A THEORETICAL CONTEXT FOR SHAME

WARREN KINSTON, LONDON

Shame, till now the 'Cinderella of the unpleasant emotions' (Rycroft, 1968), deserves a central role in psychoanalytic theory alongside anxiety and guilt. An examination of the literature together with clinical and theoretical studies of my own has led me to define shame (the concept) as the signal, affective and cognitive, that a move from 'self-narcissism' to 'object-narcissism' is imminent (Kinston, 1980, 1982). The details of the shame experience and the penumbra of related experiences inferiority. failure. Course. gwillt. aggression) will be described in the course of a brief critical review of the literature. These experiences will be shown to lock into the concept defined above: further implications. phenomenological and theoretical, will be examined by using the associated theory of mandissism.

A full consistent account of shame must not only link the many clinical psychoanalytic observations, but also much written by others. Psychoanalysts have noted such features of shame as its links with self-exposure and fear of rejection. its connexions with sexuality and its absence in perversion, its relation to blushing and wishes to hide and the phenomenon of shame propensity. Other crucial features of shame are emphasized by non-psychoanalytic authors and these should either be understood within a psychoanalytic model or be purposefully and coherently excluded. For example, the Bible viewed the acceptance of shame as the ultimate in commitment: Shakespeare referred to shame far more often than to guilt and associated it with truth and honour rather than with inferiority or wrong doing; Nietzsche linked shame to loss of individuality and volition.

As will be evident in the literature review to follow, psychoanalytic authors have mainly ignored the need to bring order to apparently disparate clinical and non-clinical observations. Only Lichtenstein (1963) has attempted to assimilate the work of writers outside psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysts have tended to use the

term 'shame' much as it appears in their clinical material and have often confusingly linked it to another term, as in 'shame and guilt' or 'shame and inferiority feelings'.

Shame has perspectives, on the one hand so intensely personal and on the other so broadly social, that it has proved elusive for theoreticians focused on mental mechanisms. This double perspective is less clear in English which has one word for shame, than in languages such as German and French which have two words. 'Shame' does have two antonymic forms in English which correspond to the two meanings and it is possibly an example of the antithetical meaning of primary words (Freud. 1910).

The origins of the word 'shame' are obscure but scholars believe it derives from the Teutonic root (s)kem meaning 'to cover oneself' (Oxford English Dictionary). The two meanings which have come down to us are as follows:

Shame-unashamed (German: Scham, French: Pudeur) refers to modesty, chastity, shyness, bashfulness. In Biblical usage it refers to genitals. The emphasis in this meaning is on inner personal experience.

Shame-shameless (German: Schande; French: Honte) refers to disgrace, scandal, criminality (cf. deeds of shame). The emphasis in this meaning is on social customs and standards.

When Freud spoke of shame as being an important force stemming the sexual drives, he used Scham. There are no references to Schande in the index of the 'Gesammelte Werke'. However in his belief that the preservation of culture and civilized society depended mainly on hypocrisy (rather than guilt or moral standards) he was talking about Schande (Freud, 1915).

Aidos, the Greek Goddess of Shame, denoted both sexual shame and the genitals, and as she was the source of dignity, decency and good manners, shame was linked with reverence, respect and piety. Her companion was Dike (Justice, Natural Law) or Nemesis (Due Enactment). Hesiod prophesied that Aidos and Dike/

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