the Self [39]. Here we are talking about the Ego-Ideal, and the observer is taken outside the subject's psyche as it interacts not with the Other, but with his/her fantasies.

Childhood Trauma

To continue describing the difference between guilt and shame, here is an illustration. Plato's retelling of the human creation myth [40] shows that animals and humans were created by the gods in an earthly womb. Brothers, Prometheus and Epimetheus, were entrusted by them to share the abilities among all of them so that the creatures could survive. Epimetheus shared some abilities among animals so that no one species becomes too strong and no one can be eliminated, but he forgot about humans. Prometheus, correcting the mistake, gave people crafts and fire, but they still did not succeed in living in society. Zeus then sent Hermes to spread shame among them in order to strengthen human relations, and asked him to add a law in his name, to kill anyone who was not involved in shame.

The work that Zeus does is the role of the father, who stops the killing between brothers, he introduces hierarchy (Ideal-Ego and Super-Ego) into the human consciousness. The father's law appears in the oedipal period, when people, psychically delayed in the previous stage, cannot, but need to be in the world of various objects.

At the same time, humans are missing their mother, who is represented in the form of a partial object - the earth womb. We do not see the mother's reverie, i. e. dreaming of their child. We also do not see the Creator Gods dreaming of what their 'children' will be like. Humans are shown as orphans who are passed from hand to hand and ineptly fed. Moreover, one of the caretakers, Epimetheus, unconsciously rejects humans, choosing their eldest sibling, namely an animal.

Later Zeus makes an attempt to place in humans the Ideal-Ego, which refers to the shame of the later period, and the Super-Ego. Prometheus, who stole craft and fire from Hephaestus and Athena, prematurely gives people oedipal passion (fire). Will the law and temptations help to grow psychically if the primary pleasures and displeasures have not been integrated due to the absence of a maternal constant object? People probably felt shame for not being worthy of love even before, looking for a maternal 'container' and 'mirror' rather than a strict father. In a story like this, injunctions are precocious and cannot be accepted until identity is found.

It was altars that helped them to find their identity. According to myth, humans were the only creatures who began to build altars to the gods. Relying on a particular thing that signified the bond between child and parents, it turned out to fill the inner emptiness, where it should be the symbols – the internalized representations first of the mother and then of the parental couple.

H. Kohut describes the need for a narcissistic object, and states that the Ego-Ideal protects against shame [37]. Such an object implies a reflection of the child by an adult. However, the appearance of an unwanted child in the family, no matter what the reasons for parental dissatisfaction may be, is a serious experience. The child may be abandoned formally or rejected in the form of neglect in the family. Reflecting similarly on unconscious irrational feelings of shame, D. Winnicott speaks of a lack of love in a mother's eyes [41].

Categories of shame

We can see how different authors classify shame into toxic shame [42]; 'Spanish' or shame for the other [20]; social and bodily shame [43]; identity shame [44]; shame of existence [18]; white shame [45]; shame-anxiety directed into the future, shame-affect and shame as a preventive avoidance attitude [46], etc. They reflect the individual condition of shame, but do not reveal the nature of the personality impact. The relevance of this classification for methodology and consequence research is rather low.

For these purposes, we propose to group the variants of shame according to the following characteristics:

1. Duration of influence on the person.
2. Stimulus of shame occurrence.
3. Period of manifestation in ontogenesis.
4. Degree of coverage of the person by depth and breadth.

The first is shame, which the scientific literature divides into state and chronic (trait) shame. State shame causes immediate reactions to events and has no long term consequences. They may cause certain thoughts or trigger certain behaviors, but after a while their effects subside and the subject is able to function normally again.

Chronic shame has a serious impact on adaptability. It can be a state of being rather than an emotional state [47]. It can be associated with the earliest relationships. If a mother wishes that life would not change with the birth of her child or is expecting an entirely different infant, such as a boy rather than a girl, the child may develop a chronic sense of shame for being as he or she is.

P. Gilbert suggested the existence of external and internal shame. They can be placed in the second category. When an individual is ashamed of his or her own qualities, this is internal shame. External shame occurs when a person thinks about being rejected or attacked in the minds of others. It is possible not to feel ashamed even if others view oneself negatively, but this is unlikely when one's own personality is evaluated negatively [47, 48].

The third category concerns ontogenesis. A number of authors, such as Ch. Darwin, consider shame as a biological response existing from birth [49]. Others argue that, unlike basic emotions, shame has no universal facial expressions [50] and, unlike anxiety, anger, fear or excitement, which find immediate expression in facial muscles and also disappear quickly, shame comes with a rapid explosion and a long burning time [17].

Closely related to the phylogenetic readiness of the infant for danger and to Ch. Darwin's description of the response to a threat of survival is the theory of infant distress. It is shown in experimental studies as a reaction to an incorrect facial reflection, when the infant searches for a response, but it lacks. Being unable to elicit an empathic response from an impenetrable or wrongly oriented subject [51], the child experiences primary shame as a signal that something threatens the biological and psychological existence [52].

Experiences of primary shame are unavoidable but not traumatic if they occur in a good enough environment. A mother who is in tune with her child recognizes the child's fear and anxiety [41,51], caring for the child's primitive Ego until the infant's own psychic 'membrane' has gradually formed as the line between psychic and physical space, internal and external, I and not-I [53].

As stated above, a number of authors [15, 17] classify shame as a primary emotion. Other researchers add that secondary shame also exists and develops in response to more mature frustrations [24, 27, 30, 31].

Based on the developmental stages, we can identify four types of shame, classifying the first two as primary and the others as secondary: 1) pre-oedipal, pre-verbal (also intrauterine, prenatal through maternal dreaming for not being worthy of love); 2) oral shame (for needs); 3) anal shame (of dependency) and 4) oedipal (sexual, desire) shame [54].

The fourth category differentiates shame according to the level of personality impact. To illustrate the point, R. Wille writes about a form of shame that concerns not only actions, appearance and thoughts, but also the fact of existence of a person in this world [18]. In trying to protect oneself from unbearable shame, one wishes to disappear from the face of the earth. That kind of shame is expressed by thinking not in terms of 'I'm ashamed of being who I am', but in terms of 'I'm ashamed that I exist'. It often entails a behavior in which the person really tries not to take any space or even make a sound. According to R. Wille, shame can be much more comprehensive and involve not only a part of the person, but the whole person. Therefore we should differentiate it by intensity and extensiveness, or breadth. Other authors highlight suicidal thoughts as the most radical method to eliminate comprehensive shame [55].

In summary, the literature review allowed us to identify the following categories of the experience of shame:

1. External – Internal;
2. State – Chronic (trait);
3. Primary – Secondary;
4. Intensity – Extensiveness.

However, we cannot interpret them as poles. Within each category there are characteristics viewed from a 'and/or' position, they complement each other to create a volumetric portrait of shame and identity.

Conclusions

There is a tendency today to regard manifestations of shame as if they all operate on the same level. To understand the impact of shame on people's lives, an attempt was made to categorize the types of shame. Based on sources of general psychology, psychoanalysis and dictionaries, a set of criteria that define shame was gathered and analyzed. The capacity to form ideas about oneself, i. e. identity, was identified as crucial to understanding shame. Then a systematic distinction was made between shame categories based on the developmental history of the individual, the relationship with the primary object and the father, and reactions to a potentially traumatic situation.

The result of the theoretical analysis is the identification of four categories of the experience of shame, including stimulus of occurrence; duration of influence; period of manifestation in ontogenesis; degree of personality coverage on depth and breadth. The described categories should not be regarded as opposite poles. They imply complementary 'and/or' characteristics in order to create a volumetric portrait of shame and personality.

The description of the categories is important to identify the individual's needs; the functions of shame; the dynamic and consequences, often included suicidal intentions. It extends the understanding of interpersonal and intrapsychic interaction principles. There are still problems about the evaluation of these categories, but their solving will make it possible to create new systems for assessing shame in the future. The study can be useful for the development of scientific methods as well as for psychotherapeutic practice.

There is no conflict of interest.

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ДАТА ПОСТУПЛЕНИЯ: 26.11.2022.

ДАТА ОДОБРЕНИЯ: 29.01.2023.

ДАТА ПРИНЯТИЯ: 01.03.2023.

PAPER RECEIVED: 26.11.2022.

PAPER REVISED: 29.01.2023.

PAPER ACCEPTED: 01.03.2023.

ДЛЯ ЦИТИРОВАНИЯ:

Наумчук Н.С. Общие категории стыда: онтогенез, ранние отношения, последствия // *Личность в меняющемся мире: здоровье, адаптация, развитие*. 2023. Т.11, №1 (40). С. 21–34. Доступно по: <http://humjournal.rzgmu.ru/art&id=555>. Ссылка активна на чч.мм.гггг. doi: 10.23888/humJ202311121-34

FOR CITATION:

Naumchuk NS. General categories of shame: ontogenesis, early relationships, consequences. *Personality in a changing world: health, adaptation, development*. 2023;11(1):21–34. Available at: <http://humjournal.rzgmu.ru/art&id=555>. Accessed: dd Month yyyy. doi: 10.23888/humJ202311121-34